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THE ROMANIC REVIEW



THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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SOME SIXTEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLMASTERS AT GRENOBLE AND THEIR DELECTABLE VICISSITUDES

INTRODUCTORY

TO Grenoble in the Dauphiné, encircled by mountains on whose peaks dawn and sunset evoke the snow, seated upon her mingling rivers, refreshed by a hundred singing streams, came, in the first half of the sixteenth century, a breath from across her hills, the breath of new learning, new thought, new enthusiasms. The town welcomed it eagerly enough; but we may fancy a sudden suspicious pause in the welcome. Surely some cold northern taint hung upon that Italian air, the taint—Grenoble knew it well—of heresy! Grenoble had ample reason to shudder at the very name of heresy. The Provincial Tribunal of the Inquisition dealing with the Waldenses had been set up in her midst for a hundred years or more, and had ceased from troubling only in the first year of this new changeful century. Such a shudder might have been prophetic too, forecasting bitter cruelties of persecution on the one hand, on the other crimes of the blood-stained protestant Des Adrets.

Welcome and fear, as Grenoble may have felt them, were nowhere better reflected than in the attitude towards education of her Town Council. A body composed of some five or six citizens, augmented by the Prosecuting and Defending Attorneys of the Town, and, from time to time, by such prominent citizens as they chose to summon, led by four Consuls answering in the main, one conceives, to the Selectmen of our New England towns, they were entrusted

with all the social interests of their fellow-townsmen and made the Municipal School especially their jealous care. And now, responding to the generous impulses of the Renaissance, they burned to reform and reorganize, to deal in those innovations with which it was pregnant, to practise them above all in the employment of schoolmasters of real erudition or of wide reputation. But that breath of heresy,—Lutheran heresy or, more deadly yet, Anabaptist heresy with its disturbing practical tenets (centuries before the word 'socialistic' was coined)—seemed to cling to the learned schoolmaster. Calvinist and Huguenot were as yet unnamed, but soon the young fire-brand John Calvin, casting wise eyes upon the coming generation, would be engaging his friends to proselyte first of all among schoolmasters.¹ The Town Council vacillating, then, between enterprise and caution must have been more than ever conscious of the limits set to the scope of its powers by authority higher than its own, authority ecclesiastical and secular, Bishop and Cathedral-Chapter, Provincial Council and Parlement.² It could indeed, and upon occasion did, stand out for its rights, but it knew itself powerless to take one step beyond them. In this situation, the Town Councillors in their capacity of School Board—and such, to avoid confusion between "Councillors" and "*Consuls*," let them be sometimes termed for present purposes,—bent upon employing the best available teachers, entered upon adventures whose records,³ extending over a period of a quarter-century, keep a savor of their own, fresh and indeed comic after an interval of four hundred years.

As early as 1525, the Board, seated a May morning in the garden of their usual meeting place, the *Tour de l'Isle* built on a bridge across the Isère, discussed the state of the Town schools, long neglected, still vacant of teachers. Teachers, it seems, had been far to

¹ Cf. *L'Histoire de la naissance et decadence de l'heresie de ce siecle devisee en huit livres . . .* par Florimond de Raemon, Conseiller du Roy en sa Cour de Parlement de Bordeaux, Rouen (De la Motte), 1629, Bk. VII, p. 864.

² *Parlements* (not in any sense of ours "parliamentary") were royal Law Courts, their members Magistrates, consisting of *Présidents* (at Grenoble these ranged from First to Seventh President), *Procureur Général*, *Avocat Général*, *Conseillers* and *Greffiers*.

³ The chief sources of this article are the Municipal Archives of Grenoble: 1525-1544. Registre BB. 8-13.

seek, but now there was a candidate for the post of Master of the Municipal School. This candidate was one Maître Jacques de Citreria, come to Grenoble from the neighborhood of northerly Bourg. He was in fact at hand, was introduced into the meeting almost as soon as the subject, and made his own application in Latin, as the Recording Secretary (identified for posterity: "Ego Marelli," "Petrus Marelli Secretarius") is careful to note. The Board having duly heard out their candidate, appointed a day for a more public hearing and reading, instructing Citreria to enter, in the interval, upon his schoolmasterly functions. Interval, in any proper sense, there was not, for two days later the candidate's ordeal took place in the presence of various noble lords, burghers, and others, in the Judgment Hall of the *Parlement*, a choice of setting indicating due deference to authority; and, at a Board Meeting the following day, Citreria was duly appointed Municipal Schoolmaster for a term of three years, endowed also with house, table, six benches and a bed in addition to a salary of twenty florins, one third payable then and there.

These energetic beginnings soon encountered a check. With the summer came the plague, and our schoolmaster, "astrictus et coactus" (so he felt himself, at least), deserted his duties and fled into the country. After plague, flood fell upon Grenoble. Isère and Drac, roaring with the rains of autumn, inundated the town, partly cleansing it of its sickness, and on November 3 Citreria was back again asking the Board, humbly enough, if they would continue him in office and give him such pay as seemed good to them. The Board agreed to retain their schoolmaster, apportioning an immediate four crowns to his necessities; decided also to repair his schoolhouse, damaged by the flood; and the following spring—still indulgently inclined—to his petition for a dole to live upon they responded with ten *livres tournois* "not to be regarded as precedent"! "Et fuit mandatum pro," concludes Marelli in his dog-Latin. And now, to round out the disasters of this experimental year, rivalry lifted its head, did however hardly more, for when one Jean d'Argentier opened a private school in his own house "to the prejudice of the Town School," the town authorities simply forbade him (June 8, 1526) "under penalty of the law" to continue his pernicious activities. The latest obstacle to success thus summarily dealt with, the

school began to prosper and before the autumn term expired, Maître Jacques could announce that he had engaged an assistant *bachelor*, and required a new school-room. The Board proceeded (Sept. 21) to make an appropriation of five florins for the new *bachelor* (keeping free of promises for the future, however), and voted also to build the needed school-room, although in fact it leased instead, for three years, a more suitable building belonging (gratuit it may be hoped was not yet invented!) to a Board member. This building, patched up at brief intervals, housed the school for the entire period which comes within the compass of this tale.

I.—THE NEW RÉGIME

And now the school, prosperously installed, with master and assistant duly housed, and likely to bring credit upon the town, passed an unrecorded year, in uneventful peace we may suppose, until the suspicious eye of ecclesiastical authority fell upon it. In the summer of 1527, when Maître Jacques had been two years in office, the Dean, de Claudenat, remembered that the Board had failed to present their Schoolmaster to him before installing him, and announced that he felt the appointment of the *Rector Scholarum* to be *his* business, and that he proposed to appoint another than the present incumbent. The Board, after waiting a week for a full meeting to discuss this thunderbolt, immediately submitted, meekly voting to present Maître Jacques to the Dean, for the purpose of getting him properly installed. This seems to have been duly done, since, ten months later, Citreria was still in possession; but that the Dean and other agencies had made his a thorny path may be divined from the abrupt terms in which he framed the resignation he offered when his three year's engagement drew to a close. Coming before the meeting in April, 1528, he declared that he was no longer willing to serve beyond the coming Michaelmas when his term would have expired. Let the Board seek out another Master if they thought good. The Meeting, accepting the inevitable, voted to spend the remainder of the term in search of a successor to Maître Jacques, and also to advertise this vote far and wide with a view to attracting candidates.

Within a month the hoped-for candidate appeared, a stranger to Grenoble, one Antoine de Montlevin. The Board summoned him to

present himself and—careful this time to propitiate authority—held the necessary public reading in the refectory of the Minorites, and invited to it notables of both Church and State. These were duly present on June 29, 1528, the Chapter being represented in the person of one Robert Martin, Doctor of Theology, the *Parlement* by Georges de Saint Marcel d'Avanson, father of the more famous Jean d'Avanson. Secular authority had another support also in Antoine David, Secretary of the Province; and there was Maître Jacques de Citreria himself, come to lend a critical ear to the performance of his successor. The reading over, the Lord *Consuls*, representing the School-Board, presented their candidate to the Reverend Dean de Claudenat, who duly invested the schoolmaster with the rectorship, its rights, privileges and appurtenances.

Maître Antoine was an energetic schoolmaster enough. Without waiting for the end of his predecessor's term of office, he got a Committee appointed (Nov. 6 and 20) to see about repairs to the schoolhouse, the first of a long series of such, and on their report induced the Board to set about the matter; but under whatever auspices his incumbency had begun, he, no more than Citreria, could please the powers above the Town-Council. *Persona non grata* perhaps merely as the candidate of that body, he was, it is probable, of the unwelcome "new" type, free in opinion, smelling of that heresy Grenoble so peculiarly dreaded. Certain it is that he had hardly been in office a month, when the School Board met in a flurry—not in its usual Island Tower but in the "study" of a member—to discuss the outrageous fact that their schoolmaster had been jailed. Such imprisonment, they loudly declared, was prejudicial to the liberties of the Town, and they voted (Dec. 28) to call to account temporal and spiritual powers, the Lords of the *Parlement* and the Bishop of Grenoble. Three months sufficed to tame them! In March they met to discuss the subject afresh, but in how different a tone! They had discovered that the Grenoble *Official*—Inquisitor is to be understood—was responsible, and that heresy was involved in the affair. Judgment had by this time been given, and sentence passed on Montlevin. Condemned (March 19, 1529) to teach neither grammar nor theology, he was now petitioning the Lord *Consuls* to ask the Official "*Dominum Gratianopolitanum*" to remit the sentence and to induce the School Board to recompense their

Schoolmaster for lost time. With a brutality surely born of fear, their Schoolmaster was told that if he wished to ask clemency he could do so in his own name and that, as for the damages claimed, the Town owed him nothing, since his punishment had not been at its instance nor by its consent. Almost at once—the haste like the brutality, is that of men who have had a fright—the Board was debating the question of his successor, since Antoine de Montlevin could no longer “for certain reasons” (the usual euphemism for condemnation for heresy) govern the Grenoble schools.

II.—GUILLAUME DROIN

And thus the second schoolmaster under the new régime disappears from the Town records. Candidates for his place were not lacking. Most deserving of attention was Guillaume Droin, nominee, it came out quite simply, of the *Parlement*, protégé in particular of Avanson who, claiming a *parlementaire's* exasperating privilege of attending any Town Council meeting he chose, offered to contribute out of his own pocket to the exceptional salary demanded by Droin. What was there to do? The Council voted meekly to “call” Droin, and therewith stooped their necks to an old man of the sea. Droin remained their bitter burden for years, years so many that their dealings with him may serve as a thread upon which to hang this tale of schoolmasters. On the day following the introduction of his name, the Council assembled, again summoned by trumpet call, to deliberate under the watchful eye of Church and State. Avanson was present, not merely in the capacity of Councillor of the Province and delegate of the *Parlement*, but as chairman of a Committee of which the *Consuls* were the other members; and so Droin, in view of his “sufficiency and suitability of person,” was appointed at a salary not to exceed one hundred *livres tournois*. The question was decided by a rising vote obediently unanimous.

Peace, we may suppose, ensued, though of a sort clearly unprofitable to the cause of education in Grenoble; and the municipal archives are, for half a lustrum, silent on all questions of the schools, except as to renewal of a lease or the mending of a window. After that interval, there came from Droin (Sept. 1, 1531) the first of a long series of complaints punctuating like a melancholy refrain these records of the School Board's dealings with its schoolmasters. Of

the hundred livres due him annually, he had in two years received no more than twelve crowns, and moreover he wished to know in set terms whether the Town proposed to re-engage him. The Board was visibly embarrassed. The Town Treasury was low and there is not the slightest evidence that Avanson had ever paid, or ever would pay, his promised contribution. However, the Councillors agreed to consult the customs officers⁴ and to apply to Droin's salary anything that might be due from that source. And there the matter rested for some months, when a second demand (Jan. 12, 1532) from the schoolmaster produced assurance of indefinite re-engagement and a *mandat* on the treasurer for all salary due. Both were as a fact empty promises. A *mandat* was far from the equivalent of hard cash; it simply directed the treasurer, or perhaps the customs officer, to pay money if or when he had it, and this *mandat*, for one, turned out wholly illusory. In the matter of re-engagement also the Board were treacherous. Six months later (July 5), meeting in their garden, they listened like conspirators to two citizens who had news of a promising and willing candidate for Droin's post, one Antoine Oudremarc⁵ a native of Picardy, formerly of Romans, now teaching at Avignon. One of the reporting citizens knew him well and was ready to vouch for it that he was both learned and wise, "scientificum et sapientum"! The Board voted to write to him unknown to Droin and to ask for assurance of his willingness to accept the Grenoble schoolmastership supposing it offered. But Droin was stronger than the Council. In a fortnight he was again demanding his rights. He had served his three years and he desired payment in full and a definite re-engagement with increased salary. At a special meeting next day the Board surrendered. Shuffling would have been idle. Avanson was present in person, and Droin was engaged for three years with the usual, "salary, honors, rights and perquisites." And thus ended the first encounter between that schoolmaster and the Council that employed him. Little over one year of the three had elapsed when we find the Board (Oct. 31, 1533) mysteriously debating on its course in case Droin should

⁴ If it is permissible thus to translate the mysterious word *Barrerii*.

⁵ Elsewhere spelled *Hondremar* and *Hondremarc*. He returned later to Romans to teach, and died there in 1541. Cf. C. Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte Marthe*, p. 74 et seq.

announce his return to take charge of the school. The reader may, as imagination dictates, fancy him wilfully prolonging a vacation, banished for some offence, or recovering from illness where contagion was dreaded—the plague perhaps. It is more probable, however, that Droin had in fact absented himself in sulks because he was not allowed to “keep open school,” whatever may be the import of that intriguing phrase. Droin might return if he wished, but he should not “keep open school.” This the Board firmly reiterated. Their schoolmaster taking however no advantage of this permission, the Councillors, distraught by a sense of the loss of precious time on the part of the schoolboys, wrote him a summons to appear before the *Consuls* and discuss the whole matter of the school, so that the *Consuls* might come to a decision about “his request,” whatever that may have been. And there the matter drops; but Droin in all probability gained his point a second time, for he remained in office, and engaged as assistant *bachelor* during the ensuing year a certain Maitre de Janta.

And now we may picture the school personnel as composed of Master—indifferently known as *Rector* or *Preceptor*—assistant *Bachelor*, and *Pedagogues*—private tutors helping their pupils to prepare their lessons and, the more readily to do so, themselves bound to attend all the lectures or lessons of the School. These *pedagogues* were a troublesome element; not a schoolmaster in the Dauphiné but must sooner or later complain of them. Engaged as they were by private families, very generally those of burghers of importance, or even of Council members, they had the ear of their employers, who were ready enough to take their part in any quarrel with the Masters.

Such was brewing now. The new bachelor, de Janta, was a man of questionable morals and manners both, and the *Consuls* had, not once but many times, remonstrated with his superior on the subject. Droin promised to dismiss de Janta but did nothing of the kind, and the *Pedagogues*, bitterly incensed at having to attend the bachelor's lectures and stomach his scorn, were hardly more contented with Droin himself, lax and lazy in the security of his place. After a year of discontent, quarrels and encounters the storm burst, and Droin was haled before the Town Council. Their meeting place on this occasion, the Minorites' Refectory, marked its importance; the

large attendance, the interest it aroused. The gathering wore indeed the air rather of Town-Assembly than of mere School-Board meeting. The Town Attorney, Pou Actuher, was present, and—for the opposition, since Avanson was not there—Denis Chappuis, Secretary of the Province; present also two or three other “Doctors of the Town,”⁶ Ennemond Gallifet, Pierre Civat, Rolland Lesmois, such solid burghers, too, as Jean Chausson the armourer, or the merchants Jean Maxim, Aymer Bouguignon, Anthoine Constantin, besides many nobles and mere “masters,” plain citizens, two of whom sent their servants as proxies. Before this competent assembly, six or seven *pedagogues* took up the tale of Droin’s misdeed. He neglected the reading to their pupils of “Grammatic authors,” or if he did expound these, he wished to charge extra for the lesson. He even tried to charge extra for candles under false pretenses. Candles! And no lectures given before eight o’clock of the morning! Worse than that, the schoolmaster was noisy, often even drunk, and, for a climax, still retained as assistant the offensive de Janta. The *pedagogues* had, though in all reverence, remonstrated with the schoolmaster on the subject of his *bachelor* and had been insulted and browbeaten for their pains. Doing their proper duty therefore in complaint, they hoped that the Lord Citizens would look into the matter. As this was not the first complaint that the *Consuls*, at least, had heard on the same subject, the Meeting decided that the Town must seek a new schoolmaster, preferably—having had their fill of local excellence—someone from a distance, and that Droin, however complained of, must meanwhile be duly paid and honorably discharged. So much deference was due it seems to a nominee of *Parlement*.

But an old man of the sea is not so easily shaken off. Droin might be a drunkard and incompetent but he was faultlessly orthodox, and this, we may take it, scored for him his third victory over the Council. For he *was* victoriously still in office the Spring after the great meeting, and had complaints of his own to bring before the Board, complaints of Scholars come the long way from Parisian establishments to open private schools in Grenoble, complaints of pay as usual in arrears (April 30, 1535). The Board took the Pa-

⁶ This phrase cannot refer to Doctors of the University of Grenoble, founded in 1339, for that had passed out of existence by 1452, and was only restored in 1543. Cf. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe* (Oxford, 1895), vol. 2, p. 181.

risian schoolmasters as seriously as could be desired, and, in the matter of Droin's pay, produced one crown on account. Presuming, it may be, upon the Council's helplessness where a protégé of powerful interests was concerned, Droin,—whether by way of protest at niggardly dealings, or at impertinent censure of his conduct—next, at a large and formal meeting early in the following year (1536), went through the form of resigning his post. Whatever his intention may have been, the Council, fortified no doubt by the crowded attendance of fellow-townsmen, took him at his word, voting, with what a sigh of relief may be imagined, to seek some other schoolmaster in good earnest.

Almost at once the Board began negotiations with one Guigues Didier del Scripto; was soon interviewing him and signing agreements with him. Del Scripto's letters and contracts were duly submitted to the *Parlement* for opinion (Feb. 6 and 11, 1536), its sanction of the agreement with him was emphatically emphasized in the minutes, and the new schoolmaster was soon in what had all the air of complete possession. With the Spring he gave an exhibition of his school's attainments, and a week later presented an assistant for the Board's consideration.

III.—HUBERT SUSANNÉE

By his choice of candidate for this post (April 21), Maître Didier showed what stuff he himself was made of, for Hubert Susannée,⁷ his nominee, was already a very distinguished young man, a sprig of the new learning, an author with at least two Latin works^{7a} to his credit; editor also of the *Christus* of the poet Pierre Rosset,⁸ famous then, now as completely forgotten. Posterity must in these pages

⁷ Thus spelled in the Grenoble archives where they slip from Latin into French. The usual spelling is 'Susanneau' (cf. Tilley, *Literature of the French Renaissance*), or 'Sussanneus' (Niceron). La Croix du Maine gives his version, with good and sound reasons, as 'Susan' or 'de Susan.'

^{7a} *Apologia Petri Sutoris doctoris theologi carthusianae professionis adversum damnatum Lutheri heresii de votis monasticis*. Paris, 1531.

Dictionarium Ciceronianum auctore Huberto Sussannaeo Suessionensi, ubi uno in conspectu positae definitiones plurimae et uocabulorum multorum interpretationes uidebuntur. Epigrammatum eiusdem libellus. Paris, 1536 (Sim. Colin.).

⁸ Petri Rosseti poetae laureati *Christus*, nunc primum in lucem aeditus. Paris, 1534 (Sim. Colin.).

accord, like the Grenoble Council, more attention to Susannée than to other schoolmasters, for he proved himself in the course of his life an industrious editor and a prolific author of some merit. At the time he was presented to the School Board of Grenoble in April 1536, he had upon him all the fresh glamour of serious authorship—a glamour how faded since that day!—for only in March he had published in a single volume a Ciceronian Dictionary, first of its kind,⁹ and a book of Epigrams. The compilation of this Ciceronian Dictionary implied more than industry; a certain independence of judgment is indicated in the publication of such a work only a few years after the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus had awakened rage and laughter by its fancy of the Ciceronian lexicon of Nosoponus. In the sixteenth century, travel hardly less than authorship, gave a man distinction, travel above all in the storied land of Italy; and del Scripto's young latinist had not only travelled in Burgundy, but had lately crossed the Alps, taking a holiday from his teaching in Paris. He had lectured in the schools of Turin and had made the pious pilgrimage to Mantua. En route, at Lyons, he had worked with the great Gryphe at proofreading and had formed acquaintance with the humanist Etienne Dolet.¹⁰ If his friendships may give the measure of a man, those of Susannée augured well, for he reckoned also among his friends, Salmon Macrin, the famous and favored Latin poet; Toussaint, the "Royal Lecturer"; de la Ruelle, theologian of Poitiers; even John Sturm and the great Budé;¹¹ and was a protégé of the powerful Philippe de Cossé, Bishop of Coutances.¹² If there was, in the names of Dolet, de la Ruelle and, above all, of Sturm, as in Susannée's professed admiration for Marguerite of Navarre, something to give the Council pause, Susannée's own works were there to reassure them as to his orthodox attitude. Had he not written an *Apology* for the Carthusian, Pierre Sutor, "*Against the Damnable Lutheran Heresy of Monastic Vows*"?¹³

⁹ The only earlier dictionary of the sort with which I am acquainted is not drawn exclusively from Cicero: B. Ricci, *Ex Cic., Caes., Sallust., Terent., Plant., Dictionarium*. Venice, 1533.

¹⁰ All these details are derived from the dedication of his "Ciceronian Dictionary" to Philippe de Cossé. *Dict. Cic.*, fol. 2 v°. Cf. C. Ruutz-Rees, "The Record of a Visit to J. C. Scaliger," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. 4, p. 246.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 3 r°.

¹² Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 2 v°.

¹³ Cf. above, note 7a.

Had he not indited a poem to that bigoted bulwark of ecclesiastic conservatism, Beda, of the University?¹⁴ Even if doubtful tenets had ever held his attention he had in his recently published epigrams bidden them a light Horatian farewell:

“Stultas, Claudia, curiositates,
Mittamus levium Lutheranorum;
Vivamus placide, bene et quiete.
Quodque Ecclesia Sancta sanxit, omnes
Amplectamur et audiamus omnes,”¹⁵

and so on. The “interval” from Horace doubtless struck the Grenoble School Board less than the reassuring nature of the sentiments. And moreover, had not a poet of their own, Ennemond Daviolet, recommended Susannée’s book to Laurent Aleman,¹⁶ the Bishop of Grenoble himself?

Beyond question the *Bachelor* was “safe” as he was distinguished. He was also, it appeared, a really learned, competent and enthusiastic teacher. At least moderately versed in Greek,—an attainment which at that date proclaimed a man of unusual parts,—a thorough Latinist, who had at the early age of nineteen shown his interest in classic editions by a contribution of verses to Nicholas Brissée’s edition of *Terentianus*,¹⁷ a devout Ciceronian, yet still more ardent in admiration of the divine Virgil, he would be able, it seemed, to awaken response in pupils invited with contagious enthusiasm to the perusal of the classics. Traces of his pedagogic methods survive in his first book of Epigrams, as well as in later works. His habit was to affix to his school doors a brief metrical argument of the work he proposed to expound. At Turin, for example, he proclaimed in iambs that on certain days at four o’clock—“hora

¹⁴ Published in the *Diadema Monachorum* of Smaragdus, 1532 (*cit.* M. Renouard, *Bibliogr. des Œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius*, Paris, 1908), vol. 3, p. 259.

¹⁵ *Dic. Cic.*, fol. 77 r°.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, fol. 68 v°.

¹⁷ Addressed to the Reader and (ignoring the Milan and Venice editions of 1497 and 1503) crediting Brissée with rescuing Terentianus from the Shades: *De literis, pedibus et metris tractatus*, Nicolas Brissaeo commentatore et emendatore. Paris, 1531 (Sim. Colin.), fol. 2 v°.

quater quarta"—he would expound *Cicero against Sallust*, while on alternate days—here Sapphics replace iambs—he would read Quintilian to such good purpose as to provide his auditors with quotations in support of their own argumentative positions or in refutation of opponents.¹⁸ In Paris he enticed students to hear him read the *Georgics* with the words: "I will tell you what the Mantuan poet said of the cultivation of fields and flocks, of the planting of trees, if you will spare me but one hour."¹⁹ The third book of the *Aeneid* he was wont to dispatch, it would appear, in a single lesson: "I am prepared to relate at the accustomed hour whither came, when Ilium was burned, golden Dione's pious son seeking his ancient motherland to become founder of the Dominant City, how bold he sailed along rocky coasts, and how bewailed his father lost."²⁰ Nor did our *bachelor* confine himself to mere intellectual menus. Trying his hand at *Elegiacs* as a vehicle of persuasion to the study of eloquence, he reminded his Italian students that

without eloquence years are sad, useless, empty; days are without light. Eloquence opens the motions of the mind, soothes savage breasts, robs angry hearts of harm, yet can reawaken rage and call to arms. Without this lovely gift of speech, this tender task of the lips, no manner of life is held in honor. Let soft Persuasion guide and polish speech, and she will make her devotee almost a god in his own country.²¹

It was *Elegiacs* again that he nailed up in anticipation of a first lesson on his return from Italy to Paris, announcing that

he would trace in outline the work of Virgil, but that to secure an attentive hearing he would first inform his hearers that he himself had braved snows and crossed mountains high as Heaven, to visit the famous Assemblies of the Italian Schools, to see the monuments of the roads, the wondrous works of the Dominant City; that he had seen Mantua too, and there filled his mind afresh with Virgil. *Therefore* he would on the morrow lay the needful foundations for a journey to the grottoes of the Muses.²²

And this accomplished man, classicist, hellenist even, this learned author, was ready to put his experience and talents at the

¹⁸ *Dic. Cic.*, fol. 73 v°.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 77 v°.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Op. cit.*, fol. 74 r°.

²² *Op. cit.*, fol. 77 v°.

service of the Grenoble Schools in the capacity of a mere assistant *bachelor*! Something mysterious there was, some certain flaw there must be. The Board showed marked caution about engaging this paragon. They would lay themselves open to no censure or interference, but duly voted to consult the *Parlement* "and thence determine." But they had reckoned without their Droin! His resignation seems to have been a mere feint and, although the Council had outwitted him by getting the appointment of his successor, Guigues Didier, ratified before he had time to rescind, he could still count on powerful protectors to prevent the appointment of an assistant which would close to him all avenues of return. The Dean's Vicar, Antoine Guiffrey, came to his help by flatly refusing to install Susannée, and within a week the harassed Council was meeting in extra session to discuss this situation, and to debate whether or no to offer Droin, for quiet's sake—"pro pace habenda"—in case he wished to remain in Grenoble, twenty five *livres tournois*. Wisdom concluded to abide by the decision of *Parlement*, to whom the whole affair was on the very next day (May 5, 1536) to be referred, weighted with the promise that Droin, if he wished to remain, should receive all proper respect due to him. To Droin himself however "all proper respect" spelled more than twenty five *livres tournois*, and Droin had his way. *Parlement* would indeed let the town off with an annual twenty five *livres tournois* as sop to their favorite, but Didier del Scripto must pay him, *as assistant*, fifty of his allowance in addition. Susannée the Town might also, if it wished, retain as co-assistant with Droin, providing each with his proper school room. As to their paragon's stipend, or its provenance, the records are silent, and Avanson's talked-of contribution to the salary of Droin had meanwhile dropped completely out of sight. In any event the new arrangement was duly embodied in a deed and Susannée formally installed. Droin's star was however in the ascendant, and we may fancy him reckoning up with gusto his fourth triumph over the unfortunate School Board of Grenoble.

For a brief while school work amid such dislocating compromise proceeded to all appearance peacefully enough. Susannée, who alone of the three masters has left traces of his activities, settled down to teach his Virgil in the manner he had made his own. There remains to remind us of it his invitation to his lesson on the eleventh

book of the Aeneid, "wherein the industrious bard sets forth the bitter force of Fortune and how all things are on the knees of the Gods";²³ or his concise abstract of the whole Aeneid:

Navigat, errat, amat, casus tibi, Dido, recenset,
Ludit, it ad Manes Tros, orat, hostis obit." [?]
*Complexio Aeneidos Virg.*²⁴

Humor gave sparkle to Susannée's teaching even in an age too eager for learning to need such enhancements. It gleams out of a brief playful *Ars Poetica* addressed to one ambitious pupil, afire to write immortal elegies not doomed to become wrappings for fish and pepper:

Five things let him emulate: in the hexameter the weight of Maro, the fluent facility of Ovid in the pentameter, in the whole the point of Martial, style of Cicero, matter of Socrates. Nothing further is required of an Elegy!²⁵

School and school work did not fill up the measure of Susannée's activities. He had enough Greek to try his hand at Homeric translations, and we have still, to judge him by, a translation into Latin elegiacs of part of the third book of the Iliad.²⁶ At a time when translators were little held to account, Susannée kept his translation strikingly close to the original and even gave it a grace of its own. The burghers of Grenoble must have taken it as earnest of the nimbus of Renaissance glory with which their new *bachelor* was to adorn the town. Alas for such hope! Their famous *bachelor* included drinking songs among his *Ludi*, some mere imaginative bacchanalia,²⁷ others whose burden was probably near the fact.²⁸ Because he drank strong unmixed wine, the wicked called him ill names, him the poet! No dithyrambs from him if he must needs drink water! Good poets must drink, as was the Grecian custom.

²³ *Huberti Sussanaei legum et medicinae doctoris Ludorum libri . . . accessit Enodatio aliquot vocabulorum quae in aliis Dictionariis non reperiuntur aut forte paucula aliter explicantur ex collectaneis ejusdem.* Paris, 1538 (Sim. Colin.), fol. 28 v°.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, fol. 8 r°.

²⁵ *De Elegiarum Venustate ad Puerum*; *op. cit.*, fol. 43 r°.

²⁶ *Ex Iliados Homericæ Tertio.* *Op. cit.*, fol. 30 r°.

²⁷ For example, *Bacchanalia*: *Op. cit.*, fol. 36 v°.

²⁸ For example, *In Severos*: *Op. cit.*, fol. 25 v°; *Ad puerum*, *ibid.*

And Plato and the Psalmist must bear witness for him to the refreshing power of wine.

There is little doubt that Susannée practised what he sang; and within a too brief time he had, in the words of the Town Chronicler, "proceeded to certain violences" and had, as a consequence, fled from the town. The School Board, whether their feeling were of relief or regret, were mainly concerned with but one aspect of the young schoolmaster's flight: they took his flight (Aug. 4, 1536)—and placed their conviction on formal record—as relieving them from all obligation of payment to Droin, thus imparting to that stipend the air of consolation money. And yet, now that it was vacant, they did not ask Droin to fill Susannée's place, but allowed Maître Guigues Didier to present a second nominee, one Guillaume Reynaud or Raynier, a Lyonnese, whom after some importunity on the part of their Headmaster they consented to appoint.

The Council was beginning to feel the affairs of the school a considerable burden. In the matter of a new *bachelor* Didier balked them of their wish to procrastinate, in the hope possibly of Susannée's penitent return; and moreover the Schoolhouse itself, rented as it was from a distinguished member of the Council, was in wretched repair—so ill-roofed that the leaks left no dry standing room for teachers at their tasks. That situation was delicate. The owner (one of themselves), Councillor d'Alphase,—in his other capacities the Reverend Prior Domeyn,—was difficult to bring to book, and, although a colleague was appointed a Committee of one to get him to mend the schoolhouse, willingly or otherwise, Domeyn proved recalcitrant, and the resourceful Didier cut the Gordian knot by attending, himself, to the repairs, and also getting himself somehow, not without trouble and worry, repaid in the end. These, however, were troubles insignificant enough. Others were smouldering, and were fanned into flame by the ever difficult *pedagogues*. Del Scripto, able and energetic as he was, had shown less discernment in his second than in his first choice of an assistant. Dissipated and violent as the unfortunate Susannée may have been, he had none the less set a standard of scholarship and ability of which his successor fell far short; and now the *pedagogues* led by the private tutor of a former influential member of the Town Council, Aymon Repellin, began complaining vociferously of his incompetence. The

School Board, concerned at finding itself in a delicate situation with one respected colleague after another, determined to set investigation afoot, and meanwhile, in order to clarify at once from another point of view the question at issue, ordered Maître Reynaud to nail to the Church door, and thereafter to defend, propositions and conclusions which should make clear to all his "sufficiency or insufficiency." The Town Advocate, Lord Pou Actuher, charged with the above-mentioned investigation, found that certain six pedagogues had uttered violent threats against the *bachelor*, while two priests of St. Mary's Church, Michael de Heyria and Philibert de Mont Eyard, had also intimidated him with promises of a beating and other maltreatment. Thus might aspiration for a higher standard of culture in the Public School get itself expressed in the sixteenth century! The pedagogues bound over to keep the peace, the misdeeds of the priests duly reported to their Dean, only the other side of truth remained to be revealed. Maître Reynaud, who had, it seems, taken the Board's first command lightly enough to neglect it, must, before this very Christmas, so the Council voted on the eighth day of December,—hold and defend those disputations, so that no townsman need doubt of his *bachelor's* sufficiency or insufficiency. But Maître Reynaud continued to put off the day; well into the new year he had done no more than nail his propositions to the Church door. His thesis was still undefended; the Board and the Town were still in doubt as to his sufficiency or insufficiency. The patience of the council came at last to an end. On a demand from Reynaud for wages, it was determined not to pay them until his disputation had been heard. This was done apparently within the next twenty-four hours; for, when two days later they met again, the question of Reynaud's "sufficiency or insufficiency" had been settled forever, and settled in the negative sense. And then it appeared that Droin was at the bottom of this as of other difficulties. Long did Maître Guigues Didier del Scripto discuss with the Board the "whole affair of Droin and Reynaud," offering at length, since Guillaume Reynaud was not satisfactory or sufficient, to resign and release the town from its agreement, even though he still felt himself entirely equal to the situation. The Board accepted this resignation, and thereupon, wonderful to relate and under what sudden irresistible external stress we can only guess, appointed as his suc-

cessor the unconquerable Droin. But if they must have Droin, they would have him with as little expense as might be. They were done with expensive assistants, distinguished or otherwise; Droin should have under him one or two *bachelors* "at thirty livres or so apiece." The Board added further to the humor of the situation by inviting Guigues Didier del Scripto himself to become "in consideration of his sufficiency, and past services" one of these *bachelors*; and, strangest of all, Maître Didier accepted the invitation. Here was victory for Droin indeed—his *fifth* victory, he may have noted complacently to himself.

The whole plan was put into effect; after some slight tentatives in other directions, a new *bachelor*, one Maître Reginald Belney, was engaged, and Droin himself formally installed with Maître Didier eating humble pie as *bachelor*. Some consideration for the latter the Council showed indeed. He was to sign the new *bachelor's* agreement, and pay the latter's salary. His own, not formally limited, was to be met by capitation fees supplementing a trifling ten *livres* from the Town Treasury, and he was to undertake the boarding and expenses of clerks and scholars. These expenses included, for the pupils, payment for lessons from *pedagogues*, and Maître Guigues was soon making the familiar complaint that these men took pupils in their private rooms and even at hours when properly appointed Masters were giving their lessons. The Board, a little out of patience one conceives, attempted to set the matter right by lecturing both parties to the quarrel—Masters no less than *Pedagogues*, as is duly noted (Feb. 23, 1537) by the Recording Secretary, who no doubt himself employed one of the latter. The tutors (thus the Board laid down the law) must attend all lectures as was the rule, must moreover show due respect and obedience to masters, must abstain from giving any grammar or other reading in their own room during those masters' lectures—all under penalty of chastisement. Masters meanwhile must abide by rules and regulations in giving those lectures. And then the Board was at the pains itself to compose a daily schedule of school work, a schedule which has for modern eyes the lively interest of contrast with similar instruments of our own day.

School was to begin at six o'clock in the morning with a lesson from Maître Reginald Belnay, *bachelor*; at seven Droin, *preceptor*,

and Didier del Scripto, *bachelor*, being allowed, it appears, in right of seniority an extra hour's sleep—must lecture each in his own room for an hour. At eight, the Headmaster was to set his pupils such exercises as he pleased, while the others were hearing “disputations both general and individual.” These were the last formal lessons of the morning; but work began again at one o'clock with lectures an hour in length from Droin and del Scripto, followed by another hour of teaching from Maître Reginald. Three to four o'clock was devoted anew to those “disputations both general and particular,” and at four Droin and del Scripto might give such lessons as seemed good to them. The school day ended at five, the hour of winter darkness, having lasted at briefest eleven hours, of which seven were given to work and four to dinner and recreation. Preparation, presumably implied in the exercises given by Droin, was limited to an hour, unless indeed the little martyrs of Grenoble added home-preparation to their day. Short of this, we may conclude that the passing centuries have but slightly altered the number of hours in a day actually devoted to an education, although they have so largely decreased the number of months in the year and lengthened the span of years so employed. Posterity, moreover, could hardly show more solicitude for child welfare than did the Grenoble School Board, devoting as it did in that Alpine country of long and early shadows the brightest unspoiled hours of morning to play.

To their admonitions and their plans, the School Board added a punitive clause. Master or *pedagogue* who failed to obey might look for expulsion from his post. But the *pedagogues*, conscious of strong support from their employers, were not so easily put down. They did not obey, and especially the private tutor of Maître Aymo Repellin did not obey. After two months of calm for the School Board, broken only by demands for the rent of the school house—whose frequency sheds light on the business habits of the educational authorities—Maître Didier appeared to complain of this *pedagogue*. To do so became the *bachelor's* business because Droin quite evidently was but a figurehead, a besotted figurehead it may be, while Repellin's tutor was indulging in what to the distracted Board must have seemed worse than drink—lessons given in his private room to his pupils, Aymo Repellin's sons no doubt. The tutor was in consequence summoned in person and admonished (April 30, 1537) not

at any time to hold private readings except the repetition of school lectures.

Maitre Didier and his *pedagogue* were no sooner disposed of than Droin came whining for an advance of salary, "to help his necessities." Figurehead or not, Droin could always make his importunities effective, and they now procured him twelve *livres tournois*. But Maitre Guigues Didier meanwhile had not been really disposed of: he had been acquiring a reputation for loose living, and chose the moment when this had been brought to the attention of the Board to ask for his just pay,—no advance, like Droin's, but money five months overdue, some of it to reimburse him for what he had paid the "insufficient" Reynaud. The Board, so generous to Droin, rather grudgingly demanded of Didier proof of his accounts, taking time to set on foot meanwhile a rapid enquiry about the Schoolmaster's own manner of life. But Maitre Guigues, producing his proof before the Council got theirs, got himself duly paid. He did more. Realizing that the best defense lies in attack, he followed up accusations made by a certain weighty Doctor of Laws of "obscure interpretations daily given by the Masters of the School, and other abuses," by himself promptly complaining of Maitre Reginald Belney, the *bachelor* who had been hired "at thirty *livres* or thereabouts," especially of his indifferent lectures and interpretations. He hoped the Council would look to the matter at once so that in future he himself might not be blamed. But what the School Board was really looking to was Didier's own private concerns. He had lately (July 13, 1537) been found in company of a woman of bad character and his superiors were even then again resolving to make prompt enquiry, "the prompter the better," into rumors on this subject, so that they might be free to seek a new schoolmaster, "some one suitable and sufficient to rule and govern the school." The fatuity of the profoundly optimistic employer informs the Board's perpetual pursuit of new Schoolmasters! In their minds Didier was already condemned, and no doubt knew the reason well enough, for he took the bull by the horns and resigned of his own accord at the next Council meeting, his resignation to take effect at Michaelmas; but although the Board decided, in accepting this resignation, that the choice of a new schoolmaster—Droin himself was frankly a man of straw—was of an importance to warrant calling a Town meeting, it was long past Michaelmas before anything further was done.

Suddenly their most galling difficulty was cleared from the path of the School Board by the elimination of Droin from the immediate question. The Town had been supplying him through one of the *Consuls* not only with small sums in diminution, frequently in advance, of his salary, but also with "merchandise." Although they seldom failed to comply with a request from him, they felt it a shocking drain on their resources to pay their large salary to Droin, who obviously clung to his sinecure and put his wages, one cannot doubt it, to use more or less scandalous. Hardly had they decided, before granting one of his usual requests for an advance, to go thoroughly into the question of the trifling amounts their Headmaster had at various times received, when Droin was taken ill, was lying on a sick bed,—the Secretary's phrase "*in grabato jacens*" adds an indefinable touch of squalor,—was giving the School Board in fact an admirable chance of filling his shoes. Admirable indeed, for here was Didier, still in office weeks after Michaelmas, coming to announce that the illness of his superior was like to be long, and to urge the Board to replace him, since the scholars of the Town were losing their time. No knowing what hopes Maitre Guigues may have cherished! If his own misdeeds of four months ago had perchance been forgotten, would not the harassed School Board take the shortest road to peace by appointing him? Zeal shone out of him. He was not only concerned for the School, but for the Schoolhouse in its usual state of unrepair. But the gods of the Grenoble School Board saw otherwise.

IV.—ADAM PRIMET

Months before (Jan. 8, 1537), when they were dismissing Reynaud, they had heard rumors of an admirable man, rumors reviving on Didier's resignation, seized upon now that they were at least for a term rid of Droin. The admirable man, Adam Primet, had had charge of the School at Crest, but had just resigned his post, and the Board instantly invited him to come to Grenoble, to come as soon as possible. Meanwhile, that all might be decently done, they voted that one of their number should visit Droin and relieve his necessities with a considerable sum towards payment of "whatever money might be due him from the Town." Within a month Primet, accepting the Board's invitation, appeared in Grenoble. In his way he was

as glittering a prize as Susannée had been, but his distinction lay in teaching rather than in literature. "A learned man, prudent and of good repute," he had had a long experience of teaching, both at Romans and at Crest, and was in every way a desirable incumbent; but fate had decreed that, well aware of his own excellence, he should use the Grenoble School Board with as little mercy, if with more ability than Droin. As a beginning, he was ready to serve the Town only if they would sign an agreement of his own making, a contract containing "many things out of the ordinary," in the words of the bewildered Council, to whose need of support a large Town meeting of notables and others responded next day, listening equally bewildered to the terms of that contract. These, preserved for us by a careful secretary, were direct and clear enough (Dec. 8, 1537): expenses for bringing wife and family from Crest; suitable house near the School until the Schoolhouse should be fit for the Master's habitation; two sous instead of one per month as capitation fee; absolute control of *pedagogues* by the Headmaster; a house in the country large enough for family and pupils, with cartage at the Town's expense, in case plague or other misfortune closed the school; a salary half as large again as that proposed by the Board, and compulsory education for the "little children of the A B C." Children, Primet asserted, must early learn proper pronunciation, and would learn this, besides good habits and the routine of school life, better in one year at the school than in two by the old method. The old method appears to have been instruction by a young pupil-teacher, "petit magister," who must be at his own lessons between whiles, leaving his charges to unruly play in their own room. This article the committee, appointed to "make the best possible bargain," succeeded in modifying by exception of the three winter months. Six o'clock of an Alpine winter morning was, thought the merciful Committee, too hard on the "little children of the A B C," aged, in those days, about five. The committee felt so, and Adam yielded the point. He yielded too to a slighter increase of capitation fee than he had proposed, and agreed that the increase of his salary might go to his wife for support of family and household. Thus the committee avoided a dangerous precedent, and thus Claude Girardonne, the Schoolmaster's wife, acquired a sort of economic independence, for the extra fifty *livres tournois* were always duly paid to her. On

all other points Adam was adamant and victorious, although another candidate appeared to underbid him and although the committee made two attempts to beat him down. A compensating advantage lay in the *Parlement's* hearty approval of the Board's choice. Adam Primet, however, had no mind to let his employers off a farthing. His expenses for coming to Grenoble and returning home must be met at once and an advance paid on his salary. This done, he departed to get wife and effects, and it devolved on the School Board to make ready for him.

The interval allowed them was a dismal one for the Council. Their treasury was low, the Schoolhouse in more than its usual urgent need of repair, the *Bachelor*, Reginald Belney, clamoring for his pay, Droin's vague claims to be settled, Guigues Didier still in the Town. Preparation for their businesslike new schoolmaster bristled with difficulty. To make, as cheaply as possible, even the most urgent and necessary repairs in the Schoolhouse exceeded their means, and, after applying in vain to Treasurer and Customs Officer, and even considering the exchange of their Flour-weighing-house against a new Schoolhouse, they procured a loan from one member of the Council, Fléard, and got another, Claude Chappuis, to undertake the repairs. In the midst of preparations, Maître Adam arrived, alert, determined, efficient, having left his family at Romans. His wants were, as before and as thereafter, explicit: his family must be brought from Romans, his Schoolhouse repaired without delay, his first quarter paid. The Council was at Adam's feet. Reginald Belney might whistle for his pay and his reimbursements; Droin could be fobbed off by a sop to one of his creditors, André Pouchat, copier of manuscripts; but Adam Primet the School Board paid (Jan. 18, 1538). They paid his wife also, and they arranged with the Town Carrier to convey family and baggage by boat down the Isère. Even here Maître Adam pressed them hard, exceeding his allowance for baggage by fifty barrels of wine and fifty sacks of flour and many other things besides, to the grievance of the carrier who insisted on extra pay. By March the Schoolhouse repairs were finally completed and Adam in peaceful possession, Guigues Didier becoming himself a mere *pedagogue*, his only capital a partial reimbursement for past repairs (to meet which the Council had been forced to suspend those in progress) and a warrant of the *Parlement* to collect by process of law his previous capitation fees.

Primet at once set about reorganizing the School, disciplining its *pedagogues*, reviving ancient customs, claiming for his school ancient privileges, revising its constitution and contracts. There was, for example, annual contest among scholars and *pedagogues* for the place of King or Cock of the Gymnasium, consisting in a struggle for the head of a wooden cock, after which the victor proceeded to the Church of St. Robert with great pomp and ceremony, the School following in procession. This year illness and death among notables of the Town promised to rob the occasion of its usual lustre. But Primet would not have it so. The Town Council must act as umpires between the disputants in the contest, must consent to waive all reasons against the usual ceremonies. And so, thanks to the new Master, the "honest boy Pierre de Mauldres" was formally declared Cock of the School with all accustomed rights and appurtenances, above his rival Jacques Gidod, Tutor of the Provincial Secretary Pizard, who on the testimony of divers scholars and *pedagogues* had but snatched the Cock's head violently from the boy's grasp after Pierre had duly torn it from the body of the wooden bird; and the School proceeded with their King to St. Robert's Monastery "with accustomed pomp and in the usual manner maintaining the rights and appurtenances belonging to them on this day." Again, carefully searching the School's foundation and constitution, Maître Adam discovered that an ancient privilege of the Dauphins entitled the School to a feast at the Monastery of St. Robert on the first Sunday in Lent; and he induced the Council (Feb. 21, 1538) to apply to the *Parlement* to enforce observance of the custom. There was no doubt of the entire efficiency of Adam Primet. The *pedagogues*—among whom was now to be numbered poor Guigues Didier, who after months of dunning was now at last fully paid for what he had disbursed—trying their usual tactics on Primet, by encouraging their pupils to play truant, and by themselves refusing to attend the School lectures, encountered new resistance. It did not suffice Maître Adam to complain to the Council, although he did so. He imposed his will upon the Board to such an extent (May 17, 1538) that they reproved their own First Consul, who, summoning employers to force their *pedagogues* to attend the School, had neglected to summon also the Lord President of the *Chambre des Comptes* and the Lord Auditor Gaultier. Under the spur of Primet's

insistence, they decreed that the mighty should be summoned like the rest to discipline their tutors, or, failing to act, should, like the rest be prosecuted before *Parlement*. Meanwhile they handed over to their schoolmaster for revision the original Constitution of the School, dealing among other things with the rights and duties of *pedagogues*. Rectified by him, it should on their own demand be enforced by the *Parlement*.²⁰

Maitre Adam, equally energetic in pushing for the eternal repairs on the Schoolhouse leaking as usual, got himself commissioned to make said repairs, obtained moreover promise of a new classroom, even attempted (vainly as it proved) to get the School housed afresh. Good service, admirable results—these the Town might look for from its Schoolmaster, might also look however for strictest business dealings and scrupulous regard for his own interest. Not a penny nor a moment would Adam Primet abate of his due. He insisted on being promptly paid for moving his family from Crest to Romans. Briskly ready with accounts all prepared for inspection, he gave the Board their first lesson in the treatment he looked for at their hands. Their second lesson was sharper. Payment of Maitre Adam's first quarter's salary and of his wife's allowance having been neglected for some twelve days, the schoolmaster not only firmly claimed it (May 24, 1538), but insisted on receiving then and there a properly dated draft for each quarter of his three years' engagement. The Council, usually so dilatory in all payments, made out the draft on the spot, and paid also with equal promptness Primet's bill for Schoolhouse repairs. Maitre Adam even a little exploited his complaisant Town Council: he obtained two hundred fagots from the Town Hall to warm his house, the Council anxiously stipulating that this should not be taken as a precedent (for less favored incumbents no doubt); when, on Dec. 20, 1538, by importing enough wine for his entire school, he overstepped the allowance he might bring in for his own use, duty-free, as he had so outrageously overstepped his allowance for cartage, the Board indulgently allowed the practise, to the Treasurer's indignation; if they would not on his request collect his "infant class" bills for him, they fully authorized him by warrant of law to do so for himself.

There was only one point on which the School Board dealt firmly

²⁰ Cf. C. Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de St. Marthe*, N. Y., 1910.

with its schoolmaster. It was Maître Adam's business to supply the school out of his allowance with two *bachelors*, and, for reasons obvious enough considering his attitude about money, he had neglected to engage a second, took indeed not the least step in that direction for a year at least. Here the School Board was inclined to press him (Jan. 8, 1539), and he seems to have got so far as to indicate at least where his choice would ultimately fall. He had kept up relations with Romans, where he had formerly taught, and had doubtless heard of the arrival there of a brilliant young scholar, Charles de Sainte Marthe. This young man was, like Susannée, a really accomplished scholar and an experienced schoolmaster, Doctor of law and of theology, and of a singularly gifted mind. Fluent, like every educated man of the time, in Latin as in his mother tongue, he possessed Greek also, in this regard more singularly like Susannée, and even had some knowledge, at this date perhaps but rudimentary, of Hebrew. Not yet an author in any real sense, he had set fugitive verse from his pen circulating in enlightened quarters. As schoolmaster, he had taken part in the inception of new methods and new organizations at the Collège de Guyenne, and had lectured as professor at Poitiers. That Town he had left under a cloud, suspected of heterodox opinions, an open admirer of Calvin, openly in touch indeed with the little group of followers Calvin had left there. If Adam Primet knew this, it indicates what would in the Town's eyes certainly have been a weakness in his perfection. Except for this—or were this unknown—the choice of Sainte Marthe as *bachelor* would but add to Primet's laurels.

Sainte Marthe's name was first mentioned at a meeting early in 1539; but precisely at this juncture the Town Council found its hands full of other matters, itself engaged in an acrimonious quarrel with the *Parlement*, a quarrel which, in one form or another, extended over decades. The lawyers of the Town had obtained from the *Parlement* a decree releasing them from the payment of imposts, a curtailment of its resources bitterly resented by the Town Council, which decided to appeal from the *Parlement* to the Royal Court. In the midst of the dispute two Councillors of the *Parlement*, Ennemond Mulet and François Faysan, appearing at a Council Meeting to watch proceedings, a lawyer present rashly exclaimed: "By the Living God, if anyone says a word or makes the least objection,

these gentlemen are here to imprison him and see him branded!" And in fact Mulet took upon himself to forbid any meeting of the Council during the pleasure of the *Parlement*. The *Consuls* thereupon objected to the two magistrates' presence, who as a fact were within their rights, and, as a result, two of these four officers were sent to prison. On a formal petition to the *Parlement* from the imprisoned *Consuls* that the Council might be allowed to meet again, and that Mulet's decree might be annulled, the renewal of meetings was sanctioned, but the prisoners remained, awaiting trial. By February, the quarrel was at least intermitted and, as three of the four *Consuls* were present at a meeting, we may presume their colleague also free. Mulet and Fayson however, as will hereafter appear, like Kings, "if they digested their anger for that day still cherished their grudge in their breasts to fulfill it." Meanwhile it was months before the Town Council could turn its attention to the School and its need of a second *bachelor*.

In October there was a letter to read from Sainte Marthe asking if the Town had any serious intentions with regard to him. What the School Board wished clearly understood and formally stated was, what Primet, who had not in this particular kept nor observed the terms of his contract, expected of them with regard to his second assistant. What Primet really looked for was, as might have been guessed, an extra allowance for the second *bachelor*. The Council (they had lost the habit of refusing point-blank even unwarrantable demands coming from their beloved Primet) spent two days (Oct. 26-28) in consideration, enquiring meanwhile by letter from Sainte Marthe what he himself expected. Saint Marthe, prompt in reply as Primet, had within a week formulated his requirements: board and lodging for himself and his servant, and, for wages, three crowns a month, monthly paid. At this point it was that, for once, the Board showed itself capable of firmness towards its favorite, for they voted to hold Maître Adam to his agreement on pain of themselves making choice of a *bachelor*, and came out with a flat refusal of increase in allowance even of one penny beyond what had been agreed upon with Adam. But it was in vain that they strove against their schoolmaster, who simply let the matter lapse—silently daring them, we may fancy, to foist upon him any *bachelor* of their own choosing. And Charles de Sainte Marthe was not engaged as *bachelor*.

What meanwhile, we may ask, had become of Droin, the encumbrance? Risen from his sick bed, he had found himself quite informally, so far as the enquirer can discern, supplanted by the brisk Adam Primet. He was now merely "*olim preceptor scholarum prae-sentis civitatis*," and he was in dire need, begging the Board, from time to time, for the love of God to relieve his necessities by paying him what they owed. The Council in exasperating contrast to its promptness with Primet, doled out to him here a dribble of seventeen florins just received for pikes furnished to the King's army "beyond the mountains," there a dribble of twenty florins by way of a draft on the treasurer—all under a growing sense that Droin's receipts must be looked up and the question of what might be really owing to him properly elucidated. A Committee was even appointed to search these receipts and thus relieve the Board from the result of its careless business habits. Droin, for his part, took a leaf out of Primet's book of firmness and threatened to sue if he were not paid the four hundred crowns—no uncertainty on that subject in Droin's mind!—due him from the Town, and was rewarded with another twenty florins to keep him quiet. If the *Parlement* had not forgotten their protégé, they did not perhaps care to risk a new subject of quarrel by espousing his cause. They made, in any event, no effort to get him re-instated, and Droin, in despair, opened a private school. It must have been a timid venture if it hoped to escape the notice of the determined Primet. It failed in any case to do so, and Droin was ordered to send his pupils to the big School, "as was reasonable." But just as his fortunes seemed to ebb, the tide turned.

V.—AGAIN SUSANNÉE

After a brief two years of service, the capable headstrong school-master Primet lay dead, and the Council met sadly enough to discuss the question of a successor "since Maitre Adam Primet had lately passed from life to death" and had left the school without a single teacher, Maitre Reginald Belney having somehow disappeared. Droin himself must have been astonished that his name ("Droin Sçavant") should come under discussion when the Council was considering the immediate appointment of a successor to Adam to prevent the complete demoralisation of the schoolchildren. Men-

tion of it may have been due to the fact that two attorneys of the *Parlement* were present. Droin was, it is true, named last of three possible candidates, of whom Susannée was, surprisingly, the first, "a learned man and competent to govern the School"—no doubt of that—and, by good fortune, just returned on some errand to the Town of Grenoble. The name of the second candidate was that of Charles de Sainte Marthe, known so far only by reputation to the City Fathers, and at the moment living at Romans. The Council even discussed the possibility of engaging all three. If not that, the question was which of the three was the most suitable; for certainly all were open to objection. Susannée's previous conduct had assuredly not been that of a decorous schoolmaster, Sainte Marthe was a man of dangerous opinions and associations, Droin an incapable sickly sot bolstered up by favor of *Parlement*.

The Council ended by appointing Susannée as Headmaster for some months at least, choosing wisely enough the least of these evils. We can almost hear them balancing between recollection of those "certain violences" and that flight from the town on the one hand and desire, on the other, for the prestige—greatly augmented during his year's absence—which Susannée could give the School. That schoolmaster, whatever his faults, was not an idler. Since leaving the town he had gained the doctorates of Medicine and of Law⁸⁰ and had enhanced his literary repute by the publication of a poem, *Europae Lamentatio*,⁸¹ a treatise on versification,⁸² a book of Latin *Ludi*⁸³ and a commentary on rare Latin words and locutions,⁸⁴ and was now engaged upon an edition of Virgil.⁸⁵ He had largely broadened his connections, and Grenoble might boast its school-

⁸⁰ He uses the titles first in the volume of *Ludi*, published in 1538. Cf. note 23.

⁸¹ *Oratio Laudatoria pro Francisco Valesio . . . per L. Campestrum. . . . In fine addita Europae Lamentatio ad regem Christianissimum carmine heroico eleganter scripta autore Huberto Susanneo Suessionensi, mirè orationi alludens.* (S. L. N. D.)

⁸² *De ratione componendorum carminum et Quantitatum Regulis generalibus opusculum* per H. Sussannaeum. Paris (P. Calvarinus), secunda editio, 1538. British Museum.

⁸³ Cf. above, note 23.

⁸⁴ Cf. above, note 23.

⁸⁵ *P. Virgilii Maronis Opera omnia diligentia P. H. Sussannaeum quam emendatissime excusa.* Paris. Jean Macé. 1540.

master a member of one of the most distinguished literary coteries of the day, numbering as he did among his friends and correspondents the two Scèves (Maurice³⁶ and Guillaume),³⁷ the great Rabelais,³⁸ and another distinguished physician, Charles Estienne,³⁹ brother of the famous Robert, the Latin poets Vulteius⁴⁰ and Jean Boysonnée,⁴¹ Barthelemy Aneau,⁴² known as yet only as a professor at Lyons and as author of a *Mystery* and a Christmas poem,⁴³ Pierre Galand,⁴⁴ not yet at the height of his distinction but a coming man, the great printer Simon de Colines,⁴⁵ the learned nun of Provence, Claude de Bectonne (or Bectoz).⁴⁶

As befitted a recognized intellectual personage, he had taken that active share on the orthodox side of the Ciceronian controversy naturally indicated by his Ciceronian Dictionary, and he had become the sworn admirer and ally of J. C. Scaliger, editing and bringing out the latter's second *Oration against Erasmus*.⁴⁷ This was to be on the "right" orthodox side where orthodoxy was of almost as much moment as in religion. In religion too Susannée was firm, and if further evidence were needed, he had dedicated an edition of Rosset's *Paulus*⁴⁸ to the uncompromising Jean Morin, *Lieutenant Criminel* of Paris, he who had in 1531 seized the books and papers of Calvin, after that Reformer's flight from Paris consequent upon that of Nicholas Cop, Rector of the University.⁴⁹ He had moreover been honored by Bishops and Presidents, and had made a name

³⁶ Cf. *Ludi*, fol. 27 r°.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 24 r°.

³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 41 r°.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 5 v°.

⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, fols. 13 v° and 29 r°.

⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 4 v°.

⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 14 r°.

⁴³ For the bibliography of Aneau as well as his life, cf. John L. Gerig, "Barthelemy Aneau," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. I, p. 181 *et seq.*

⁴⁴ Cf. *Ludi*, fol. 20 v°.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 23 v°.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, fol. 33 v°. Her identification with Susannée's "erudita puella Tolos." convincingly suggests itself. The name is frequently spelled Bectoz.

⁴⁷ *Julii Caesaris Scaligerii adversus Des. Erasmi dialogum Ciceron. oratio secunda*. Paris (P. Vidoue), 1537. Cf. C. Ruutz-Rees, "Record of a visit to J. C. Scaliger," *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. 4, p. 245.

⁴⁸ *P. Rosseti Poeti Laureati Paulus denuo in lucem aeditus et emaculatus explicatus a P. H. Sussanaeo*. Paris, 1537.

⁴⁹ Cf. Abel Lefranc, *La Jeunesse de Calvin*. Paris, 1888, p. 116.

among men of letters. Yes, Susannée was the man for the Headship, and he should (*nolens volens* is implied) be assisted by Droin with one lesson a day at a reasonable salary, and by another assistant also, Maître Claude, private tutor of the Secretary Matheron, unmentioned heretofore.

Sainte Marthe, the candidate who was known only by reputation, failed of appointment no doubt because the *Parlement* had heard that his orthodoxy had been blown upon elsewhere; but he seems nevertheless to have come confidently to Grenoble to seek the post of which he had had news. And, immediately seized and put into prison, he had reason enough to regret it. An accusation of heresy was made against him by François Fayson and by Theodore Mulet, a cousin of the Ennemond Mulet who had precipitated the quarrel of *Parlement* and Council, glad enough no doubt to reflect upon the religious soundness of the Town authorities by imprisoning on a charge of heresy one of their candidates. The Council made no move in his behalf but left him to his fate—of some four months' unhappy imprisonment. We have Sainte Marthe's own account of its miseries and of the bitter hardship of one later and longer.⁶⁰ The School Board, indeed, may be pardoned for failing to intervene on behalf of a mere unknown candidate when they had their hands full with their own schoolmasters; and in any event Sainte Marthe found other friends, members of the very *Parlement* itself: Jean Galbert and Jean Marcel d'Avanson, son of Droin's protector, a keen and enlightened young patron of letters, the generous friend, a decade or so later, of Ronsard and the rising new school of youthful poets. Through the efforts of these two the would-be schoolmaster was set free, and, perhaps through their efforts again, received a prompt appointment to a professorship at the newly reorganized *Collège de la Trinité* at Lyons, engaged to teach there Latin, Greek, Hebrew and "Gallic." That the man who had been imprisoned for heresy should win the regard of the most enlightened men in the *Parlement* which owed Susannée approval for his disavowal of such errors, that the teacher who had failed of appointment even as School assistant under him, should be called to Lyons to a post far better than his own was, to the violent nature of Susannée, matter enough for envy, founded perhaps in ancient dislike. He found a vehicle for

⁶⁰ Cf. C. Ruutz-Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 127 et seq.

his bitter spite in a Latin epigram accusing his rival of the worst hypocrisy.

Christ and His apostles were indeed, he wrote, in Sainte Marthe's mouth. They had preached poverty; but their disciple was insatiable of wealth and splendor, riding a fine horse, wearing silk, and lost in luxury.⁵¹

The accusation was probably ill founded enough, but there were grounds sufficient for the jealousy, for Susannée's was by contrast a galling situation.

The Council, feeling him and Droin a difficult pair to trust, imposed conditions with a heavy hand (Feb., 1540), Susannée's hundred *livres tournois* with "the usual profits and honors" must be docked to pay Maître Claude or, failing him, some other *bachelor* capable of giving "petites lectures." The Headmaster and Droin must needs go monthly to the Town Hall to report to the Committee especially appointed to look into the state of the School, and besides this the *Consuls* reserved in set terms the right to dismiss their schoolmaster without further ado if he gave them the smallest provocation: "S'il y a chose notable à dire en son administration" are the cautious words of the Council. Even Droin was better placed, at least so far as tenure of office went. Besides, he was to be paid those past wages for which he had previously clamored. Thirty *livres* was their sum as estimated by the School Board, and at least a quota of it was delivered to Droin the following month. But the Council lapsed from the careful habits Adam Primet had forced upon it. Susannée had to ask for his pay, "seeing his necessity." He received it at last, however, and dangling before Municipal eyes offers from Romans and Gap, wrung a new engagement of three years from the reviving confidence of the School Board.

The confidence was ill placed, as it turned out, although at the first hint of trouble when he had been assaulted and beaten by one François Daguin, Susannée proclaimed himself the injured party and seems to have convinced his Council, who professed themselves ready to investigate at least, and to take up their schoolmaster's

⁵¹ *Quantitates* Alexandri Galli vulgo de Villa Dei correctione adhibita ab Huberto Susannæo locupletæ, adjectis utilissimis adnotationibus minimeque vulgaribus. Accesserunt accentuum regulæ omnium absolutissimæ, ex variis doctissimis autoribus collectæ per eundem Susannæum. Additus est elegiarum ejusdem liber. Paris, 1542, fol. 70.

quarrel if it proved of concern to the Town. This was however but the beginning of Susannée's troubles. By December it was clear that he was at least considerably at fault in whatever quarrel was engaged. He had made breaches in the Schoolhouse doors, his object, the records allow us to fancy, to get at troublesome *pedagogues*. But this affair also blew over, although the first *Consul* himself was Susannée's accuser. Still, that the Council were uneasy is clear from the fact that some five months later they were, apparently without the knowledge of Susannée, considering a new chief Schoolmaster, one Maître Christian. They determined, before taking any action (May 17, 1541) to investigate with new thoroughness the morals, learning, breeding, loyalty of the new aspirant, yes, and to make sure that there clung to him no suspicion of "la scepte leuteriane." The Council had learned late but thoroughly that care and caution were needed in the selection of Schoolmasters.

They might have learned it from observing the fate of the unfortunate youth Sainte Marthe, whom they had thought of as possible successor to their estimable Adam Primet. That reckless scholar, after a brief career at Lyons, had proceeded to Geneva and had been elected by the Reformers Head of its struggling College.⁵² Preliminary to taking office, he returned to Grenoble or its neighborhood, to settle his affairs, and to seek his betrothed wife, and was instantly apprehended and imprisoned. At this very moment, he was suffering a particularly cruel imprisonment, destined to endure for two years. Sympathy might have been looked for from the Town Council in view of the fact that Mulet and Fayson, their arch enemies, were the active persecutors of their former candidate. Instead, they expressed their particular solicitude that no tinge of heresy should invalidate any candidate of theirs. They needed not Sainte Marthe's example to make them cautious; they had learned circumspection anew nearer home in the case of one of their constantly changing *bachelors*, who had been unable to serve for those fatal "certain reasons."

It was to replace this *bachelor* that negotiations with Maître Christian continued; for Susannée apparently reassured his superiors at least as to his intentions, and even set out for Lyons in the Christmas vacation, with an advance of salary in his pocket, to publish a

⁵² Cf. note 50.

work composed in praise of the Town of Grenoble, a work which has not, like his poetical accounts of his native Soissons, survived. This was not the only work Susannée had in hand. His edition of Virgil had been published during the first year of his Headship⁵³ and he was now probably occupied on Scholia to the *Moretus*⁵⁴ a pseudo work of Virgil, and on an edition of the *Quantitates* of Alexandre de Villedieu. Whatever Susannée's habits may have been, they did not interfere with indefatigable industry and profound interest in things of the mind, qualities which in the eyes of the School Board offset an irascible and violent temper, heightened by what must have been only occasional indulgence in drink. At the end of his second year's service, they re-engaged their Schoolmaster for a year (Dec. 30, 1541), although with the same galling condition that he might be paid up to the moment and dismissed on the moment's notice if he did anything "reprehensible or sinister." Respect for Susannée's judgment is apparent in the Council's choice for *bachelor* of his nominee instead of their own, viz., of Louis d'Arzago instead of Maître Christian, become obnoxious to Susannée no doubt as a possible rival. Susannée's salary was docked a quarter, however, to pay Arzago, who took entire charge of boarding-scholars and staff, reserving for Susannée two rooms of the Headmaster's own choice. Both Master and *bachelor* were bound "very carefully and diligently to teach and indoctrinate children and scholars in good manners, knowledge, letters and religion." Save for danger implied in the conditions of its Headmaster's contract, all promised well for the Grenoble School with Droin again a negligible quantity, the new *bachelor* a helpful second, and a keen student in charge.

But Damocles' sword fell before half the year was passed. Serious complaints of the Master were brought before the Council by two of its former members, Pierre Ponnat and Georges Figuel, supplemented by those of sixteen *pedagogues* embittered, we may not doubt, by recollection of those broken doors and other cases of discipline. Susannée, so ran the charge, was a man of evil life. When he had begun a book he did not continue in it further than two or three chapters and then began on a fresh one, was moreover a blasphemer of God and generally drunk, and set a bad example to the

⁵³ Cf. above, note 35.

⁵⁴ *P. Virgilii Maronis Moretum Scholia*. Paris, 1543.

pupils by wearing a sword, fighting with this one and that, neglecting his teaching, and being guilty too of various other violences and bad examples, to the great loss and prejudice of the children and pupils of the town. And then De Arzago his assistant—his own nominee—came offering, if Susannée were dismissed and he put in charge with the same salary, to provide two or three proper people to read in the schools, mentioning *Droin* the inevitable, “cognu à la Ville,” Maître Christian, who though not chosen was at Grenoble, one Gabriel de St. Marcellin and one Bruni, tutor of the children of Madame l’Audencière Portière “all learned men, all honorable folk.” The Council considering that the matters complained of with regard to Susannée were notorious in the town, decided to remove, expel and degrade Maître Hubert Susannée and to instal another master, and preceptor more suitable and sufficient. For their part, they would accept Louis de Arzago and present him to the Dean on condition that he find and pay suitable masters for the same salary as Susannée had had, which should accrue to him from that day on. Of all that concerned himself Susannée was duly informed by the Council, and commanded to leave the Schoolhouse within four days; to give no further readings and to consider himself as no longer in the pay of the Town. Susannée took the only course besides submission open to him and appealed from the decision to the *Parlement*.

Speculation as to the status of Droin, the Gadfly of the Town Council, naturally suggests itself. Negligible as a master, he was so neither as burden nor as creditor. His service with Susannée seems to have consisted in a series of demands for money beginning very shortly after his engagement to give that daily lesson, and he quite ignored the fact that the Town itself supposed that it had already liquidated its debt to him. His demands were usually met by the Council with a small dole, now and then with a resolution to look up receipts and remittances and to find out what was really due to their accustomed incubus; but their resolutions came to naught and Droin continued his dunning, first as an official *bachelor* duly in office, then for dark reasons, which lay no doubt in his own neglect, “formerly teacher in the Grenoble Schools.” Now, mentioned again by de Arzago as a suitable assistant, he took fresh courage to come begging in rags, and obtained “in view of his notorious and dire need” a sum

equal to a *bachelor's* yearly salary—which was to clothe and outfit him as well as to supply him with the necessaries of life. We may suppose from this that he was once more to be a *bachelor*, yet only three months later it was again as “former teacher in the Grenoble School” that he begged afresh for money due him from the past. The Council merely resolved for a second time that they really would look up receipts and know with certain knowledge what they owed Droin. More than a year later they passed another such resolution on another demand from Droin, doling out a trifle during investigation, and seven months later still they again passed, on a similar demand, a similar motion. In June of the same year they passed it with even greater determination for the fifth time. The very next Sunday (June 6, 1544), they determined they would search in the Town Hall for all receipts and other papers. The energy of this resolution was due to the fact that Maître Droin had begun suit to recover what was due him.

Meanwhile, since losing Susannée, the Council had passed through stormy times. De Arzago had engaged his *bachelors* (Droin one of them); had agreed with them as to hours, studies, etc.; and School settled down to a brief term of peace, brief indeed, for not only were two *bachelors* changed within a few months, for a single new one, Jean Camerit, but in half a year its Head departed—“hospite in Salutato” is the mysterious phrase—leaving no one in his place. His departure took place a brief three days after the School Board had, no doubt in desperation, delegated its power to a School Commission of three members, to whom fell the appointment of De Arzago's successor. Choice lighted upon one Maître Besson from Voyson, a man of standing, “discretion” and learning, ready to work with the assistant Jean Camerit, ready to attend to the boarding department, ready above all to give the pupils profitable training. After due public readings, due endorsement also by ecclesiastical authority, Maître Besson was installed, was after a demand on his part and Jean Camerit's put in possession of a proper contract, and was placed under control of the School Commission. Like all their predecessors, Maître Besson and Jean Camerit found it necessary to demand their pay, went even further than was necessary, and in February asked for their stipend in advance up to Easter, partly to equip the new *bachelor* whom Besson was bound by contract to

provide, and whom they now had in view. But the Board, not wholly released of its burden it would appear by the School Commissioners, was firm as to the advance, doled out however all that was due up to date. Besson and Camerit, master and man, had now to face that other trial of Grenoble Schoolmasters, the difficulties with *pedagogues*.

VI.—MAÎTRE AQUENS

The *pedagogues*, whatever faults lay at their door, had now at least some standards of scholarship and teaching to apply. Not in vain had they known, even if they had tormented, Primet and Sannée, and they now began to complain of the teaching of Camerit, of lessons badly interpreted, of idleness and neglect, nor less of Maître Besson's failure to provide his second *bachelor*. The *pedagogues* themselves had a suggestion ready. A suitable *bachelor* might be found in Aquens, a man it seems of great local reputation, a good club therefore to beat the Schoolmasters with. Here the School Commission showed their usefulness. When the matter was referred to them they dealt with it on the spot, gave a hearing to the *pedagogues*, and reported their complaints although weak in specific charges. The *pedagogues* had contemptuously challenged Jean Camerit to read in public from the "Grandmere" (the sixteenth century "First Reader") to show his capacity or the lack of it, and were so successful in their attack that the Council instructed Besson and Camerit to provide a second *bachelor*, recommending for their part the Maître Aquens of the *pedagogues*' choice. The Masters retorted that if not reduced to order the *pedagogues* would ruin the school and that, as for the third *bachelor*, they had brought one to Grenoble already, and asked for his acceptance. The Council, asking them to formulate their complaints in writing, set a time for a public reading by their candidate, the subject to be chosen by one of the School Commissioners. The Town was ready, in case he failed to prove his ability, to make another choice. This proved unnecessary; for their *bachelor* turned out capable enough to suit his judges, and the Schoolmasters crowned their victory by wresting from the Council the advance they had previously asked for in order to dress and equip him, since he had arrived in a condition of shabbiness intolerable in an assistant in the Grenoble School.

But in the end the *pedagogues*, however ill-tongued and unruly, proved to be in the right.

In May, 1543, the Council had to consider what course to take in view of the notorious neglect of duty of Besson and Camerit. The Schoolmasters had simply let the School go its own way for weeks, kept no hours, given no lectures. Maître Besson had also acquired an unsavory name in the matter of personal morals, and was reputed a *débauché*. To crown their crimes the *bachelor* who had passed his "reading," who was to be clothed and equipped with the money the Town had advanced, turned out to be a mere man of straw, made no appearance, gave no readings in the school, and the Council's patience came to an end. They proceeded to prosecute Besson with a view to getting him banished from the town; and Besson, plainly guilty, came offering to waive all rights, offering to release the Town from its agreements and to ask pay with proper allowance for furniture and building additions provided by him only to St. John Baptist Day. And thus the bargain was carried out, and Besson, and Camerit also, duly paid off with a *mandat*. But the rascals—such they were—were not so easily disposed of. Camerit, a traitor to the marrow, seeing him in trouble, turned against his superior, whom he accused of having charged his pupils more than was properly his due. The Commission had even undertaken to adjust this dispute, when suddenly discovering that something was amiss with the accounts of their two employees they rather hurriedly instructed the Treasurer not to honor the *mandats* until the Commissioners should have gone over the accounts once more. And this is the last we hear of Besson and Camerit, *Arcades ambo*.

Having shaken off these latest encumbrances, the Commissioners turned with relief to Besson's successor, already tacitly chosen, the same Maître Aquens whom they had wished to foist upon Besson as assistant. Him they duly put in possession of the school, as of the beds and other furniture purchased from Besson. Not that beds and furniture satisfied Aquens. Beside his first quarter in advance, he wanted, as was natural with all new Grenoble schoolmasters, his Schoolhouse repaired, for as usual this was badly needed, the roof being in its customary leaky state, master's desk and platform lacking, and desks and benches in need of mending. Eaves too, were

much to be desired. Why not have these, the Commission asked itself, like those of the Schools of Tournon, so admirably built for grace and use? The Town engaged in these repairs almost with enthusiasm, entertained also the idea of giving the School a playground enclosure, and went so far as to threaten its neighbors with expropriation for the purpose. These plans went briskly forward, part of the proposed court was without further ado to be enclosed towards the well, for the school was suffering from thirst; contracts were already in the carpenter's hands, when suddenly all such plans had to be sacrificed to an empty treasury. The Town had to make repairs on bridges and quays of the Drac, had to make them, Royal functionaries were insisting, with great thoroughness, and must therefore sacrifice their cherished School improvements (Sept. 22, 1543).

Maitre Aquens, having tasted the usual schoolmaster's troubles with the ramshackle Schoolhouse, was now introduced to those inherent in the Grenoble system. The *pedagogues* would no more honor his lectures with their presence than they would those of Droin, Besson or even of Adam Primet. But Aquens, a vigorous man, properly judging the future by the past, induced the Town Council to sue the recalcitrant *pedagogues* with a view to getting them banished if they did not do their duty. The *pedagogues* however got their revenge. In the spring Maitre Aquens, almost certainly at their instigation, was attacked and beaten; was insisting thereafter that the Town should investigate and engage in a lawsuit in his behalf, and in other respects showed himself almost a second Adam Primet. Energetically carrying on the school as he conceived that a modern school should be conducted, he arranged that his scholars should give a play, and without troubling to consult Commissioners and Council had a stage built, and ordered announcements of the scenes and even speeches printed, an expensive luxury in those days. The *Consuls*, exasperated at such freedom, put the performance out of the question by ordering the stage incontinently taken down, the wood carted off. Maitre Aquens, nothing daunted, at once bearded the School Board in their Tower to such good effect as to reduce them to submission, and the Council ended by declaring themselves willing to meet the expense involved, and for their part not prepared to interfere with the play if Maitre

Aquens desired it given. As further token of remorse, they promptly paid the quarter's salary due Maître Aquens at the end of the month. Maître Aquens asked for it, it is true, as, quite unabashed by previous rebuffs, he never failed to ask, either for money or for school-house repairs.

When the question of re-engagement arose, Aquens was quite firm in declaring that, in view no doubt of the discomforts and dangers to which Grenoble schoolmasters were subject, he must have higher pay if retained. To this the Council could not bring itself, being no doubt sheerly unable to pay more, but would willingly re-engage Aquens on the same pay, a proposal to which Aquens would not listen knowing himself a valuable man indeed, but consented to remain as *locum tenens* while the Board sought a new Master.

Supervision of the School during Aquens' time, as during others', had included for the School Board dealing with the claims of the ever insistent Droin. Not content with suing the Town, Droin appeared in person at a meeting demanding his money, and left the Board grimly resolved, as has been said, to search receipts and papers. Seeing the Council, however, determined to take the affair thoroughly in hand as it had never done before, at the intercession of friends he offered for thirty *livres tournois* to withdraw his suit, and to compromise with the Town—so entirely at his mercy, lacking those receipts,—by releasing the Board from all indebtedness (*tant par escript que sans escript*) for all time past up to the present moment. This compromise the Town, considering the time that Droin had served it and the salary promised him, taking also into consideration what had been paid him, readily accepted. The thirty *livres* were handed to Droin in exchange for a general receipt, to be kept no doubt precious forever—a saving document indeed.

This was the last of Droin, and here we take farewell of the Grenoble School Board, relieved of their ancient burden, Guillaume Droin, "Modern Preceptor of the Schools of the Present City" (to quote his official title), who whether as Headmaster, as *bachelor* or as Reader, had bent them to his will as he would, and had in return neither given them service nor brought them reputation. In fact, in the entire span of years we have been considering, the Grenoble School Board had secured but two thoroughly satisfactory Schoolmasters, Maître Adam Primet, and Maître Guillaume Aquens and

of these one had shortly died, and the other could not by any means be tempted to remain with them. We leave them relieved of a burden indeed for the moment, but entering upon a fresh cycle of their usual troubles—troubles of a nature to make any modern School Board thank their stars for a lot cast in a day when academic life, if keyed to a lower pitch of enthusiasm, moves to a steadier tempo.

C. RUUTZ-REES

GREENWICH, CONN.

ARE THE SPANISH ROMANCES WRITTEN IN QUATRAINS?—AND OTHER QUESTIONS

SINCE Milá's remarkable work on the development of the Old Spanish epic was published in 1874,¹ the field of theory has been held almost undisputed by Spanish critics. There has been, it is true, much discussion as to the metrical form of the *Poema del Cid*, but Milá's explanation of the rise of the historical *romances* was not seriously contested for a long period of years. In brief, he held that the long epics broke up into fragments, which, in the fifteenth century, were all that remained of them outside of manuscripts; that their disintegration furnished, by direct descent, the *romances* concerning medieval heroes, Fernán González, the Infantes de Lara, the Cid, etc. Gaston Paris came to accept this theory. Menéndez y Pelayo worked upon it without misgiving. Ramón Menéndez Pidal has made the utmost use of his unrivalled acquaintance with the *Crónicas* to strengthen it. It was in danger of being placed in the category of proved facts, whilst, in reality, there is in it a not inconsiderable share of inference.

Within the last few years Milá's theory has been sharply and suddenly attacked from two sides. Both of the assailants cannot be right, for their arguments are mutually destructive. Foulché-Delbosc, in an unfortunate and badly documented pamphlet,² undertook to show—or, rather, promised to show—that in reality the historical *romances* had no lineage at all, that they were composed shortly before they were first published, and were not connected with the epics, unless by literary influence. Nearly all the arguments of this splenetic essay, too lightly credited by Fitzmaurice-Kelly,³ have been riddled by R. Menéndez Pidal,⁴ and there remain standing,

¹ M. Milá y Fontanals: *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana. Obras completas*, tomo séptimo.

² *Essai sur les origines du Romancero. Prélude*. Paris, 1912.

³ *Litt. esp.* Paris, 1913, p. 134.

⁴ Directly in the *Revista de libros*, II (1914), 3-14; indirectly in the series of articles entitled *Poesía popular y romancero*, in *Rev. de filol. esp.*, I, 357-377; II, 1-20, 105-136, 329-338.

like the ruins of the city hall at Arras, only a few sentences on page 28:

"Il [R.M.P.] n'a pas prouvé que les vieux poèmes remaniés se soient continués en se modifiant jusqu'à l'époque des romances; il n'a pas prouvé que les romances aient pris naissance immédiatement après la récitation des poèmes épiques de la décadence par les jongleurs."

At the opposite extreme stands Professor H. R. Lang,⁵ who takes up with renewed enthusiasm and formidable erudition a theory formerly mentioned, but laid aside for lack of ammunition, namely, that octosyllabic epico-lyric poems, corresponding to the alleged French 'cantilènes,' existed throughout the Middle Ages in Spain, having been composed soon after the events which they celebrated, and that the historical *romances* are descendants of these short poems, which would date from the tenth century on. Just what place the long epics would occupy in the scheme he does not, I believe, indicate. Incidentally, or, indeed, as a chief objective, Lang brings new succor to Cornu's attempt to show that the Spanish epic meter was the same as the modern *romance* meter, that is, a line of 8 + 8. To this end he alleges the octosyllable as used in poems of the Galician school, desiring to prove it identical with the *romance* line.⁶ I do not intend to discuss his papers here: they are stimulat-

⁵ *Notes on the Metre of the Poem of the Cid*, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, V (1914), 1-30, 295-349.

⁶ Lang thinks that the "lost syllable" at the beginning of a line, or *anacrusis*, may help greatly to regularize the meter of the Poem of the Cid. The idea that this well-known phenomenon of the *arte mayor* and other early Spanish lyric verses might be applied to the O. S. epic and *mester de clerecía* was broached in the same year (1904) by Saroihandy (*Origine française du vers des romances espagnoles*, in *Mélanges Brunot*, pp. 311-322), and by Hanssen (*Sobre el metro del Poema de Fernán González*). The article of the former amounts to hardly more than a suggestion, backed by no proof. It was not accepted favorably by any critic that I know of. Hanssen wished to explain the 8-syllable hemistichs that occur among alexandrines in the *mester de clerecía* of López de Ayala, Juan Ruiz, and the *Poema de Fernán González*, by means of the "medio pie perdido," which for years he had been studying in lyric verse. Yet he only half believed in the explanation himself, as he showed on p. 21, by pointing out that Berceo used no such device, and that it is hard to say how the mixture of hemistichs came about: "Difícil es decir si la susodicha innovacion se introdujo voluntaria o involuntariamente; pero aunque en un principio haya sido falta de correccion, se debe suponer que despues se haya convertido en licencia lícita e intencional." (Cf. also Men. Pel.'s explanation, *Antol.*, XI, p. 97.) Later, in his review of RMP's *Cantar de Mio Cid*, vol. I (*Rev. de dial. rom.*, I, p. 454), he suggests:

ing, even if they reveal illogical moments. But I surmise that until some new *direct* evidence, in the shape of new specimens of epic verse, is brought to light, scholars will be slow to adopt a theory which is in some ways tempting, but enveloped in a fog like that of San Francisco bay in August. No intellectual glimmer, but only the sun of fact, will suffice to dissipate it.

Still more recently, Pio Rajna has turned his attention to the Spanish *romances*,⁷ and he brings to the consideration of them a

"Tal desigualdad [i.e., that in the 6- to 8-syllable hemistichs of lines 715-718 and 3615-3618, *Poema del Cid*] se podría explicar por la teoría de Sariohandy." In the *Bull. dial. rom.* IV (1912), p. 137, he believes the suppression or addition of an initial syllable the most likely explanation of the varying syllable count in the lines of Juan Ruiz; but adds: "creo que hay que distinguir rigurosamente entre dos corrientes diferentes: la composición amétrica que presenta el Poema del Cid y las licencias rítmicas que se encuentran en algunos metros castellanos (Seguidilla, Arte mayor)." With Hanssen holding this attitude, it is amazing to find Lang proceeding throughout his article on the assumption that the use of the "medio pie perdido" in O. S. epic verse is a fact which Hanssen has proved. There is no evidence that this phenomenon occurred in epic verse, and there is excellent reason to think the opposite. "Pour ce qui concerne la théorie du *pie perdido*, . . . je ne l'estime pas applicable au vers épique: il s'agit ici d'une licence propre à la poésie lyrique artistique," says Morel-Fatio (*Rom.*, XXVI, 319); and I agree, though the last word might perhaps need modification. If this license were a part of all verse structure in the Middle Ages, why did not Berceo use it? If in the fifteenth century, why is it unknown to *romance* verse of that time? Nebrija describes at much length the use of the "medio pie perdido" in the *verso de arte mayor* and its *quebrado*, the *verso adónico* (*Gram.*, II, caps. VIII and IX), showing how hemistichs varying from four to six syllables in length may be produced by it and the varying termination in *agudo* or *grave*; but in his description of the *romance* line he does not mention it; he states only that the line consists of sixteen syllables, except when, by reason of the last syllable being *agudo*, it falls one short: "Puede tener este verso una sílaba menos: cuando la final es aguda" (cap. VIII). Nebrija's silence here amounts to positive proof that the "medio pie perdido" was not in his day an adjunct of the *romance* line, a fact, which, indeed, no one will dispute. If we are expected to believe that it was used regularly in the epic verse, proof must be brought forward. For example, let Mr. Lang or another analyze the varying line of the *mester de clerecía* and deduce its working rules as clearly as Foulché-Delbosc did for the *arte mayor* of Juan de Mena in his admirably clear-cut treatise (*Juan de Mena y el arte mayor*, trad. por A. Bonilla, Madrid, 1903), and it will be time enough to think of extending anacrusis to the *Poema del Cid*. The "medio pie perdido" is a characteristic of a line with strong rhythmic beats, and it is hard to believe that it could ever be used in connection with a line having such weak rhythm as that of *Mío Cid*.

⁷ *Rosafiorida*, in *Mélanges Picot*, Paris, 1913, II, 115-134; *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnuole*, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VI (1915), 1-41.

knowledge of the European epic in general greater, probably, than has been possessed by anyone who has hitherto devoted careful attention to the obscure origins of the Spanish ballads. More than this, he brings the keen vision for distinctions and the soundness of judgment with which in his case all students of the Romanic languages have long been familiar. One is justified in expecting from him new information and new points of view.

In the controversy of the Spanish epic he occupies a cautious neutral ground. In spite of a few adventurous hypotheses, which he does not attempt to press, his chief aim is to show that it cannot be proved—mathematically demonstrated—that the *romances* were derived from the epics; I mean, of course, such *romances* as treat the same subjects as the epics. That the epics influenced them greatly, he does not deny (nor does Foulché-Delbosc); but,—might not the *romances* have existed earlier than is supposed, have co-existed with the epics, instead of being born only with the breaking up of the long poems? He declares that the disintegration of an epic into short poems is a process unknown in the history of other literatures, and attempts to show that it is intrinsically unlikely. He goes on to say that the resemblance between the *romances* and the epics of the *Cid* and the *Infantes de Lara* is not so great after all. There are certain ballads existing in oral tradition today which we know to have changed marvelously little since the beginning of the sixteenth century; why was there such sudden development between 1350 and 1550?⁸ Then the famous Florentine professor cites a remark of Gaston Paris to the effect that the *romances* and the epics are identical in form and style; Rajna denies both. Style, for the lyric element, displayed for example in the use of the historical present for past tenses, is wanting in *Mio Cid* and the *Mocedades*. Form, for the meter is different, not only in length of line,⁹ but in

⁸ *Osservazioni e dubbi*, 19-20.

⁹ Rajna accepts (p. 29) without reserve R. Menéndez Pidal's conclusions concerning the formless meter of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. I can comprehend attempts to restore the original reading of a verse when it is surely known what the writer aimed at, but when a poem is in such condition that there exist three or four different theories as to what the author meant to do, when the number of syllables in a line varies from 10 to 20, and no single length of line predominates notably above the rest, is it not rash to fit the lines to a Procrustean bed modeled after an *a priori* theory?

the division into stanzas of four 8-syllable verses (or two 16-syllable ones), which is seen in the *romances*.¹⁰

This is the point which I wish to examine in this article. Were the *romances viejos* really cast in stanzas of four (short) lines? Or was that a development of artistic poets whose training had been in lyric writing? Are the popular *romances* sung in stanzas today? These questions are not so unessential as might at first glance appear. If the old ballads were regularly strophic, as Rajna and Lang assume without close examination of the facts, then they can no longer be considered as having the form of assonating *laissez*, but must be connected with lyric rather than epic antecedents.¹¹ This, and not the quibble about long or short lines, is the decisive feature.¹²

¹⁰ *Osservazioni e dubbi*, 2, 18-19, 26, 35-37. As p. 35: "il periodo ritmico completo appare in essi costituito, non già di sedici, ma di trentadue sillabe quadripartite, e però tali da assumere il carattere di una quartina lirica. Questo ci mostrano le stesse melodie che loro attualmente si applicano cantando." Lang also stresses the division into quatrains of the *romances* (pp. 333-335), looking at the matter from another angle, because he wishes to connect them with certain lyric forms of the Galician school, the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el sabio, and the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*. I will not dwell upon the remarks of Wolf, to which Lang refers (*Primavera*, I, xviii); for once, the great German is superficial. For Hanssen's opinion, see below, p. 72; and for Bello's, the most accurate of all, p. 66.

¹¹ Just what Lang desires, of course. Baist, then, would be entirely wrong in saying of the *rs.*: "Doch ist letzteres [4-line strophes] keineswegs immer der Fall. . . . Das eigentlich charakteristische bleibt die Verbindung der Assonanz mit der Tirade, und zwar einer Tirade. . . . Quelle dieser Form kann nur das kastilische Epos sein" (*G. G.*, II², 432).

¹² Rajna wisely disregards the controversy as to whether a *romance* line should be considered as of 16 or 8+8: "Si considerino poi i 'romances' come composti di versi brevi o di versi lunghi, di ottonari semplici o di ottonari doppi. . . ." (p. 35). Lang, on the other hand, bases much of his argument on this very distinction. What vital division can there be between a caesural line of sixteen syllables, with fixed accents on the seventh and fifteenth, and two lines of eight syllables each, with a fixed accent on the seventh? So also Milá: "no es de especial importancia el modo de escribirlos: siempre hay un miembro señalado por el asonante y separado del siguiente por una pausa mayor que la que debe hacerse entre los dos octosílabos impar y par" (*Poesía her.-pop.*, 401, note 2).

There is, however, a real problem, which, please observe, has nothing to do with the form of printing. If there be any true distinction between 'lyric' lines of 8+8 and an 'epic' line of 16, with caesura, the former should be characterized by one or both of the following traits: (1) a pause in thought after the first member, such as to make of it a unit approximately complete in itself; (2) a fixed rhythm, as e.g. regular trochaic movement, such as the *romance* line does not have. The first seems to have been what Menéndez y Pelayo had in mind

I. QUATRAIN DIVISION IN THE ROMANCES.

Rajna, Lang and many others quote Juan del Encina as declaring that the *romances* were written in quatrains,¹³ and take their stand upon that statement. There is, however, ample evidence that Encina himself did not insist upon this point, that others of his time did not recognize it, and furthermore that Encina's remarks do not apply, as some believe, to the *romances viejos*, but only to those written in his own time.

The statement in Encina's *Arte de trovar* (1496) is this: "Y si es [el verso o copla] de quatro pies puede ser cancion y ya se puede llamar copla, y aun los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies aunque no van en consonante sino el segundo y el quarto pie, y aun los del tiempo viejo no van por verdaderos consonantes y todas estas cosas suelen ser de arte real que el arte mayor es mas propia para cosas graves y arduas" (Cap. VII; Men. Pel. *Antol.* V, 44). Further on (p. 45) he says that a *copla* (= strophe) should not have more than twelve *pies* (= lines) "porque paresceria demasiada cosa: salvo los romances que no tienen número cierto." This indicates plainly that the pauses in a *romance* come at different intervals according to the sense.

Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática castellana* (1492)¹⁴ preceded Encina's treatise by four years, and differs from it in many opinions. Nebrija was the more original thinker, but Encina did not always choose to profit by the scholarship of his master. As is well known, Nebrija quotes from several old ballads, writing them in 16-syllable lines, a system which would not necessarily interfere with the quatrain theory; but he gives a selection of *three only* of the long lines (Libro II, cap. vi), and that shows sufficiently that he did not conceive the piece in strophes: he would hardly have quoted a quatrain

when he declared that there is a fundamental difference between the meter of the *romances* and that of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el sabio (*Antol.*, XI, 99). All I am prepared to say now is that neither of these features belongs to the *romances*, not even to the strophic ones of the *siglo de oro*.

¹³ Cf. Rajna, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 36; Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 333. Throughout this article I shall speak of the *romances* as written in lines of eight syllables.

¹⁴ Antonio de Lebriza: *Gramática castellana. Réproduction phototypique de l'édition princeps* (1492). Pub. par E. Walberg. Halle, 1909.

and a half. In cap. x he says: "Mas si todos los versos¹⁵ caen debaxo de un consonante: llamarse an astrophos: que quiere dezir sin tornada: cuales son los tetrametros: en que diximos: que se componian aquellos cantares que llaman romances." Here the *romances* are distinctly described as without strophe form, by a man whose use of language is admirably accurate.

Eighty years later, at a time when, as we shall see, regular quatrain division was just coming into vogue, Argote de Molina (1575)¹⁶ quotes (p. 73) six short lines of the ballad of King Ramiro (Wolf, *Prim.*, no. 99); showing that even so late as Argote de Molina's day the "romances antiguos castellanos" were not imagined to be in quatrains. I incline to suppose, therefore, that Encina, in his much quoted phrase, stressed the custom and not the requirement; that the word *suelen* should be mentally italicized in his sentence. Moreover, he was speaking of the *romances* produced in his own time, for he says "only the second and fourth lines rime": "no van en consonante sino el segundo y el quarto pie," and then proceeds to except "los del tiempo viejo" as not conforming to his rule for rime. He does not expressly state, but implies, that they are also excepted from his remarks concerning quatrains. We shall see that such is indeed the case.

I propose now to examine the *romances* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in an attempt to determine to what extent division into quatrains prevailed at that time. By what criterion is one to judge whether a poem so loosely constructed as the *romance*, having no guide of changing rime, be written in quatrains or not? for if the reader be not agreed with me as to the method, he will certainly not accept the results. I suggest, then, as tests for quatrains, the following: 1°, the number of lines in the entire poem must be divisible by four;¹⁷ 2°, after every four lines there should be a definite pause,

¹⁵ Nebrija protested against the current usage of *nuestros poetas*, who call a line *pie*, and a *copla*, *verso*. He preferred *pie* for foot, *verso* for line, and *copla* for strophe. But his definitions were not accepted for centuries; Argote de Molina (1575) uses *pies* for lines, and Lope de Vega (*La Dorotea*, II, 5) speaks of strophes as *versos*.

¹⁶ *Discurso sobre la poesia castellana*; Men. Pel., *Antol.*, V, 72-82).

¹⁷ There may be some exceptions to this rule among the poems of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, in which there is an introductory or closing couplet. Such cases are rare (cf. Barbieri, *Canc. mus.*, no. 69, a garbled version) and can be recognized by the interior strophes. Or it might happen that two lines are

usually a period or semi-colon, less often only a comma; 3°, there should seldom be a pause within the quatrain so marked as that at the end, although a minor one after the second line is common. These requirements will be found fulfilled in all the strophic poems of the *Romancero general*. The last two are indicated by Juan del Encina himself when he says, speaking of stanzas (*coplas*) composed of two lesser strophes (*versos*) in each of which the rime-scheme is complete in itself, as a *copla* of nine lines, made up of one *verso* of five and one of four: "si en la copla huuiesse dos versos: . . . siempre entre verso y verso se ponga coma que son dos puntos uno sobre otro: e en fin de la copla hase de poner colon que es un punto solo" (*Arte de trobar*, cap. IX y final; p. 47). Encina was not speaking of the *romance* in particular at this point, but it is evident that the moment a *romance* is considered as divided into stanzas, it comes within the scope of these remarks, which are only such as common sense would dictate. Less mechanically put, there should be a natural pause in thought at the end of each four lines, and there may be a minor pause after the second. We shall see that neither the *romances viejos*, the *eruditos*, nor the *romance* meter of much of the drama conform to our three tests.

Romances may therefore be divided, from the strophic standpoint, into three classes: *A*, those having a number of lines not divisible by four, and hence not cast in quatrains; *B*, those with a number divisible by four, and yet not in quatrains; *C*, those written in quatrains, or which may be considered such.¹⁸ But in my analyses, I shall italicize the references to poems placed in the last class which seem to me to owe their apparent or possible strophic form only to chance. The fact is that the short, simple sentences of the popular *romances* fall naturally into groups of two, four or six lines; and where the groups of two and four predominate, an appearance of quatrain structure may be given which in reality is wholly different from the intentional and artificial strophe form so obvious amid the complex sentences of the late artistic poems. The shorter the *romance*, the more likely is confusion.

lost, as seems to be the case in a *Romance a Santa Catalina* of Lope (*Obras no dramáticas*, p. 276; no. 67). But I think it most unlikely that such examples can be found among the *romances viejos*.

¹⁸ As typical examples of the three classes, I present the following, the shortest at hand. I print *C* also without marking the stanzas, so that the reader may see how plainly real intentional quatrain division appears in the pauses.

I am aware that there may be in some cases room for difference of opinion as to the form of a particular poem, and so I shall give specific references in all important cases, so that those interested may check the results. There will also be those to say that a different reading, or the insertion of lost lines, could change the result in some few cases. But if a *romance* was printed in a certain form in the *Canc. de romances*, or the *Silva* of 1550, and that form is not in quatrains, it is sufficiently evident that the editor was not looking for a strophic form, or he would have made his poems conform to that system. The only refuge left would be to assume that the *romances viejos* were originally cast in quatrains, which were garbled and decomposed by editors of the sixteenth century. There is no evidence of this; it is wholly improbable, and even impossible

A

Estando desesperado,
 Por mayor dolor sentir,
 Acordéme de mi amiga
 Por deseo de morir,
 Pues que ya como solía
 Nunca la podré servir
 Y en verme partido d'esto
 Siento la muerte en vivir,
 Que tal vida como vivo,
 Más que muerte es de sufrir.
Anon.
 (Durán, no. 1449)

B

Maldita seas, ventura,
 Que así me haces andar
 Desterrado de mis tierras,
 De donde soy natural,
 Por amar una señora
 La cual no debía de amar.
 Adaméla por mi bien,
 Y salióme por mi mal,
 Porque amé donde no espero
 Galardones alcanzar:
 Por hacer placer a amor,
 Amor me hizo pesar.
Anon.
 (Durán, no. 1448)

C

La nevada palomica
 Dulcemente gemidora,
 Que mil veces a un halago
 El pico partió en dos rosas;
 En extremos con su amante
 Tantos hace y tantos logra,
 Que se cuentan a caricias
 Los ámbares de su boca.
 Pero fiándose al nido
 De una cuerva cautelosa,
 Cuanta luz bañó de nieve
 Ardíó en fuego y quedó sombra.
Ant. de Mendoza.
 (Durán, no. 1439)

when one considers the large body of poems that we possess. The oldest *romances* that we have are not strophic, as I shall show in § 2. For the present, attention might be called to "Yo me estaba en Barbadillo" (Wolf, *Prim.*, no. 19, end), which appeared with a length of 26 lines in the *Canc. de rs. sin año* and in vol. I of the *Silva* of 1550. It is evidently astrophic, and was so regarded by Diego de San Pedro, who made a *contrahechura* of it (Durán, no. 1382) that was first printed in the *Cancionero* of Fernández de Constantina (ca. 1510?). What likelihood is there that the original form of "Yo me estaba en Barbadillo" was in quatrains?

1. *In the romances viejos.*—As a convenient starting-point, I have examined for strophe-form all the undoubted *romances viejos* possible, namely a selection of those to which this name may safest be applied in the *Primavera y flor de romances* of Wolf, and the *Apéndice I* to the same added by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, IX, pp. 175–258.¹⁹ Of course there is room for endless controversy as to where the line should be drawn between undoubted *viejos* and more recent types; but I have tried to choose only those that leave little room for discussion. The interested reader can judge if I have been successful.

A. *Prim.* nos. 17, 19, 20, 29, 30, 30b, 31, 36, 37, 50, 54 (late?), 55, 58, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71a (cf. 71; 71a has two more lines added), 74, 78a, 79, 81, 84a, 85b, 86, 88, 88a, 96a, 97 (not a *r. viejo*, and perhaps not popular; after 1570), 98, 101, 102, 102b, 103, 104, 107, 107a, 111, 115, 116, 120, 125, 131, 132, 136a, 137, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 146a, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 160, 170, 174, 179, 186, 196, 197, 198. In the *Apéndice*, nos. 4, 13, 23, 44, 46, 51. Of those usually classed as *juglarescos*, but old, nos. 164, 165, 171, 172, 175, 177a, 180, 184, 193, 194, 195. *Apéndice*, 50, 52, 53 (semi-artístico?).

B. *Prim.* nos. 13a, 16 (assonance changes on uneven couplet),

¹⁹ Not all the variants, but taking the texts just as they stand in large type. For reasons expressed above, I do not consider the variants of much importance for this particular work. The most important versions not included in these sources are those being published by R. Menéndez Pidal in his *Poesía pop. y romancero*, *Rev. de filol. esp.*, and those given by Bonilla in his *Anales* (Madrid, 1904), pp. 29–46). Observe that Bonilla's no. XVI, written, he says, in a more modern hand than the others, and a poem of a wholly different spirit, is in quatrains; the others are not.

24, 26, 30a, 45, 47, 52, 72, 77, 78, 82, 82a, 83 (this is the *Canc. de rs.* version; Argote de Molina's is in class *B*, but Timoneda's in *A*), 85 (cf. 85a, altered to make strophes), 90, 92, 96 (cf. 96a, class *A*), 101a (cf. 101, in class *A*), 102a (cf. 102, 102b, class *A*), 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 133, 136, 139, 141, 150, 159, 161, 168, 169 (cf. *Apéndice* 51, class *A*), 185, 185a. *Apéndice*, nos. 6, 8, 12, 18. *Juglarescos*, nos. 4, 5, 162, 163, 166, 167, 173, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, *Apéndice*, 55.

C. Prim. 35 (both versions), 59, 71, (cf. 71a, class *A*), 84 (cf. 84a, class *A*), 85a, 99, 113, 114, 114a, 138, 154, 158, 183 (cf. *Apéndice* 50, class *A*). *Apéndice*, 7 ("semi-artístico"), 17, 25, 28 (not older than 1600?), 47. (On the italicized nos., see above, p. 49.)

Totals: *A*, 89; *B*, 62; *C*, 11 doubtful, 7 sure. It will be observed that none of the *romances juglarescos* appear in class *C*. One reason for this is that the juglaresque poems are so long that any irregularity of meter is sure to be detected. Most of the doubtful poems are under 30 lines in length.

Of the 7 I have considered evidently in quatrain form, no. 35, "Doliente estaba, doliente," is a good old ballad, and both versions fit to strophes. The only thing that can be alleged against it is that the longest version has only 24 lines. (*Canc. de rs.* of 1550). No. 85a, "Paseábase el rey moro," with the famous refrain of "¡Ay de mi Alhama!" is a remodeled variant of 85, expanded by some artistic poet so as to be in quatrains, with an *estribillo*.²⁰ Nos. 114 and 114a are two versions of "Que por mayo era, por mayo," a poem the age of which is attested as of the close of the fifteenth century,²¹ but there

²⁰ These considerations, and the fact that Pérez de Hita is the first to give us an account and text of this poem, make me suspicious of the theory by which no. 85 is the younger of the two.

²¹ It is glossed in the *Cancionero* of the British Museum published by Rennert (*Rom. Forsch.*, X, 1899), nos. 13 and 125. Rennert supposes this collection to date from ca. 1475 or a little later. The poem has been made the subject of a particular study by Hanssen, *Las coplas 1788-1792 del "Libro de Alexandre,"* in *Rev. filol. esp.*, II (1915), 21-30. He thinks it a popular "mayo," and compares it with the verses of the *Alexandre* cited in his title, and French songs. His study is somewhat vitiated by the fact that he does not take into account the stanzas 411-413 of the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, nor, among modern traditional versions, the two given by Alonso A. Cortés (*Romances de Castilla*, 1906), where the "mayo" is contaminated with the *Don Varón* series (pp. 20, 22). The Cortés forms are evidently connected directly with the poem of the *Canc. gen.*

are many reasons for thinking that however popular the subject is, the forms given us in the *Cancioneros* were the work of contemporary courtiers. *Apénd.* 7 is a late version, though the original was old,²² of one of the Infantes de Lara cycle. *Apénd.* 25, the *Romance de la muerte del Príncipe de Portugal*, having the refrain "Ay, ay, ay! qué fuertes penas!" etc., is wholly lyric in content, its origin is uncertain, and the event to which it refers took place in 1491. *Apénd.* 28, of uncertain age, but not known before the *siglo de oro*, "puede considerarse como de transición entre los populares y los vulgares." It might, then, as well as the two previous numbers, have been with propriety left out of my reckoning entirely.

So that we are left with no. 35, "Doliente estaba, doliente," a very short poem, as the only example of the old historical ballads that is in strict quatrain form. From it one is at liberty to draw any arguments he pleases.

2. *Chronologically from 1440 to 1527.*—Let us now approach the problem from another angle, that of chronological sequence, and examine the *romances* as they appear in successive collections. We may in this way be enabled to determine whether at any time a momentary strophic impulse prevailed, and at what period the movement began toward the quatrain structure which was adopted for the literary *romance* of the *siglo de oro*.

The oldest known *romances* are the three sometimes attributed to Juan Rodríguez del Padrón,²³ and dated presumably about 1440. They are popular ballads, and I cannot believe that Rodríguez del Padrón composed them, whatever hand he may have had in retouching them. All three belong in class B.

Nearly contemporary are the two of the *Canc. de Stúñiga*, a collection made later than 1458.²⁴ The anonymous one written in 1442 and beginning "Retraída estaba la reyna" (p. 321; *Prim.* no. 100) is in class A; the other, "Terrible duelo fasía," (p. 364; *Men. Pel.*

²² See RMP, *Leyenda de los infantes de Lara*, 99-101.

²³ Published by Rennert, *Zt. für rom. philol.*, XVII, 544-558. See also *Men. Pel.*, *Antol.*, XI, 10, and XII, 541-542. I am leaving out of consideration such poems as "Cercada tiene a Baeza," "Ya se salen de Jaén," "De Granada partió el moro," etc., which were probably first composed soon after events in 1368, 1410 and 1424, respectively, for the reason that the versions we possess of them did not appear till very much later.

²⁴ Reprinted in 1872 by Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón. I intend to discuss these poems fully below, under II.

Antol., II, 190), in class *B*. It is by Carvajal, and is a lyrical, artistic poem, displaying no small sincerity for its period. Its strophic unit is of two lines.

The *romance* of the *Querellas del rey Alfonso X de Castilla* (*Prim.* 62) appeared interpolated in a historical document assigned to the year 1454 (*Colección de documentos inéditos para la hist. de Esp.* vol. 106, 24-25. Cf. *Men. Pel., Antol.*, XII, 94-95). It is in class *A*.

The *Cancionero de Stúñiga* is only the first of several collections in which we find *romances* in restricted number buried among the *canciones*, *coplas*, *villancicos* and *glosas* so favored in the fifteenth century. The next in date may be the *Cancionero* of Rennert, ca. 1475.²⁵ Richer in *romances* than the *Canc. de Stúñiga*, it yet seems to have been overlooked by all the modern writers except Baist. It contains two *romances viejos* and seven *artísticos*, besides the first appearance of numerous glosses on *rs. viejos*. The old ballads are the earliest known versions of "Yo m'era mora Morayma" (no. 57; *Prim.* 132) and of *La aparición*, "Yo me partiera de Burgos,—fuérame a Valladolid" (no. 351; Durán 292; *Men. Pel. Antol.*, IX, 220; X, 132, 192 and 362).²⁶ The first falls, by supplying one omitted line, in class *B*; the second in the same. The *rs. trobadorescos* I should place as follows: *A*, no. 26; *B*, nos. 60, 220 and 305; *C*, nos. 36 and 349. No. 67, which furnishes the earliest known *contrahechura* of "Dígame tú, el ermitaño," is too defective to be judged. We may point, then, to no. 36 as the first known example of a *romance* evidently intended to be written in quatrains, and as such it should receive the attention of all who wish to connect *romances* with early lyric verse.²⁷ But they should not forget that it is

²⁵ *Der Spanische Cancionero des Brit. Museums (Ms. add. 10431). Rom. Forsch.*, X, 1899, 1-176.

²⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo was therefore mistaken in saying that the latter "no ha llegado integro a nosotros en las colecciones antiguas" (X, 133). The Rennert text is complete, and furnishes some most interesting variants to the versions of Sepúlveda and the *pliego suelto*. The lines "En los tiempos que me vi—más alegre y placentero" are wanting, and thus the assonance difficulty of the sixteenth century forms is removed. I should note that "Yo m'era mora Morayma" also contains nine (*sic*) more lines than the usual version.

²⁷ The poem begins "Estábase mi cuidado," and may be found in Durán, no. 1377. In the Rennert *Canc.* it is included with the poems of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, but in the two *Cancs. generales* of Constantina and Castillo it is assigned to Nicolás Núñez.

at this time an isolated example, and that more and earlier poems show the usual two-line unit.

Somewhere in the same epoch comes the so-called *Cancionero d'Herberay* (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 484). It contains one *romance* (vol. I, col. 502), called "Glosa del romance de 'Por aquella sierra muy alta,' que fizo Diego de Sevilla." It is a *contrahechura* of the last part of *Prim.* 183; the first line is *Por una selua damores*. It opens with several quatrains, but loses them, and falls in class *A*.

Unless, as might easily be the case, there are *romances* in some of the minor unpublished *Cancioneros*, the next in order is the *Cancionero de diversas obras de nuevo trobadas* (1508) of Fray Ambrosio Montesino.²⁸ It contains nine *romances*, the earliest ever printed except Encina's, all but one on religious themes, and all, as is well known, printed in lines of 16 syllables. There is no trace whatever of quatrains in them; five fall in class *A*, and four in class *B*.²⁹

Soon after we come upon the first great *Cancionero general*, that of Juan Fernández de Constantina, no date, but published not long before 1511. It has not yet been reprinted, but a good account of it by Wolf may be found in the German translation of Ticknor, vol. II, (Leipzig, 1852), pp. 528-534, and, for the *romances*, p. 533, note 2. There are 23 of these, of which three are *viejos* (*Fontefrida, Durandarte*, and "Pésame de vos, el conde")³⁰. All three are in class *A*. The twenty *rs. trobadorescos* are composed by the same class of poets represented in the *Canc. Rennert*: Encina, Diego de San Pedro, Núñez, Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, Diego de Çamora, Soria, Cardona, etc. Their *romances* are classified as follows, the reference numbers being to Durán's *Rom. gen.*

A: 297, 470, 1373, 1375, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1382, 1384, 1391, 1415, 1417, 1449.

B: 963. *C*: 362 note 6, 1377, 1444, 1450.

No. 1876 is not a *romance*, although it is so called by the author, Badajoz; it is in *versos pareados*. The poem described as beginning

²⁸ *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, vol. XXXV, 401-466. The copy was made from the edition of 1527.

²⁹ The former may be found on pages 420, 421, 435, 437 and 449; the latter on pages 423, 436, 458 and 463. The historical *romance* on the death of Prince Alfonso of Portugal is on page 449. The editors have not preserved the long lines in their edition. Montesino employs consonantal rime (*-ado, -ido, -ores*), except for using *-ar, -ad,* and *-al* in the same series.

³⁰ *Prim.*, 116, 180, and vol. II, p. 372, bottom.

Esperanza me despidе may be either Durán no. 1394 or no. 1395, probably the former, which is class *B*; the other is class *A*.

The similar collection of Hernando del Castillo appeared first in 1511, and in subsequent editions of 1514, 1517, 1520, 1527, etc.⁸¹ The edition of 1511 contains the same three *rs. viejos* of Constantina, and, in addition, "Morayma" (*Prim.* 132), "Rosafresca" (*Prim.* 115) and "Que por mayo era, por mayo." The first two are in class *A*, the last, discussed on p. 52, in class *C*. An examination of the additional material in the way of *rs. trobadorescos* corroborates the results obtained from the *Canc. de Constantina*. (Numbers from the *Soc. bibl. esp.* edition.)

A: 11, 441, 471, 474, 475. *B*: 443, 453, 456, 472, 473, 477, 809. *C*: 458 (= Durán 303, by Cardona), 476, 479.

In the edition of 1520 is one new *romance*, "Durmiendo yua el señor," anonymous, of 24 lines, and seeming to belong in class *C* (fol. xiv, v^o).

I find, then, no trace whatever of systematic and regular use of quatrains in the *romances* of Quirós, Badajoz, Ávila, Acuña and the other courtly mourners of unrequited love. In some poems (cf. Durán 1414, 1447, 1448) it is clear that no strophe form was even thought of; in others there was a leaning in that direction. A few scattered poems exhibit true quatrains. It is very clear that even these lyrists, contemporaries of Juan del Encina, and writing constantly in strophes in their other types of verse, did not bring to the *romance* any fixed idea of quatrains. Is that not sufficient evidence, without going farther, that their models, the popular *romances*, were in no other divisions than assonating *laissez*?

What of Encina himself, he who declared that "los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies"? Did he follow his own precept? I have but scanty material with which to work; his *Canc. de todas las obras* (1496, etc.) has not been reprinted in modern times. Durán includes six of his poems, but of them one (no. 1879) is not a *romance*, and another (no. 297; class *A*) has been at times attributed to Encina, and at times to Juan Manuel.⁸² The four re-

⁸¹ *Principes* reprinted in vol. 21 (two vols.) of the *Sociedad de biblióf. esp.*, 1882, with additions from the editions of 1527, 1540 and 1557. Edition of 1520 reprinted by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1904.

⁸² See Men. Pel., *Antol.*, IV, 91, and VI, cccxxx.

maining are in perfect rime, instead of assonance, as is often the case at this period; three of them (nos. 1084, 1384, 1420) display a decided tendency toward quatrains, but an extra couplet is often inserted at will. All three are in class *A*. Similar in structure, though in class *B*, is another *romance* of Encina in the *Canc. gen.* of 1511 (no. 809; vol. II, p. 25), beginning *Cabe la ysla del Elba*. The fourth poem in Durán (no. 1383; and by the way it is a *contrahechura* of the old *rom. de la linda Melisenda*) begins *Yo me estaba reposando*, and is in true quatrains.³³

Gil Vicente's famous *romance* of *Don Duardos y Flérida*³⁴ belongs in class *A*. The three *romances* of Torres Naharro that I know, in the *Propaladia*, 1517,³⁵ have perfect rime, and belong, two in *B* and one in *A*.

The date of the *Cancionero de Palacio*, that Asenjo Barbieri published as his invaluable *Canc. musical* (1890), is not known, but is supposed to be close to 1500. Owing to the uncertainty, I place it after the *Cancioneros generales*. It contains *romances* a-plenty, but unfortunately, many are fragments, some having only four lines. Disregarding these, I find the following results:

Rs. viejos. *A*: nos. 175 (in lines of six syllables), 323. *B*: 97, 329, 330, 331. *C*: 69 (= *Prim.* 114a, with half a quatrain missing), 322, 325.

Rs. trobadorescos. *A*: 315 (= Durán 1084), 328. *C*: 62 (= Durán 1383, of Encina, cf. above), 83 (*contrahechura* of "Digas tú el ermitaño"), 95 (a special song form, each stanza repeating two lines of the previous one), 284, 332, 334 and "Lealtat, ¡o lealtat!" (p. 11; according to the editor, this may be of 1466).

From this collection we receive, then, no new accession to our scanty body of *romances viejos* in strophes. Of the artistic *ro-*

³³ It has an unusual form, with one rime (-*la*) in all the even lines, while the rime of the odd lines varies with each stanza, thus: *abab, cbcb, dbdb*, etc. Galardo, *Ensayo*, II, col. 885, note 1, said this idea, "es invención de Encina, no seguido (que yo sepa) de otro ningún trovador." It appears, none the less, in at least one other poem, an anonymous dialogue of the *Canc. de rs. sin año* and first part of the *Silva*; Durán, 1396.

³⁴ Durán, 288; for a critical text see *Cultura esp.*, 1908, p. 453.

³⁵ Edition of Cañete and Menéndez y Pelayo, 2 vols., 1880 and 1900. The *rs.* are in vol. I, pp. 107, 116 and 118, the last being class *A*.

mances we get three new examples, nos. 83, 334³⁶ and "Lealtat, jo lealtat!", all anonymous, making six in all of the court school.³⁷ Are we not then justified in declaring that even if "los romances suelen yr de quatro en quatro pies," the exceptions are more numerous than the illustrations of the rule?

3. *From 1550 to 1600.*—Precisely at the middle of the century began the large collections of *romances*, which show the growing popularity of this form of poem, a popularity manifested both in the care taken to preserve old ballads and the fever to write new ones. The *Cancionero de romances* called "sin año," published at Antwerp by Martin Nucio just before 1550, and its successor, the *Canc. de rs.* of 1550, same place and editor, were the first of the volumes devoted mainly to *romances*. These and the almost contemporary *Silva de varios romances* (in three parts, Saragossa, 1550–1551) are the two great reservoirs of old ballads, and of new ones composed before the *siglo de oro*. An examination of them should show to what extent the use of quatrains prevailed before the artistic era was in its flower. Unfortunately I am compelled to leave the *Silva* out of consideration, as a collection apart, because many of its poems have not been reprinted in modern times.³⁸ The loss is not so great, however, as all the *romances viejos* that it contains have been reprinted by Wolf and Menéndez y Pelayo, and so came within the scope of my analysis in section 1. And most of the artistic poems are identical with some in the *Canc. de rs.*

³⁶ This poem begins *Triste está la reina, triste*, and is reprinted in the *Antol.*, IX, p. 212; no. 30 of the *Apéndice*. For a little more concerning it, see below, note 81.

³⁷ As stated above, the other three are: Durán, 1383, by Encina; 303, by Alonso de Cardona; and 362, note 6, by Lope de Sosa.

³⁸ The last two parts of the *Silva* are, of course, excessively rare. They were not available for Durán, and Wolf could not see the third. In fact, only one copy of the third part has been seen in the last century, and that is now currently supposed lost. The fullest description of the first two parts may be found in the *Anhang* to Wolf's *Ueber eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern*, etc. Wien, 1850; of the third, in Men. Pel., *Antol.*, IX, 286 and 299–331.

Practically the entire contents of the *Canc. de rs.* of 1550—which did not suffer changes in the later editions, as did the *Silva*—is available in Durán. To check him I have used the facsimile reprint of the "sin año" by R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1914. I may state here that I have not touched upon the *pliegos sueltos* in this study, except as they are treated with the *rs. viejos* in § 1. Too few of them are of certain date.

There follows a classification of all the *romances* of the *Canc. de rs.* which were not printed in the *Cancs. gens.* and have thus already been considered. The reference numbers are to Durán.

A: 1, 258 (= *Prim.* 131), 283, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 295, 300, 301, 305, 328, 335, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 370, 373, 374, 375, 383, 384, 400, 402, 453, 454, 469, 471, 474, 487, 519, 571, 582, 583, 600, 613, 630, 634, 665, 700, 704, 731, 733, 763, 774, 785, 788, 858, 861, 960, 966, 984, 1040, 1043, 1068, 1150, 1239, 1243, 1249, 1374, 1392, 1419, 1457. Also, *Prim.* 30 and 102. Total, 68.

B: 2, 4, 8, 288, 294, 296, 298, 337, 356, 357, 359, 362, 364, 365, 366, 369, 371, 377, 387, 395, 450, 475, 482, 594, 599, 606, 614, 615, 616, 626, 631, 637, 654, 691, 703, 778, 791, 796, 804, 807, 811, 911, 921, 922, 972, 1037 bis, 1049, 1056, 1063, 1075, 1087, 1155, 1233, 1242, 1393, 1397, 1456. Also, *Prim.* 101a. Total, 58.

C: 284, 302, 306, 394, 478, 619, 762, 773, 836, 872, 1061, 1232, 1396 (cf. note 33), 1452, 1454, 1458. Total, 16 in all, of which 9 doubtful.

Let us examine more closely the seven poems which offer, as they stand, perfect quatrain structure. The three which appear to be old historical *romances* are all very short; 619 (= *Prim.* 8) has eight lines; 762 (= *Prim.* 35, two versions) has 24; and 773 has twelve. 836 indicates, by its consonantal rime, that it belongs to the period of the *Canc. gen.*, although not included in that collection. 1396 is undoubtedly of the same era; its peculiar form I discussed in note 33. 1454 (= *Prim.* 114a) has already been treated (p. 52). 1458 is, according to Durán, by one Velázquez de Ávila, and was first printed in a "folleto que parece impreso en la segunda década del siglo XVI, el cual carece de portada y por lo tanto de título y de autor" (*Rom. gen.*, II, 694b). This Velázquez de Ávila, of whom I know nothing more, has two other poems in Durán, nos. 1422-3 and 1424, both taken from the same *folleto*. Both have consonantal rime and quatrains.

I infer from these data that by far the larger number of *romances* published in 1550 were assonated and astrophic. The fashion of consonantal rime, continuing throughout the entire *laisse*, as well as the division into quatrains, which Encina had recommended with only partial success, had died out, perhaps in the neighborhood of 1530; and those poets who wrote just before 1550

returned to the original structure of the *romances viejos*. Thereafter rime was to appear only sporadically, as an individual caprice;³⁹ but strophe-form was, as we shall see, to become the rule about 1589.

Hard on the heels of the great collections of 1550 follow the so-called *romances eruditos*, which certain well-intentioned men compiled from the chronicles, in order to furnish the reading public with reliable and useful matter, to replace the fictions in which they found pleasure.⁴⁰ The earliest collection of them may be the *Quarenta cantos de diversas y peregrinas historias*, of Alonso de Fuentes, Sevilla, 1550, whether the poems were written by him or by "un cierto señor," as he says. As far as one may judge by the eleven examples included by Durán, there is no trace of strophe division in these *cantos*. The industrious and uninspired Sepúlveda⁴¹ reveals no sign of quatrains in his versification, and his poems are long enough to

³⁹ An amusing proof of this may be found in the only entertaining *romance* of that wretched scribbler, Juan de la Cueva (Durán, 1631). He satirizes a persecutor of the Muse, a certain poet, "anciano,—de mucha barba en redondo," and represents him as boasting

"que soy poeta
Natural, cual lo he mostrado
En un romance que hice
A la muerte de Don Sancho,
Cuando lo mató Vellido
Con el agudo venablo,
Que guarda los consonantes
Desde el principio hasta el cabo,
Cosa que nadie lo ha hecho
Sino yo con gran trabajo."

Was there really such a ballad on the death of Don Sancho? If so, I have not been able to identify it. The poet might have been Linares or Timoneda, who seem to have been alone in the use of rime in Cueva's day.

⁴⁰ "Y si las hystorias gentiles y prophanas dan tan grande contentamiento a los lectores, con ser muchas de ellas ficciones y mentiras afeytadas, quanto mas sabor dará la obra presente, que no solamente es verdadera . . ." etc. "Servirá para dos provechos. El uno para leerlas en este traslado, a falta del original de donde fueron sacados, . . . y lo otro para aprovecharse los que cantarlos quisieren, en lugar de otros muchos que yo he visto impressos harto mentirosos y de muy poco fruto." Sepúlveda, *Prólogo del autor a un su amigo*.

⁴¹ Lorenzo de Sepúlveda: *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España*. Antwerp, 1551. Reprinted by A. M. Huntington, New York, 1903. For the enlarged edition of 1566 I rely upon Durán. There are more than 160 poems in all.

remove the element of chance. His monotonous system is noteworthy chiefly for a pause after every couplet, with few exceptions, and for the reluctance with which he essays any assonance outside the three easiest varieties, namely *i-a*, *a-o* and *a-a*. Oxytone assonance is quite beyond him.

I will consider at this point, to preserve the chronological sequence, two collections a little out of the direct lineage of *eruditos*,—those compiled by Timoneda and Linares. Juan de Timoneda's various *Rosas*, all published in 1573,⁴² contain some *romances viejos* and some original with the editor, but all are innocent of quatrains. Of the 56 which do not appear in any collection before Timoneda's, only three (Durán 621, 752 and 1131) could possibly be regarded as in quatrains, and they are very doubtful. One of Timoneda's idiosyncrasies was to compose in consonantal rime, which was frequent, as we have seen, about 1500, but is rare after 1550.⁴³ Timoneda's rimes offer some variety, including *-ía*, *-ano*, *-ón*, *-or*, *-ar*, *-aba* and *-ado*, and he carried them through with strictness. It seems that he and Linares attempted, unsuccessfully, to revive the old troubadour style.

The other similar collection, published in the same year (1573), is Juan de Linares' *Cancionero llamado Flor de enamorados, sacado de diversos autores, agora nuevamente por muy lindo orden y estilo copilado*. Durán includes eighteen poems taken from it and not found before. 15 are in class *A*, and three in *B*. Linares was even fonder of rime than Timoneda; not satisfied with ordinary terminations like *-ado*, *-ando*, *-ía* and *-er*, he managed to indite fairly long poems with such inflexible endings as *-erta* and *-ó*.

Continuing the tradition of the *eruditos*, Lucas Rodríguez published a *Romancero historiado* in 1579. His colorless compositions display greater variety of assonance than Sepúlveda, if not of style;

⁴² *Rosa de amores*; *Rosa española*; *Rosa gentil*; *Rosa real*; four parts of a collection of *romances* which Timoneda formed partly with works of his own, and partly with old ballads that he collected and remodeled. I have had to rely upon Durán for these, as Wolf's valuable reprint is not at hand (*Rosa de romances, o romances sacados de las Rosas de Timoneda*, etc. Leipzig, 1846).

⁴³ The *romances* in Montemayor's *Diana* (Durán, 1427 and 1428) show rime, and so does one of Cueva's (D. 557). There are many quatrains in the former, but also loose couplets; in other words, Montemayor's *romances*, despite their late date (1559?), go back to the literary tradition of 1450-1500.

in the sixty-five of his poems that Durán prints, there are examples of *i-o*, *a-a*, *a-o*, *i-a*, *á*, and *ó*. In spite of the growing proximity to the end of the century, there is still no trace whatever of quatrains in Rodríguez; 34 are in class *A*, and 31 in *B*.

Much the same may be said of Pedro de Padilla, a prolific poet in many meters. Durán prints 14 taken from the *Tesoro de varias poesías* (1580),⁴⁴ and in the *Romancero* (1583),⁴⁵ which Durán was unable to see, are 64 more. His assonances are mostly *a-o*, *a-a* and *i-a*; with a few in *i-o*, *i-e*, *á* and *ó*. He frequently interrupts his *laissez* with passages in Italian meters, a habit for which Ticknor reproved him (vol. III, p. 72). If not a sign of decadence, it indicates at least a non-epic refinement.

Juan de la Cueva, who, besides being a pioneer dramatist, was a tireless and tiresome composer of *romances* (*Coro febeo de romances historiales*, 1587), displays no desire whatever to employ a strophe form, as anyone may see who takes the trouble to glance over the sixty odd that Durán reprints. Like the other *eruditos*, he avoids rime, and his ingenuity embraces a range of assonants greater than the others. He uses *enjambement* to an extent which appears to be something new in *romance* writing.

We are now on the very threshold of the change. Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega is, speaking metrically, a transition poet between the *eruditos* who preceded him and the fluent writers of the *Romancero general*. He calls himself "criado del Rey nuestro señor: natural de Madrid," and Durán calls him "más correcto y menos pedante que Juan de la Cueva" (no. 710, note 1). The volume in which he exploits ancient history was published in the same year as Cueva's (*Primera parte del romancero y tragedias*, Alcalá, 1587), but his style has more of the literary man than the vulgarizer, and he follows Padilla in embedding Italian stanzas in the body of his *romances*. In his 1587 volume there is a slight tendency to quatrains, by no means carried out in a logical manner.⁴⁶ But in a small later

⁴⁴ Fuensanta del Valle, in the *Advertencia* to the reprint of the *Romancero*, p. vii, gives the date of 1575 for this book, but Salvá shows it to be an error.

⁴⁵ Vol. 19 of the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos esp.*, Madrid, 1880. Analysis of the 17 *rs.* in Durán (some of the 14 being divided) yields a result of 5 in *A*, and 12 in *B*. The first 20 in the *Romancero* show 10 in *A*, and 10 in *B*. There is one out of all, D. 82, that seems really in class *C*.

⁴⁶ Of 53 poems, some divided in two parts, there are some 17 of class *A*, 40 of *B*, and 5 can be regarded as of *C* (nos. 477, 562, 565, 662 and 943).

work (*Elogios en loor de los tres famosos varones*, etc., 1601) the revolution is completed. The four ballads in it by Laso de la Vega are all perfect examples of class C.⁴⁷ There could hardly be a neater exemplification of the time and nature of the change which took place in the technique of the *romance* at the close of the sixteenth century.

Ginés Pérez de Hita may properly be considered at this point, since he was in some respects a transition poet like Laso de la Vega. The *Guerras civiles de Granada* contain some 61 *romances*, woven into the course of the narrative. Those in the *Primera Parte* (first edition, 1595) belong to the series known as *fronterizos* and *moriscos novelescos*. There are 35 *romances* in this first part, and 23 of them, as nearly as I can tell, are not found in the same form in previous collections.^{47a} It is hardly profitable to dwell much upon these, as there is great uncertainty concerning the share that Hita had in composing them; some he undoubtedly received from tradition, others he wrote. Suffice it to say that of the 23 there are six that I regard as definitely in class C; these are numbered in Durán, 43, 53, 56, 59, 1058 and 1064 (= *Prim.* 85a, "Paseábase el rey moro"). With the *Segunda Parte* (written in 1597) the case is quite different. It is fairly certain that Pérez de Hita wrote the poems in it himself, to illustrate his stirring history of the rebellion in the Alpujarra, of which he was an eye-witness. In these 26 historical romances, so faithful to the life that the author forgot to be a poet, Hita followed the tradition of the *eruditos*. I find only one (Durán 1168) to be regarded as definitely in quatrains; it has an *estribillo*, and is without much doubt an imitation of the "¡Ay de mi Alhama!" of the First Part. It appears, then, that Hita was a little backward in adopting the strophes which, as we shall see, had become the rule by 1597.

⁴⁷ Durán, 1146, 1225, 1230, 1231. Of the remaining 3 not by Laso de la Vega, 2 are in C and 1 in A.

^{47a} A number were taken by Hita from Pedro de Moncayo's *Flor de varios romances nuevos*, 1^o y 2^o Partes, Huesca, 1589; others from the *Canc. de rs. sin año*, the *Silva* of 1550, and Timoneda's *Rosa española*. See Paula Blanchard-Demouge, in her edition of the princeps of the *Guerras civiles*, *Primera Parte*, Madrid, 1913, pp. li-lxiv. She has also reprinted the first known edition of the *Segunda Parte*, Madrid, 1915. There are three cases at least in which a *romance* made to appear as in quatrains in the current modern text of Hita, belongs in class A by the original text. These are Durán, nos. 89, 1046 and 1105.

The reason was that his subject matter naturally induced him to follow the lead of Sepúlveda and Fuentes rather than that of the art lyrists.

If one had at hand the nine parts of the *Flor de varios romances nuevos*, published between 1589 and 1597, and then incorporated into the *Romancero general* of 1600 and later, one might perhaps be able to trace a progressive development in the use of quatrains, but it is unlikely that the results would differ in any important way from those obtained from the material furnished by Durán. The information which he vouchsafes concerning the poems he has taken from the different *Flores* is divided into three series: (1) poems in the first three parts (1589); (2) poems from the fourth and fifth parts (1592); and (3) poems from the entire *Rom. gen.*⁴⁸ So that we have three stages in the development, which are quite sufficient to show, what is obvious in itself, that by the end of the century the normal lyric form of the *romance* was in quatrains, although exceptions still occurred. Of 128 poems in the first three *Flores*, there are 13 of class *A*, 10 of *B*, and 105 of *C*.⁴⁹ This sudden and vast preponderance of strophic *romances* is amazing, when there had been hardly a hint of it in the one-man collections up to two years before. Perhaps an acquaintance with the different editions of the *Silva* would soften the transition.

The seventy *romances* of the Fourth and Fifth parts of the *Flor* (1592) are all of class *C*, with no exception.⁵⁰ I did not deem it worth the labor to examine all the great number of poems taken from the complete *Romancero general* of 1600 and later, and not found in earlier volumes (Durán, II, 684b). I did however select 100 poems for scrutiny, including most of the *romances moriscos novelescos*,

⁴⁸ See Durán, *Rom. gen.*, II, pp. 683-84.

⁴⁹ *A*: 153, 179, 379, 686, 1405, 1509, 1575, 1676, 1693, 1694, 1713, 1768, 1769.

B: 22, 40, 101, 212, 398, 1093, 1544, 1632-33, 1705, 1853.

C: the rest of those cited by Durán, II, 683b, under letter [c].

Durán was an extremely painstaking workman, and his invaluable book contains the minimum of error, but he has occasionally neglected to give complete data regarding the source of each poem, so that sometimes there is doubt as to the collection in which it first appeared. His method and standard of indexing, be it said once for all, are marvels for their day (1849-1850), and may well serve as models for hundreds of publications of our time.

⁵⁰ Durán, II, 683b, letter [f].

and of them there appeared 11 of class *A*, 5 of *B*, and 84 of *C*.⁵¹ Many of the first class seem to have been intended for quatrains, but either the writer failed to perfect his work, or a pair of lines has been lost in one place; cf. nos. 61, and 64.

This section of my work might be ended here; but I have examined some *romances* of two individual writers, Lope de Vega and Góngora, to see how strictly they adhered to the prevailing strophe system.⁵² 48 *romances* of Lope, to be found partly in Durán, and partly in the volume of *Obras no dramáticas*,⁵³ yielded 3 in class *A*, and 45 in class *C*. The former are no. 67 (p. 276) of *Obras no dram.*, and nos. 1500 and last part of 1580, of Durán. The first named seems intended for quatrains, with one pair of verses lost; the other two show less respect for form. As to Góngora, neat workman that he was, he wrote in nothing but perfect quatrains. This is true at least of all the 123 *romances* printed in vol. XXXII of the *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* (pp. 505-553), without a single exception.⁵⁴

From these investigations, though fragmentary and far from being so complete as I could wish, the following deductions seem justified: 1°. The true *romances viejos* were never intentionally composed in quatrains. 2°. The artistic *romances* of poets at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella were not written consistently in quatrains, although they were lyrical in nature and meant to be sung to an artistic form of music. Consonantal rime was a feature of this period. 3°. In the great wave of *romance*-writing which began in 1550, strophe-division by fours was not even thought of till a date very close to 1589, when it suddenly became the rule. Rime was an

⁵¹ *A*: 13, 16, 28, 61, 64, 77, 122, 123, 132, 204, 215.

B: 21, 71, 157, 189, 201. I think I may be permitted to spare the printer the labor of setting up the 84 references for *C*.

⁵² It might be thought that Castillejo, the defender of the native Spanish verse forms, would contribute some interesting light; but he seems to have avoided the most characteristic form of all. There are no *rs.* among his works printed in B. A. E., vol. XXXII. Durán gives one, no. 1359, a *contrahechura* of "Tiempo es, el caballero," and it belongs in class *A*, with no sign of quatrains.

⁵³ For the first, see *Rom. gen.*, II, 694b. For the second, B. A. E., vol. XXXVIII, 233-299. There are no duplicates.

⁵⁴ Some of these *rs.* are not by Góngora. There is in Durán only one poem not printed also in vol. XXXII, and that is no. 1638, also in quatrains.

exception, confined to individuals. And therefore: 4°. As far as strophe-form goes, there is no gap or divergence between the *romances viejos* and the medieval epic of the form of *Mio Cid*; in both the unit is one long line (or two short ones), grouped in *laisses* of one assonance. There is, per contra, a distinct gap between the old *romances* and the Galician lyrics in octosyllables with which Mr. Lang would connect them; and the *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (also Galician) must be considered as in quite a different verse form from the *romances*, having, as it does, rime in all lines and fixed quatrain division. Menéndez y Pelayo was therefore right in protesting against confusion between epic *versetes de antiguo rimar* and lyric stanzas, whether or not his distinction between the epic and lyric octosyllables, as a single line, could be maintained (Antol., XI, 98-99).

One might see in the quatrain a test to distinguish old *romances* from new, but in practice no such test is needed, for the language and spirit of a *romance viejo* bear sufficient witness of age and genuineness. But an objective criterion is never superfluous, and I do not believe that any *romance* displaying marked and regular strophe division is free from artistic influence. It is manifested, for example, in the famous "Paseábase el rey moro" (*Prim.* 85a; cf. note 20) and not in the versification alone (*al sangriento Marte*).

In short, a rather laborious study has done no more than corroborate and amplify the views of Bello, who, with his usual penetrating insight, wrote such words as these: "La división de los romances en coplillas de cuatro versos me parece que no sube del siglo XVI. En los *romances viejos*, la estrofa es simplemente de dos versos, y señalada sólo por la asonancia, ocurriendo las pausas mayores a trechos indeterminados."⁵⁵ These lines, written at least fifty, and perhaps eighty years ago, prove once more that we of today cannot with impunity neglect the thoughts of that colossal intellect in any matter upon which he touched.

4. *In the drama of the siglo de oro.*—The next two sections of this study are extraneous to the main argument, and are inserted for completeness, as well as for the intrinsic interest they offer, if indeed it is possible to hope that any scholar's interest in the matter has not already been exhausted.

⁵⁵ *Arte métrica*, § 9. *Opúsculos gramaticales*, Madrid, 1890, p. 361.

I have elsewhere expressed the opinion⁵⁶ that in the *comedia* of the *siglo de oro* the passages in *romance* meter were not cast in strophe form. It appears, however, that there are frequent exceptions to such a rule, although it remains the rule. I do not intend to do more than cast a passing glance at the matter now; possibly it will never be worth more, as it does not affect a larger issue. An examination of about twenty plays by Lope, Tirso de Molina, Alarcón, Moreto, Calderón and Rojas seems to authorize the following statements, tentative only. When the *romance* meter is used for dialog, it does not keep to quatrains. (Alarcón, however, tends to strophes even there.) But when the *romance* fulfils its first function of a long narrative monolog, it may or may not be written in quatrains. Thus, examples of narrative monolog without quatrains: Lope, *Premio del bien hablar*, I, 2; Tirso, *Amazonas en las Indias*, II, 3; Rojas, *Lo que son mujeres*, I, 2. With quatrains: Lope, *El maestro de danzar*, I, 2; id., *El casamiento en la muerte*, II (*Obras compl.*, VII, 278b);⁵⁷ Tirso, *La huerta de Juan Fernández*, I, 2; I, 3;⁵⁸ Rojas, *Don Diego de Noche*, I, 6. If the lyrical or rhetorical element comes in, quatrains are much more likely to be found, and to be preserved strictly: Lope, *El Caballero de Olmedo*, I, 2; II, 13; Tirso, *La Prudencia en la mujer*, I, 3; Moreto, *San Franco de Sena*, II, 15.

Calderón wrote the *romance* meter with more freedom, as he also employed it more extensively than others. I have not yet observed in his plays (though it is very possible such exist) any passage of length written in quatrains; interesting examples of the opposite may be found in *La vida es sueño*, I, 6; II, 2; *La devoción de la cruz*, I, 3; *Purgatorio de San Patricio*, I, 2; III, 10; etc., etc. Calderón seems to have taken special pains to break up the octosyllables, so that even the faint link of assonance is weakened, and the meter approximates to blank verse. Take the well known passage from *El alcalde de Zalamea* (II, 21):

⁵⁶ *Spanish Ballads*, New York, 1911, p. xxxvii.

⁵⁷ An especially interesting example, because Lope has here changed to the formal scheme a *romance* of the *Flor de varios y nuevos rs.*, 3ª Parte (Durán, no. 398), which was astrophic in the original.

⁵⁸ Tirso's long tirades usually start as if meant to be in strophes, and then grow farther away from the norm, as if he did not exert himself to keep it up. The same may be said of Moreto.

“Por la gracia de Dios, Juan,
 Eres de linaje limpio
 Más que el sol, pero villano:
 Lo uno y lo otro te digo,
 Aquello, porque no humilles
 Tanto tu orgullo y tu brío,
 Que dejes, desconfiado,
 De aspirar con cuerdo arbitrio
 A ser más; lo otro, porque
 No vengas, desvanecido,
 A ser menos: igualmente
 Usa de entrambos designios
 Con humildad; porque siendo
 Humilde, con recto juicio
 Acordarás lo mejor:” etc.

In reality, this is a new form of verse; we have not even the 16-syllable unit of the *romances viejos*. If this were written in long lines, it would be hard to recognize the cesura; if in prose, the assonance would not easily be detected. This type is an invention of the moderns, an effect of the *suelos* in Italian hendecasyllables. There is nothing like it in medieval poetry.

5. In the *romances vulgares*.—The lengthy and unliterary *romances vulgares* constitute numbers 1253 to 1358 in Durán's *Romancero general*. The date of composition of these eventful but prosy narratives cannot be known; some may go back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the sheets from which the majority are taken were published in the early nineteenth. Of course, the genre still flourishes today, and any event in any Spanish speaking country may give rise to one. (Cf. e. g. Vicuña Cifuentes's collection, mentioned below, note 60.) As represented in Durán, the *romance vulgar* has no strophe system. Of his 106, only five are in class C; nos. 1344, 1351, 1352, 1353, and 1354. The last four are evidently from the same pen.

6. In the traditional ballads of today.—As regards the traditional *romances* collected in recent years, they display the widest divergence of form, as of merit. The oldest, and still the purest and most valuable collection, that made in Asturias by Juan Menéndez

Pidal,⁵⁹ is almost entirely free from quatrains. The poems in which one may, and not with entire certainty, detect strophe structure, are nos. XI, XIII, LII, LXXIII, and LXXXVII; and this out of a total of 98. In the excellent Chilean collection of Julio Vicuña Cifuentes,⁶⁰ out of 62 popular ballads (excluding the *vulgares*) which are not so fragmentary as to defy analysis, I reckoned some 26 cast in strophes, 29 without, and 7 doubtful. Many of these versions are defective or garbled, and for that reason the study of the modern *romances* is none too profitable. There are frequently found poems in which the assonance changes with each quatrain; it is a sure sign of degeneracy and remoteness from the original form, if it was of true epic origin.⁶¹

As an example of the changes in external form through which one and the same *romance* may pass, there may be placed side by side the opening lines of three versions of the famous and omnipresent *romance* of *Delgadina*; I, no quatrains, same assonance throughout; II, quatrains, same assonance; III, no quatrains and changing assonance.

I

El buen Rey tenía tres hijas
muy hermosas y galanas,
la más chiquitina dellas,
Delgadina se llamaba.
—Delgadina de cintura,

II

Pues señor: éste era un rey
que tenía tres hijitas;
la más chiquita y bonita
Delgadina se llamaba.
Cuando su madre iba a misa

⁵⁹ *Colección de los viejos romances que se cantan por los asturianos*, etc., Madrid, 1885. A partial bibliography of the other sources of *rs. trads. modernos* may be found in Morley's *Spanish Ballads*, pp. xli-xliv, but the flood of publications on the subject since its date of issue (1911) have rendered it quite out of date.

⁶⁰ *Romances populares y vulgares recogidos de la tradición oral chilena*. Santiago de Chile, 1912.

⁶¹ Lang, I suppose, would maintain that all these versions are unreliable, since they were not taken down "from the choral song of the festal throng." On page 302, and notes 45 and 46, he upbraids Olmeda (*Folk-lore de Castilla*, 1903) for not getting his versions in that way. If there are any festal throngs singing heroic lays at the communal dance in Spanish-speaking countries, they conceal themselves skilfully, for all the collectors of modern oral ballads, from Juan Menéndez Pidal to Espinosa, take special care to give the name and age, as well as the residence, of each person who recited poems for them. Mr. Lang quotes Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos to support him; one may profitably read on the other side the opening remarks of María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal's *Romances que deben buscarse en la tradición oral*, *Rev. de archivos*, XV, 374.

tú has de ser mi enamorada.
—No lo quiera Dios del cielo,
ni la Virgen soberana,
que yo enamorada fuera
del padre que me engendrara.—

El padre que tal oyó,
la encerrara en una sala.
Non le daban de comer
más que de carne salada;
non le daban de beber,
sino zumo de naranja. etc.

J. M. Pidal, no. LXXIV.

Su padre la enamoraba;
y como ella no quería
en un cuarto la encerraba.

Al otro día siguiente
se asomó a una ventana
y alcanzó a ver a su hermana
sentada en silla de plata.

—Hermana, por ser mi hermana,
me darás un vaso de agua,
que el alma la tengo seca
y la vida se me acaba. etc.

P. Henríquez, *Romances en América in Cuba contemporánea*. vol. III (1913), p. 349. (From Santo Domingo.)

III

Delgadina se pasiaba
en una sala cuadrada,
con una mantona de oro
que la sala relumbraba.
Su padre como enojado
se metió por la cosina.
Sálgase la gente ajuera
déjenme a la Delgadina.
Delgadina, hija mía,
tú pudieras ser mi dama.
No lo permita mi dios
ni la reina soberana.
¡Qué tal ofensa mi dios!
¡qué tal ofensa mi nana! etc.

A. M. Espinosa, *Romancero nuevomejicano*, in *Rev. hisp.* XXXIII, 1915, p. 11.

Usually, when the frequent change of assonance occurs, there is strict strophe form, but that happens not to be the case here. The most prominent example of it is the ballad of *La dama y el rústico pastor*, of which there are several versions.⁶² The very noteworthy

⁶² Men. Pel., *Antol.*, X, 193, 333; Vicuña Cifuentes, nos. 51-54; Rodolfo Gil, *Romancero judeo-español* (Madrid, 1911), no. XLII, Espinosa, *op. cit.*, nos. 10-13.

fact of this poem is its remoteness from the sixteenth century form (*Prim.* 145) from which it is supposed to descend. The latter is a *laisse* of -*é* assonance, without quatrains; all of the modern versions are in quatrains, with changing assonance, and the assonance in -*é* occurs nowhere except in from one to three stanzas of the New Mexican versions. It is impossible to doubt that some disturbing influence, some foreign substance, or some artistic blood entered into this line of descent, to throw it so far out of the normal.

Another interesting comparison of assonance may be made between a Cuban and an Asturian version of the poem beginning "¿Dónde vas, Alfonso doce?" a modern adaptation to an event which took place in 1878, of the fifteenth century *romance* known as "La aparición" (cf. p. 54, and note 26). Both are in quatrains, but Asturias has kept the original assonance, while Cuba has changed it, with surprising ease, in several places.

Asturias.

¿Dónde vas, Rey Alfonsito?
¿Dónde vas, triste de ti?
—Voy en busca de Mercedes,
que ayer tarde no la vi.
—Merceditas ya se ha muerto;
muerta está, que yo la vi.
Cuatro condes la llevaban
por las calles de Madrí.
Al Escorial la llevaban,
y la enterraron allí,
en una caja forrada
de cristal y de marfil. etc.
J. M. Pidal, p. 349, song for a
child's game.

Cuba.

¿Dónde vas, Alfonso doce,
dónde vas triste de ti?
—Voy en busca de mi esposa
que ayer tarde no la vi.
—Ya Mercedes ya está muerta,
que ayer tarde yo la vi,
cuatro duques la llevaban
por las calles de Madrid.
Los zapatos que llevaba
eran de rico charol,
regalo del rey Alfonso
el día que se casó.
El vestido que llevaba
era color carmesí,
lo regaló don Alfonso
el día que le dió el sí.
Al Subir las escaleras,
Alfonso se desmayó,
los soldados le decían:
—Don Alfonso tened valor.—
Las campanas de la iglesia
ya no quieren repicar
porque la reina se ha muerto

y luto quiere guardar. etc.

J. M. Chacón y Calvo, *Romances tradicionales en Cuba*, p. 97. In *Rev. de la Facultad de letras y ciencias de la Universidad de la Habana*, enero de 1914 (vol. XVIII).

7. *In the music of the romances*.—The popular *romances* are always sung, and so one might well look, as Rajna (notes 144 and 145) and others suggest, to their music for light on the matter of their division by pauses. Is the musical period always completed within thirty-two syllables? that is the question; and if it be, what happens when the poem is one of class *A*?⁶³

In studying this problem, insufficient account has been made of the sharp distinction which should be observed between popular melodies and learned ones. Hanssen and Rajna examine the music of Barbieri's *Cancionero musical* and that printed in Amador, *Hist. crit.*, vol. II, pp. 612–615, and decide that *romances* were certainly sung in quatrains in the sixteenth century. Hanssen, who cites also an example from Pisador's *Libro de Música de Vihuela*, is amazed at what he considers an undeniable fact: "En los antiguos romances, se presenta una estraña contradiccion entre la versificacion i la division musical. Apesar de que se cantaban por cuartetas, no fué necesario que el número de versos fuese divisible por cuatro. Tampoco fué necesario que coincidiesen los incisos gramaticales con los musicales. Esta contradiccion se esplica precisamente por el orijen de los romances. Se cantaron las series monorrimas de las Jestas, que no conocían ninguna subdivision, con melodías de procedencia ajena." He infers that quatrain division appeared in music before it did in the writing of *romances*, and that true strophe division was brought about precisely by the music. To this he assigns an effect which Menéndez y Pelayo had given rather to lyric octosyllables.⁶⁴

⁶³ Rajna, note 144: "Non so come si provveda nella recitazione a quei molti casi nei quali i 'romances' constano di un numero dispari di versi lunghi, e non possono conseguentemente essere ripartiti in quartine complete di ottonari. Si ripetono i due ultimi ottonari? oppure si modifica alla fine la melodia?" In his brief remarks on the music, Rajna uses only Amador, vol. II, and Barbieri, as material.

⁶⁴ Hanssen, *Notas al poema del Cid*, pp. 238–241. In *Anales de la Univ. de Santiago de Chile*, 1911.

I am inclined to think that Hanssen is on the right track, especially in saying that the music was not necessarily that which first accompanied the words.⁶⁵ But first, it should be noted that all this sixteenth-century music, as far as I have seen it, presents the notation of four lines only of the poem, and there stops, leaving it to be inferred that these bars are repeated to the end, I suppose. The complete music for an entire poem might have taught us more. But of far more importance is it to emphasize the purely erudite character of all the music we possess from those times.⁶⁶ All the *romances* in Barbieri are set to three or four part airs, and the two early examples in Amador (II, 614-615) exhibit the same contrapuntal style. Now, I am told by competent persons that in Latin countries the presence of more than one part in a song is practically sure evidence of learned influence, popular melodies being always conceived for one voice only in southern Europe. If this be true, what stronger inference can one draw from the *Cancionero musical* than the very natural one, that Encina and his school amused themselves setting *romances* to their formal type of music, just as they made a pastime of composing poems based on the general type of the *romances viejos*, but more formal in structure? They could, by repeating two lines, make any poem fit their formal, thesis-and-antithesis, type of music. In other words, I protest that we know nothing whatever of the music to which the people sang the *romances* in the sixteenth century, unless indeed there exists some proof vastly different from that contained in the *Cancionero musical*. Apparently we are no better off than for the mode of recital of the *Mio Cid*, which, according to R. Menéndez Pidal, is a void in our knowledge (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, 102-103). As to whether the erudite music had some share in the general adoption of quatrains at the end of the sixteenth century, I cannot say; it seems plausible. It may be also that Encina or the others used popular melodies as a basis for some of their compositions. This remains to be proved.

When we come to modern times, we find some material for the

⁶⁵ Lang, of course, does not assent, as it would interfere with his lyric origin of the *romance*. See *op. cit.*, 334-335.

⁶⁶ I confess that I am speaking without due authority, not having access to the works of Pisador, Salinas, Narváez, Valderrábano, etc. It is unlikely, but not impossible, that the musicians of that school had reached the stage of noting folk-tunes.

study of real *romance*-music, for the age of science and machinery turns its attention also to humble things, and seeks refuge from the complex in the simple. But we find again the same obstacle as before: the collectors have been content to note one quatrain and go no further. Perhaps R. Menéndez Pidal, with his wide experience in the oral field, might solve the problem out of hand; but we who are dependent upon printed testimony are often disappointed. There are three tunes in *Amador de los Ríos* (*Hist. crit.*, 1861-5, II, 481), but the music is not carried beyond the stereotyped four lines. Nor are we offered a more liberal share by María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, for the "*Romance de la muerte del príncipe don Juan*" (*Bull. hisp.*, 1904, p. 31); nor by her husband for "*La dama y el rústico pastor*" in *Romances trads. en América* (*Cultura esp.*, 1906, p. 94; eight lines here); nor in the *tonadas* for four *romances viejos* just published by A. M. Espinosa, in *El romancero nuevomejicano* (*Rev. hisp.*, XXXIII [1915], pp. 112-113).⁶⁷ Not even the rich folk-song collections of Olmeda and Ledesma print music for more than one quatrain of a *romance*, or at most two.⁶⁸

With one exception. Yielding to some charitable impulse, the priest Dámaso Ledesma has given in full, at the cost of some repetition, the music for a late local *romance*, of 76 lines.⁶⁹ A study of it reveals how, in one case at least, the problem is solved of reconciling fixed musical phrases and cadences to words with pauses which vary in position. The tune is in $\frac{9}{8}$ time, and each measure corresponds to 8 syllables of text. Each measure is a phrase complete in itself, and there are five such different phrases, with slight variations, used in the entire piece. Of these one only, that which I call D, is a closing cadence, ending on the tonic; and it is used wherever the sense requires a stop, and sometimes in other places for no apparent

⁶⁷ Nor in the music for five of a more modern type.

⁶⁸ F. Olmeda: *Folk-lore de Castilla o romancero popular de Burgos*. Sevilla, 1903 (1904 by the *acabado de imprimir*). Dámaso Ledesma, presbítero: *Folk-lore o cancionero salmantino*. Madrid, 1907. These, with the works mentioned in the text, include all the music for modern Castilian *romances* that I know of as published. There are Catalan examples in Milá's *Romancerillo catalan*, 1882, but not extensive. I doubt if there is any help in Briz: *Cansons de la terra*, 1866-67, or Pedrell: *Catàlech de la Biblioteca musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, 1899.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 191-195, "*Nací en cueros como el rey*." There are some hemistichs missing at one place, p. 194, and others fail to meet the assonance.

reason. By combinations of the five phrases, which are bound in no obligatory sequence, a *romance* of any length whatever could be accommodated, even one with an odd number of lines, if such existed. As Ledesma's book is easily obtainable, I need not press the analysis farther here,⁷⁰ but I invite all interested to examine this strongly individual air, which has every indication of being of the people, by the people and for the people. Ledesma gives a fragment of a poor version of *Conde Claros* with precisely the same melody (p. 190, no. 25), and there is no saying how old the tune is. It is a pity that the example is isolated, for with a few more as complete, we should possess valuable and even definitive knowledge as regards the modern *romances*, and a basis of inference for the old. I feel that it is within the bounds of safety to assert that *romance* music is very flexible; perhaps "Nací en cueros como el rey" would never be sung twice alike in precisely the same way even by the same person. There could be no difficulty in adapting such a tune to any *romance* ever made, strophic or astrophic, provided it met the syllable count. If the length of line varied as in *Mío Cid*, we should have to open a new chapter.

II. THE BALLAD "RETRAÍDA ESTABA LA REYNA"; ITS AUTHOR AND ITS DATE

Rajna, in his *Osservazioni e dubbi*, devotes some space to a discussion of the two early *romances* attributed to Carvajal, and included in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*⁷¹ (pp. 7-8, 19-22, and notes). His object is partly to infer an earlier period of flourishing for the *romances* than is usually supposed, and partly to show a lyric spirit in the *romances* that did not exist in the *cantares de gesta*. I do not think that either point is entirely proven, but at present I wish to dis-

⁷⁰ The exact sequence of the phrases in the entire piece is this, indicating slight variations in the individual phrases by primes: ABCCABCCAD. CCA'BA'D. CCCCA'B'CCED. CCCCA'D. (A-C)CC'C'A'D. C'C'C'(A-C)CA'D. CC'A'D. CCA'D. C'C'C'ED. (There are defective lines here.) C'C(A-C)'ED. C'C'C'CC'C'C'E(A-C)"A'D. This shows sufficiently the curiously irregular character of the musical structure. Notice that the concluding cadence is introduced at the end of blocks of 4, 5, 6, 8, 10 and 12 lines, showing beyond a doubt that the music can conform itself to any strophe division, or lack of it, whatsoever.

⁷¹ The *Canc. de Stúñiga* was compiled after the death of Alfonso V of Aragon, which occurred in 1458. It is reprinted as vol. 4 of the *Colección de libros esp. raros o curiosos*, Madrid, 1872.

cuss only the authorship and date of one of the poems, that beginning "Retraída estaba la reyna" (*Prim.* 100). The other, "Terrible duelo fasía" is signed by Carvajal in both the Madrid and Venetian MSS. of the *Cancionero*.

This poem offers, if I am not mistaken, a striking example of the very human and very necessary tendency to accept information without first testing its accuracy, a tendency which we all try to curb in so far as we may, but not always with success. Modern writers are agreed that this *romance* was written by Carvajal. Baist says so (*G. G.*, II², 433), Fitzmaurice-Kelly says so (*Hist. litt. esp.*, Paris, 1913, p. 117), Menéndez y Pelayo says so in several places (e. g. *Antol.*, V, cclxxxix, and XII, 279), and prints the poem with a series by Carvajal in the *Antol.*, II, p. 184. Rajna does not question the attribution. Yet from the printed evidence I can find no proof that Carvajal wrote it.

The history of the poem is this. It was first published, as anonymous, by the Spanish translators of Ticknor, Gayangos and Vedia (1851; vol. I, p. 509), working from the MS. M-48 of the Bibl. Nacional at Madrid. Next came Amador de los Rios, who in his *Hist. crít. de la lit. esp.* (1865; vol. VII, p. 460 and 461, n. 1) commented on the poem, declared it written by Carvajal, and in the year 1442. He used the MS. itself, and not the printed material. In 1872 the *Canc. de Stúñiga* was printed entire, and "Retraída estaba la reyna" appears without name of author in the body of the text (p. 321), and is twice classed as *Anónimo* in the *Índice*, once under the first line, and once in the list of page references for anonymous poems. Yet in their *Advertencia preliminar* (pp. xxiv-xxv) the editors declare "Ambos romances son de Carvajal"! Milá y Fontanals appeared not to know this edition; at any rate he refers only to Amador and the translators of Ticknor, and repeats that the piece is of Carvajal and written in 1442 (1874; *Poesía her.-pop. cast.*, p. 324 and note 1). These statements have not since been challenged, that I am aware, except that Rajna questions the date, as I will point out in a moment.

Amador, then, was the first to assign the *romance* to Carvajal, and he used the same MS. as that reprinted in 1872 (M-48). Is there some indication there which the editors failed to reproduce? It is possible, but the fact that Gayangos and Vedia failed to notice it, and the testimony of the *Índice*, incline me to think that we have

here only a natural slip, which has escaped observation ever since. The *romance*, and a prose letter just preceding it, of which I will speak more fully soon, occur in the midst of a series of poems by Carvajal, and it was easy to infer, perhaps correctly, that he wrote these also. Thus the editors themselves, in a note to the letter (p. 456), declare "el estar incluida entre las demas obras de Carvajal, y el estilo en que está escrita, nos hacen creer que es de este poeta." Did they have no better reason for their assertion in the *Advertencia*? From bare inference to the axiomatic certainty which has lately been assumed is a long stride.

I am aware that Menéndez y Pelayo may have had some reason best known to himself for lending the weight of his great authority to the statement, but it appears to me more likely that he followed Amador unthinking. There are at least two other MSS. of the *Canc. de Stúñiga*, one at Rome and one at Venice (see *Antol.*, V, p. cclxxxviii). The one of Rome is said to be identical with M-48 at Madrid; the Venetian MS. has been described at length by Musafia.⁷² In it neither the letter nor "Retraída estaba la reyna" are ascribed to Carvajal; and there is this difference in the order of items, that whereas in the Madrid MS. poems by Carvajal both precede and follow the two numbers dealing with Queen Mary of Aragon (12 before and 8 after), in the Venetian one they follow only. If Carvajal wrote this *romance*, or the letter, why did he not sign them?

Then there is the question of the date of the poem, and of the letter which precedes it. The latter bears a pompous rubric: "Aquí comienza la epístola de la sennora reyna de Aragon, donna María, enviada al sennor rey don Alfonso, marido suyo, renando est Italia pacíficamente." The letter describes the loneliness of the queen on account of the prolonged absence of her husband, Alfonso V, in the kingdom of Naples, the conquest of which occupied him from 1420 to 1442. The *romance* expresses her emotions in a similar way, and most of it is likewise placed in the mouth of the queen. Amador, Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo agree in supposing the poem to have been written in 1442, because the queen complains that Alfonso left her twenty-two years ago:

⁷² *Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Cancioneros aus der Marcusbibliothek in Venedig, in Sitzb. der Wiener Akad. der Wissen.*, vol. LIV (1866), pp. 81-134.

"Dexó a mí desaventurada,—Annos veynte et dos habia."

Alfonso left on his Italian adventures in 1420, hence it seems that the queen is supposed to be speaking in 1442, and one may infer that the poem was written at the same time.⁷³ Rajna is the first to question the date, and by novel reasoning. He says first (*op. cit.*, note 22) that the imperfect *había* could not be used for a present, meaning "ago"; he takes it as representing modern *tenía*, and interprets: "I was twenty-two years old when he left me"!⁷⁴ He supports this idea by citing a phrase in the prose letter. María is made to address her husband thus: "e piensa en espacio de treyta (*sic*) annos quanto poco mis oios han gosado de tu vista et ya que la universal pas has fecho en la grande et rigurosa militante Italia, da con solitud segura orden a tus grandes fechos" etc.⁷⁵ This he takes to imply that Alfonso and the queen had been married thirty years, and the wedding took place in 1415 (June 12). Also, the phrase "universal pas" could hardly be used before 1443, when Alfonso made his triumphal entry into Naples, and so, regarding letter and *romance* as inseparable, Rajna fixes a date of 1445 for the latter.

If he had pressed his inquiry just a little farther, he would have seen that the first part of his argument will not bear scrutiny an instant. In the first place, María was born November 14, 1401,⁷⁶ so that she was nineteen, and not twenty-two, when Alfonso left her. *Había* could very well be used for *tenía*, of course, if it made sense; but on the other hand, the imperfect tense is used continually for the present in the *romances*, so that *había* may also stand for *ha*, as it undoubtedly does.⁷⁷ So that the hemistich means "twenty-

⁷³ Baist's date, 1448, is presumably a mere misprint, one of many, for 1442 (*G. G.*, II², 433). I think one may safely leave out of account the possibility that the writer represented the queen as speaking at a time earlier than the year in which he wrote. I doubt if any of Alfonso's court-poets had so much dramatic sense, and the immediate motive of the poem was probably the capture of Naples.

⁷⁴ "Io vedo qui invece indicata l'età che la regina aveva quando il re se ne allontanò."

⁷⁵ *Canc. de Stúñiga*, p. 317.

⁷⁶ M. Lafuente, *Hist. gen. de España*, vol. II (1883), p. 141a; and any good encyclopedia.

⁷⁷ This is the commonest of all tense peculiarities in the language of the *romances*. I will not take the space here to quote examples, but content myself with referring to Morley's *Spanish Ballads*, New York, 1911, p. 106; and more fully, Leo Spitzer: *Stilistisch-Syntaktisches aus den spanisch-portugiesischen Romanzen*, p. 194; in *Zt. rom. Philol.*, vol. XXXV, 1911.

two years ago," and I for one am quite willing to accept the natural inference that the poem was composed in 1442, or at latest 1443.

For it has been too hastily assumed by Rajna, as before him by Milá,⁷⁸ that letter and poem were written at the same time or by the same person; they must be considered separately. Rajna's deductions seem correct as regards the date of the former, at least in so far as the thirty years after marriage is concerned. The expression "universal pas" is not a vague platitude; it points to a precise time, which I have not been able to determine as exactly as I could wish, through lack of documents which should be easily accessible to those working in Europe. Alfonso did not by any means cease fighting after he had gained Naples. He had plenty of battles afterward, but he was so firmly convinced that peace would confer a blessing on the country that he worked incessantly toward it. Says Lafuente (II, 190), speaking of a time about the year 1445: "Llegó ya el caso de que se tratara entre el papa y el rey de Aragón de la *paz universal* de Italia, que ambos apetecían." And again: "De suerte que el rey de Aragón, al propio tiempo que era el amparo de los príncipes de Italia en sus conflictos, cumplía y desempeñaba de este modo su noble papel de *pacificador general* (1446)." In the same year, 1446, he was interested in the erection of a statue of Naples at peace.⁷⁹ One may infer, then, with some degree of certainty, both from the "universal peace" and the "thirty years of marriage," that María's prose complaint was composed about the year 1445 or 1446. It is but natural that the *romance* dealing with same subject should stand beside it in the *Cancionero*, but there is good reason to suppose that three or four years intervened between the dates of the two. As to the author, we know nothing; Carvajal may have written one or both or neither. It is singular that his name should have been omitted from both MSS. if he was really the author.

Whether, in view of these considerations, Milá would have modi-

⁷⁸ *Poesía her.-pop.*, 324, note 2: "El R. fué sin duda compuesto junto con la carta que le precede y ambos a la vez fueron enviados al rey Alfonso, la primera en nombre de la reina y la segunda en nombre del poeta o de los poetas de la corte."

⁷⁹ See F. Bofarull, *Alfonso V de Aragón en Nápoles*, p. 633; in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo* (1899), vol. I.

fied his dictum concerning the artistic origin of the poem, I cannot say.⁸⁰ It is unlikely. There are certainly, as Menéndez y Pelayo pointed out (*Antol.*, V, ccxc), phrases in it with a real epic ring, and others purely courtly. It must have been written so soon after the event that there is not much chance to postulate a re-working, unlikely in itself.⁸¹

III. CONCLUSION

The general conclusions of this study were expressed at the close of I, § 3. Their value for Spanish literature lies in the fact that they break down one barrier, that of the strophe-form, which certain modern scholars have sought to erect between the *romances viejos* and the *cantares de gesta*. Whether other barriers exist, such as the lyric spirit of the *romances*, or their syntax, I cannot now express a competent opinion. I doubt if they present any insuperable obstacle to the juncture of the two epic manifestations. As to the *certainty* that the historical old ballads are fragments of the long epics, I can add nothing to the judicious words of Rajna. If an unprejudiced scholar is not convinced by the elaborate demonstration of R. Menéndez Pidal for "Pártese el moro Alicante" and "A cazar va don Rodrigo" of the Infantes de Lara cycle;⁸² for "Castellanos y leoneses" and "Buen conde Fernán González" of the Fernán González cycle;⁸³ if the relation of "Cabalgá Diego Lainez" to the *Rodrigo* can

⁸⁰ "De ninguna manera puede admitirse que este R. sea una poesía popular refundida después por Carvajal. No hay indicio ni motivo para ello y el asunto no era para cantado por las plazas." *Op. cit.*, 324, n. 2.

⁸¹ In his note 78 Rajna comments upon the fragment of a *romance* published as no. 334 of Asenjo Barbieri's *Cancionero musical*, that which begins "Triste está la Reina, triste,—triste está, que no reyendo." (Reprinted in Men. Pel., *Antol.*, IX, 212.) He analyzes it closely, and even hints that it might be connected with the poem on the queen of Aragon. I would call his attention to the *pliego suelto* version, also fragmentary, but longer, of this piece, published by Wolf in his *Ueber eine Sammlung sp. Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern*, 122 (or 273; the pagination differs in the reprint) and again by Men. Pel. in *Antol.*, IX, 220. Here the heroine is not a queen, but a *gentil dama*, and she is mourning the absence of a young son, a *niño chiquito*. There is a remote chance that this might be an artistic gloss upon the Gaiferos ballads (*Prim.*, 171, 172). There are some phrases in common. At any rate it is not a popular poem, but of courtly origin, as is shown by the rime throughout in *-iendo*.

⁸² *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 95-108.

⁸³ *Notas para el romancero de Fernán González*, pp. 430-462; *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, vol. I.

be explained in some other way than as actual descent;⁸⁴ it is not likely that the problem will be settled beyond controversy without the aid of new documents. Rajna is not convinced (pp. 15, 19-20, 41), and he is certainly eminently fitted by temperament and training to be an impartial judge.

One may yield admiration without stint to the keen and subtle mind of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, that embraces so many details at once, and detects relations which would escape another, and yet not concede that every link of his chain is strong enough to support a very heavy weight of incredulity. But I entertain the hope that, with the aid of the MS. material which he is in the best position to use, he will be able to clear up many points still obscure. When the French epic, with its wealth of documentary evidence, is still very much discussed, what likelihood is there of a convincing settlement for the Spanish epic, where at every turn one comes upon a "conjecture," a "reconstruction" or a "restoration"?—an attempt to make the human mind bridge, by force of assiduity and acuteness, the gap left by the loss of texts.

But I should not close without pointing out that in all his writing's Menéndez Pidal has never paid the slightest attention to Bédier's stimulating, even epoch-making *Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*. Though his conclusions are still waiting to be accepted, Bédier's premises are based on fact, not inference, and must be taken into consideration for Spain as well as for France. Until they are, little that is written on the Spanish epic can be regarded as definitive. Bédier himself expressly refrains from transferring the literary laws of one country to another, but the new facts which he has brought to light are too plain and too practical to be neglected anywhere. It is this disregard of Bédier which I fear will vitiate much of Menéndez Pidal's theoretical writing, though it cannot detract from the value of his metrical and grammatical labors.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Even Spanish doctors disagree on this point, for R. Menéndez Pidal (*Epopee castillane*, p. 143) declares it to be a perfect example of a *romance viejo*, a fragment taken by the people from a long epic recitation; whilst for Menéndez y Pelayo (*Antol.*, XI, 348) it has "un ingenio y primor de detalles que revela á un poeta culto."

⁸⁵ Too late to be used in the body of this article there has appeared a suggestive page of Manuel Manrique de Lara, *Romances españoles en los Balkanes*

(*Blanco y Negro*, 2 de enero de 1916, no. 1285). Following it are four examples of tunes collected among the Spanish Jews of Morocco and the Near East. The author's name is not unknown; R. Menéndez Pidal named him ten years ago as a specialist in the music of *romances* (*Roms. trads. en América, Cultura esp.*, I, 1906, p. 94). The collector gives us only a crumb of knowledge here, but enough to show that inferences based on the popular melodies of *rs.* must be held in abeyance until the 300 *tonadas* are published, which he states he has noted down. He declares that, in Jewish *rs.* at least, the melody is completed within four (short) lines, and is repeated over and over to the end; that every couplet in the poem except the first is repeated once: "y así, sea par é [*sic*; read o] impar el número de versos que contiene el asonante, siempre coincide el final del romance con el final de la tonada." This is not true of the *rom.* which I have analyzed ("Nací en cueros como el rey"), and Manrique de Lara gives one to understand that it is true only of Jewish melodies. He remarks:

"En este inmenso tesoro de romances tradicionales acumulado . . . podrá ser estudiada y probablemente resuelta la cuestión, tan debatida por la crítica, de lo que en la antigüedad medieval, fué la música de la canción de gesta."

This appears doubtful, but it is certain that the publication of his material will be awaited with impatience.

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EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU: A DISCIPLE OF MAROT

(Continued from vol. vi., p. 326.)

VI. BEAULIEU AS A COMPOSER OF RELIGIOUS SONGS

a. *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*

BEAULIEU was one of the chief composers of religious songs of the Reformation. In his volume entitled the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*¹⁵⁴ he adapted the music of one hundred and twenty-one popular songs to religious words, and wrote the music and words, he tells us, of thirty-nine more. The volume is divided into two parts, of which the first contains one hundred and sixty *belles et honnestes chansons* for the diversion of Christians (*Chrestiens et Chrestiennes*). The second part is devoted to "other joyous and virtuous subjects with which the faithful reader may no less edify and enjoy himself than rejoice in a Christian way." The preface is directed against worldly songs. In it Beaulieu supports every statement by a citation from the Scriptures and draws freely from an epistle written in 1543 by Calvin. He maintains that the singing of indecent songs in taverns, cabarets, private houses or public streets is often the cause of great evil:

"Que dirons nous donques pour nous iustifier devant la maiesté de Dieu: de tant d'innumerables parolles folles, chansons de guerre,

¹⁵⁴ *Chrestienne / Resiouyssance / Composé par Eustorg de Beaulieu, / natif de la ville de Beaulieu: au bas pays de Lymosin, Iadis Prestre, Musi / cien & Organiste: en la faulce E- / glise Papastique & despuis, par / la misericorde de dieu Mi / nistre Euangelique: en / la vraye Eglise de Iesus Christ. / Chantez à l'Eternel chanson nouuelle / & que sa louange soit ouye en la / congregation des fides / selles / Psal. 149. / 1546, Le 12. d'Aougt. /* (it was published at Geneva, according to Emile Picot), small 8vo, of 8 preliminary pages, 227 numbered pages and 10 pages (not numbered) for the table. There still exist two copies of the book, one in the *Musée Condé* of the château of Chantilly (purchased in 1867 for 640 francs for the Duc d'Aumale at a sale of the book-dealer Tross). The second book is to be found in the *Royal Library* of Vienna. A manuscript copy, made from the Vienna volume, is owned by Prof. Emile Picot of Paris. The present author has made a transcription of Prof. Picot's copy and collated it with the volume at Chantilly.

d'amour lubrique, de ialousie, & de plus de cent millions d'aultres inuentions iniques: que le miserable monde a chanté iadis, & chante encores de present: Toutes lesquelles choses pugnent directement contre la charité de Dieu & du prochain (comme on le pourroit amplement expecifier & dilater par le menu, qui vouldroit), tellement que en tant que touche la leze maiesté Diuine, on n'a point de honte de mesler aulcunes fois parmy les execrables motz d'aulcunes chansons voluptueuses: quelques motz sacrez de la sainte Escripiture, comme: Heli, Heli, &c., Miserere mei, &c., Passio, &c. & aultres plusieurs."

Some argue, Beaulieu tells us, that there is no harm in singing worldly songs, for our time must be spent in doing something, and that while singing them we do not think of or say anything wrong about others, and finally that they are only meant to entertain the young. He asks naïvely, how did the Virgin Mary and the four daughters of St. Philip, how did Martha and Mary her sister, and many other good women spend their time—surely not in singing worldly songs! To those who object to the songs of David, he replies that all that David composed, sang, or played on musical instruments, was entirely devoted to the praises of the Lord, while singers of to-day do only that which enhances the pomp, ornamentation and advancement of the Kingdom of Satan, of the Pope his vicar-general, and of many princes and other voluptuous men of this world. How can they dare to say that while singing those songs they think of nothing evil? For how can anything that is evil in itself, as are those songs, engender in a person good thoughts while singing or hearing them?

"Car il fault tousiours venir à ce poinct, et à la susdicte sentence irrefragable, c'est: que de l'abondance du coeur la bouche parle. Matt. 12. Donc (par plus forte raison) de l'abondance du coeur la voix crie hault & chante. Or puisque la bouche sert au coeur d'exercuter telle vilainie: il fault donc aussi conclurre tout d'un train, qu'icelle bouche participe à la mesme corruption du coeur, & consequemment tous les aultres membres du corps, selon la dicte opinion de saint Iaques. Iac. 3. . . . Et notons bien entre aultres choses: que quand la sainte escripture nous incite à resiouyssance qu'elle discerne quant et quant, et met difference entre resiouyssance et resiouyssance. Car elle dict tousiours: que qui se vouldra resiouyr: que (Philip. 3. 4.) il se resiouysse au Seigneur (note qu'elle dict ce mot au Seigneur) et qui vouldra chanter, qu'il chante aussi au Seigneur: par Psalmes et chansons spirituelles, voir: non de la voix & levres seulement, ains du coeur aussi. Eph. 5, Col. 3."

Then follows a confession on the part of Beaulieu :

“Or, touchant à moy, freres et sœurs, ie confesse publiquement : auoir iadis trop souuent usé de resiouyssance mondaine, et auoir par trop souuent chanté les chansons abominables dont ay faict mention cy dessus. Et mesme les ay trop curieusement estudiées et iouées sur plusieurs instrumentz de musique, voire au grand deshonneur de Dieu et du dict art, tant honneste & louable. Mais quand il a pleu à Dieu de me donner à congnoistre, que i'abusois trop de ses dons, i'ay soubdain tourné bride, et par l'inspiration de ce bon pere celeste (qui m'a tiré du gouffre d'enfer par sa seule grace) ie me suis despuis quelque fois occupé à renuerser & reduire à sa louange tout tant de chansons charnelles, que m'a peu souuenir auoir iadis chanté au regne de Satan.”

Beaulieu offers these 160 songs gladly and with cordial affection, he tells us, for he hopes that upon receiving them and singing them, all the others (that is the wordly ones) will be forgotten and cast aside, for they lead only to perdition :

“Ioingt, qu'il m'est aussi commandé de Dieu de ne cacher Talent aulcun (tant petit soit il) qu'il m'ait baillé en charge, a ce fut peine d'encourir son indignation. Mat. 25. Or ie requier & supplie à ce bon Dieu et pere : qu'ainsi qu'il vous baille encore espace de repentance, Eze. 33., & en vous offrant la tresclaire lampe de sa parole pour vous guider, Psal. 119., vous faict appeller à soy par son filz, Mat. 11., qu'il luy plaise aussi vous donner le vouloir et pouuoir de venir à luy. Philip. 2. Et en vous desliant la langue et ouurant la bouche (comme il feit iadis au muet Zacharie. Luc. 1.) vous prouoque par son esperit : à magnifier & louer son saint nom, tant par chansons spirituelles, qu'en tous voz aultres faictz, dictz, & pensées. Ainsi soit il.”

The preface is followed by an apology for his earlier work, the *Divers Rapportz*. In the margin we read : *L'auteur n'approue plus un liure charnel qu'il composa iadis, intitulé: Les Divers Rapportz*. The entire poem deserves to be quoted :

L'auteur au Lecteur.

Mes Diuers Rapportz de iadis,
Qui furent imprimez en France,
Sont pleins de maintz propos & dictz
Monstrans (pour lors) mon ignorance.

Or ie desire à toute oultrance
 T'en esloigner (amy lecteur),
 Et te monstrier la difference
 D'entre l'esprit & la chair rance,
 Comme un fidelle precepteur.

Donc, combien que ie suis Autheur
 Des dictz Rapportz, & de ce liure,
 Comme de ton bien amateur,
 Ie te conseille estre electeur
 De cestuy, sans plus l'autre ensuiure.

In the *Prophetie du dict Autheur* which follows the above poem, Beaulieu complains that most readers are very hard to please:

Pour contenter plusieurs gens intractables,
 Le temps viendra, s'il n'est desia venu,
 Qu'equiuocquer leur fauldra tous vocables,
 Ou pour Poete on ne sera tenu;
 Ou, leur mascher les morceaulx si menu
 Et relymer tant la Rithme à leur aise,
 Qu'en la gastant du tout, elle leur plaise.

As for the aim of the book, the poet states that it is intended to correct the terrible abuses of the *deshonnestes chants*:

Et s'il y a aulcuns meschans
 Murmurans sur vous ou sur moy,
 Respondez à telz fins marchans,
 Que nous n'en prendrons ia d'esmoy,
 Car nous auons Christ le grand roy
 Qui nous resiouyt & conforte,
 Lequel tout Tirannique arroy,
 Et l'antechrist & son charroy:
 En brief destruira par main forte.¹⁵⁵

The preface, as we have seen, is not much more than a fine piece of patchwork from the Scriptures, while some of the songs that follow are also no more than that. Beaulieu's method, in many cases, is

¹⁵⁵ Under the poem we read: *O Seigneur: ne me baille pas entre les mains de ceulx qui me calumpnient. Psal. 119. q.*

simply to change the words that are *mondains*, retaining the same rime, to words more fitting for church songs. The volume opens with an adaptation of one of Marot's most popular songs, of which the original runs as follows :

Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'Amours :
Ce sont clamours, chantons de la Serpette :
Tous vigneron ont à elle recours,
C'est leur secours pour tailler la Vignette.
O Serpillette, ô la Serpillonnette,
La vignolette est par toy mise sus,
Dont les bons vins tous les ans sont issus.¹⁸⁶

Under Beaulieu's pen the song becomes :

Changeons propos, c'est trop chanté d'amours, (Rom. 13. d.)
C'est pour gens lourdz qui n'ont sens en la teste. (Ephe. 5. d.)
Nulz bons Chrestiens n'ont à Venus recours, (Coloss. 3. e.)
Ains avec plours font à Dieu leur requeste.
O saint Prophete, o Christ, et quelle feste
Te sera faicte icy bas, ou là sus,
Selon les biens qui de toy sont yssus?¹⁸⁷ (Psal. 116. e.)

Another example of the method, perhaps more striking than the one just quoted, is the following, likewise adapted from Marot :

J'ayme le cueur de m'Amie,
Sa bonté et douceur,
Ie l'ayme sans infamie,
Et comme un Frere la Sœur. (Chanson 30)

Beaulieu turns it into :

I'ayme le coeur de Marie,
Sa bonté et sa douceur,
Ie l'ayme et tiens pour amye,
A cause qu'elle est ma sœur. (Chanson 10, p. 8)

¹⁸⁶ Marot, *Oeuvres*, la Haye, 1702, vol. i, p. 313, *Chanson* 32.

¹⁸⁷ A list of all the adaptations from Marot will be found in the following chapter.

This adapting of popular songs was not at all limited to Beaulieu, but was a very common practice among the Protestant song writers. It served a good purpose. Bordier, in his *Chansonnier huguenot*, says:

“Un autre soin tout chrétien qu'ils prenaient était d'accomoder leurs pieuses chansons aux airs à la mode. Par là ils atteignaient doublement leur but: ils substituaient dans la mémoire publique des paroles d'édification à des vers licencieux, et la popularité de l'air servait à répandre au loin la bonne semence contenue dans les vers. Les chansons profanes leur fournissaient même souvent le thème de leurs vers; il leur suffisait pour cela de jouer sur le sens des mots et de tourner un modèle quelconque à la façon d'Eustorg de Beaulieu, par exemple. . . . Ces métamorphoses sont continuelles dans notre Chansonnier et chaque pièce y commence par le contraste assez piquant qui se trouve entre son contenu et le thème ordinairement très-libre auquel elle se réfère.”¹⁵⁸

In one of his songs, which is surely autobiographical, Beaulieu tells of having sung the mass, but that now he renounces it and shall henceforth sing psalms in praise of the Lord:

l'ay trop chanté l'abominable messe,
l'en quicte l'art, marchandise et mestier.

¹⁵⁸ *Le chansonnier huguenot du xvi^e siècle*, Paris, Tross, 1870, 2 vols., pp. xxxij et seq. Bordier adds: “Les poètes n'avaient évidemment pour but que d'instruire et de moraliser le peuple. L'ancien organiste Eustorg de Beaulieu et le prote de Pierre de Vingle aussi bien les Farel & les Saunier, notaient avec soin en marge de chaque strophe les versets de l'Ecriture sainte sur lesquels ils fondaient leurs dres.” Virgile Rossel, in his *Histoire littéraire de la Suisse Romande*, Geneva, 1889, vol. i, p. 360, says: “Eustorg est un maître en ce genre de sainte parodie; mais il n'en est pas l'inventeur, puisqu'à la fin du treizième siècle, Jacques de Cambrai transformait en chants de la Vierge les vers amoureux de Thibaut de Champagne et de Soissons.” Prof. Paul Meyer, in reviewing the *Chansonnier huguenot* (*Revue critique*, 1872, Oct. 5, p. 216) writes:

Malheureusement, ce qui rend le lecteur sceptique, et l'empêche de se livrer à toute l'admiration qu'excitent en lui certains morceaux d'un style ou d'un rythme remarquables, c'est que nombre de pièces sont manifestement imitées de compositions qui étaient alors en vogue. La plupart n'en font pas mystère: une rubrique indique, lorsqu'il y a lieu, le type profane sur lequel la chanson protestante a été composée. Plagiat avoué est à demi pardonné, et comme le dit M.B. (p. xxxij) *par là ils* (les poètes protestants) *etc.* . . . Je souhaite qu'ils aient obtenu ce double résultat, mais il est certain qu'Eustorg de Beaulieu, l'un de ceux qui sont le plus coutumiers de ces travestissements, n'a pas eu grand mérite à composer ces vers (p. 32): *Puisqu'en amours a si beau passe temps*, etc.; dès l'instant qu'il avait sous les yeux ou dans la mémoire ceux-ci:

Puisqu'en amours a si beau passe temps
Je veulx aymer, chanter, danser et rire, etc.”

Or chanteray les chansons du Psaultier, (Psal. 146.)
Là où Dieu faict de mon salut promesse. (Psal. 132.)
Et ioueray de ma Harpe en liesse, (Psal. 150.)
Psalmodiant par voye et par sentier
Audict Seigneur, qui n'en a point mestier,
Mais pour monstrier que soubz luy tout s'abaisse.¹⁸⁹

In another song he informs the reader that his wish is to be allowed to return to France to preach the Gospel :

Longtemps y a que ie vy en espoir
Qu'un iour i'auray liberté et pouvoir
D'aller prescher l'Euangile dans France,
Et si quelcun ne le veult recepuoir,
Dieu eternal en fera la vengeance.

Le temps passé i'ay mal faict mon debvoir
De le prescher, mais ie fais à scauoir
Que c'a esté par ma grand ignorance.
Mais maintenant Dieu m'est venu pourvoir
De son Esprit plein de toute science.

Les faulx docteurs n'ont bien sceu decepuoir
Par leurs decretz auxquelz on ne peult veoir
Que faulcteté, heresie et meschance.
Le bon Iesus leur doint à percepuoir
Leur mauuais train et leur doint repentance.¹⁹⁰

The greater part of the volume, however, is devoted to satirical songs, some of which are rather indelicate. There are, nevertheless, a few songs of a character more suitable for church singing, as for example :

Ta bonne grace, o mon Dieu glorieux,
Et ta douceur du regard de tes yeulx,
M'ont incité le coeur de telle sorte,
Que constrainct suis de crier à ta porte : (Ieh. 10. b.)
Misericorde au paouure vicieux. (Psal. 51.)

¹⁸⁹ *Chrest. Res.*, p. 28, *chanson* 35.

¹⁹⁰ *Chrest. Res.*, p. 20, *chanson* 24.

Ne me reiette, et ne sois desdaigneux,
 Si moy, pecheur, suis au iourd'huy soigneux
 A te prier de me tenir main forte,
 Car mon peché tant me trouble et transporte, (2. Sa. 24. b. c.)
 Que ne scay voye où courir pour le mieulx.

Las ie confesse icy et en tous lieux,
 Que contre toy (seul Prince et Roy des cieulx) (Psal. 51. a.)
 Ay faict ce mal qui tant me desconforte,
 Parquoy fault bien qu'à toy seul le rapporte,
 Or donc le couure et sois moy gracieux.¹⁶¹ (Psal. 32. a.)

In his satirical songs Beaulieu spares no one. The Pope, the mass, monks, confession, pilgrimages, the worship of the Virgin, all that the Reformation found offensive in the Catholic Church, in its doctrines and its practices is the object of his invective. The Pope, however, suffers most from the pen of our poet. His verse dealing with the Pontiff might be compared to some of the most popular satires of the century, such as the famous *Cuisine Papale*, and the *Pape Malade*.¹⁶² Some of the epithets applied to the Pope are: *un grand seducteur, iangleur, battelleur, serf mercenaire, fin vallet, and mocqueur*. Even the mass furnishes Beaulieu with food for his satire. He writes:

¹⁶¹ *Chrest. Res.*, p. 45, *chanson* 58.

¹⁶² Badius (pseudonym, Thrasibule Phénice), *Comedie du / Pape Malade et / tirant à la fin: / Où ses regrets, & complaints sont au vif / exprimées, & les entreprises & machina / tions qu'il fait avec Satan & ses supposts / pour maintenir son siege Apostatique, & / empescher le cours de l'Evangile, sont ca / thegoriquement descouvertes. Traduite de vulgaire Arabic en bon Romman / & intelligible, par Thrasibule Phenice.* / With privilege to print, *Bibl. Nat., Invent.* Ye35691, 12mo, reprinted at Geneva, 1859. Cf. also the *Satyres Chrestiennes de la Cuisine Papale*, Geneva, 1560, likewise by Badius, reprinted in 1859, and *L'Alcoran des Cor / deliers, tant en la / tin qu'en François; / C'est a Dire, / La mer des blasphemes & mensonges de cest idole / stigmatizé, qu'on appelle S. François: lequel liure / a este recueilli mot a mot par le Docteur Eras / me Albere, du Liure de Confermites de ce beau / S. François a Iesu Christ: liure meschant & abo- / minable s'il en fut oncq, composé par un Corde / lier, & imprimé a Milan, l'an M. D. X. Geneve, Imprimé par Conrad Badius.* *Bibl. Nat. Rés.* H1777. For the question of satire in the sixteenth century, cf. Schneegans, *Geschichte der Grotesken Satire*, Strassburg, 1894, and Lenient, *La satire en France*, vol. ii, xvi^e siècle, 1886 (third edition). On p. 219 Lenient mentions the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* and quotes some of the songs. (The volumes of Conrad Badius mentioned in this note are of later date than Beaulieu's collection of songs.)

I'ay faict en vain cent mille pas
Pour ouyr la messe à l'Eglise,
Mais ie voy qu'elle ne vault pas
Les vieulx lambeaux de ma chemise.¹⁶³

And again we read :

Dieu seul la nous adresse,
Non point le fol coquard,
Qui a forgé la Messe,
En sa chambre à l'escart,
Pour que sa soupe grasse
S'entretint tousiours droict,
Et qu'il feist la grymace
Tout ainsi qu'il uouldroit.¹⁶⁴

The strongest arraignment against the Pope is to be found in the following song which was reproduced in several collections of Protestant songs of the period, and in which are summed up most of the accusations against the Pontiff, such as waging a war of conquest, greed for gold, tolerance of various sects and other charges :

Dormoys tu?
Dormoys tu, dy, grosse beste,
Dormoys tu?

Lorsqu'on t'offrit ta grande creste
Dormoys tu, dy, etc.
En la mettant sur la teste,
Dormoys tu?
Dormoys tu, dy? etc.¹⁶⁵

Beaulieu expresses his disapproval of pilgrimages in a song in which he asks a young girl where she is going. She answers that she is setting out for the shrine of the Virgin. As he tells her that one should apply directly to God, the frightened girl replies :

¹⁶³ *Chrest. Res., chanson* 36, p. 29.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.,* p. 37.

¹⁶⁵ *Chrest. Res., La* 135. *Chanson, sur le chant de: Te remues tu? Te remues tu gentil fillete?* etc. (7 couplets of 4 lines plus the refrain). In the margin we read, besides the references from the Scriptures, *L'auteur parle au Pape.*

Deuant Dieu moy infaicte
 Seulle craings conuenir.
 Ostez de vostre teste
 Tel craincte à l'aduenir.
 Brunette ioliette
 Qu'allez vous tant courir?¹⁶⁶

It does not surprise us, therefore, to find that Beaulieu comes to the defense of Martin Luther on more than one occasion, as for example, in the following verses :

C'est à grand tort que maint peuple murmure
 Contre Luther, pour ce qu'à sa venue
 L'ydolatrie a esté mieulx congneue
 (Que par auant) de mainte creature.

Au dict Luther plusieurs ont faict iniure,
 Et l'a mauldict mainte gent incongneue,
 Mais Dieu sa cause a tousiours soustenue,
 Laquelle estoit fondée en l'Escripture.

S'il eust parlé de soy à l'aenture
 (Comme le Pape et sa secte pollue),
 Iamais son dire ainsi n'eust eu value,
 Mais verité tient ferme et tousiours dure.¹⁶⁷

Monasteries, of course, are the objects of frequent attacks. Beaulieu does not think it necessary to withdraw from the world in order to be virtuous :

Gris ne bureau ne fault porter
 Pour auoir meilleur conscience,
 Ne dans ung couuent se bouter
 Pour auoir des cieux iouyssance.
 Car l'habit ne la demourance
 Dieu ne regarde: mais l'humblesse
 Du coeur, qui dessoubz luy s'abaisse.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, *chanson* 71, p. 55. Cf. also *chanson* 123: *Martin Luther a esté bien fasché.*

¹⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, *chanson* 15, p. 13.

In another of his songs Beaulieu directs his shafts against the king, Francis I:

En attendant le languir me tormente,
Est ce bien faict qu'un Prince ne consente
Les faictz de Christ estre à tous relatez,
Et en commun langage translatez, (Act. 2 ab.—I. Cor. 14.)
Comme Dieu veult et l'Escripture chante? (5 Act.)

Je ne croy point qu'un tel prince ne sente
Quelque malheur, et que Dieu ne l'absente
De plus regner: veu ses ferocitez,
Tant qu'il perdra ses villes et citez,
Et sera mis dehors par main puissante. (Dan., 4 fg.)

Mais n'est ce pas une chose meschante,
Qu'un batelleur ou sourcier qui enchante, (Levi., 19 f.)
Soit escouté en ses dictz mal fondez,
Et soit permis tenir cartes et dez (Psal. 78.)
Plus que les loix que Dieux seul nous presente!¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, chanson 27, p. 22. Emile Picot, in his *Chants historiques français du seizième siècle*, Paris, 1903, p. 148, says: "Nous n'entreprendrons pas d'exposer les mesures prises par la Sorbonne et par François I^{er} contre les traductions françaises de la Bible. Les historiens de la Réforme les ont fait connaître et les chansons du temps contiennent l'écho de l'indignation causée par une défense aussi monstrueuse. Henri Estienne, racontant dans son *Apologie pour Herodote* 'comment nos predecesseurs se sont laissés oster ou falsifier la sainte Escriture,' cite le début d'une chanson, faite, dit-il, en 1544, et qui doit être rapprochée de la nôtre:

Vous perdez temps de me vouloir defendre
D'estudier en la sainte Escriture:
Plus m'en blasmez, plus m'en voulez reprendre,
Plus m'esjouit, plus me plaist la lecture. . . .

(*Apologie*, ed. Ristelhuber, II, p. 152.)

La chanson d'Eustorg de Beaulieu vise directement François I^{er}, à qui sont prédits les malheurs les plus sinistres. La mort du roi, arrivée l'année suivante, n'amena malheureusement pas la fin des persécutions." Emile Picot gives in the same volume the historical songs of Beaulieu and the popular songs he parodied: p. 145, *O grand beaulté qui loges cruauté*; p. 147, *En attendant le languir me tormente*; p. 148, *C'est à grant tort que moy, paouvrette endure*; p. 149, *Touchez, nous l'antiquaille*; p. 150, *Plaisant Bordeaux, noble et royal domaine*; p. 151, *Paix là! Sus, ho là! Paix là!*; p. 153, *Te remues tu*; p. 153, *Dictes que c'est du mal, m'amye*.

The second part of the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* is of a different character: *Icy commence la seconde partie de ce present Liure, en laquelle l'Authheur a mis aussi: plusieurs ioyesetez chrestiennes de sa composition, pour plus encore resiouyr les fidelles Lecteurs, oultre les Chansons precedentes.* Most of the poems of this second part are satiric and some are even humorous in tone, such as the *Oraison des ydolatres, pour dire à leur dieu, faict de paste*, which begins:

Nostre ydole qui esclose dans un armoire,
 Ton nom soit aboly, qu'il n'en soit plus memoire. . . .
 (Vers Alexandrins. Isa. 66. a., Mat. 24. b.)

This poem is a parody on the Lord's prayer. It is followed by the *Articles de la foy du dict Dieu de paste*, in which Beaulieu again ridicules idolatry:

Je croy qu'au dieu de paste a si grande foiblesse, (Vers Alexandrins.)
 Que des mousches et vers ne se peut garentir: (Psal. 6.)
 Createur de fiente, apres ce qu'à la Messe (Act. 2.)
 Les sacrificateurs viennent à l'engloutir. . . .¹⁷⁰

One cannot help regretting that in their zeal these Protestant song-writers often indulged in coarseness and even vulgarity. In the above poem Beaulieu again aims his satire at the Pope, whom he this time calls *faulx filz, roy des iniques*. . . . *Qui a esté conceu de chair charnellement.* The Sorbonne, too, is here attacked, as adhering to the *faint et faux esprit de l'antechrist*, while the idea of the Papists that theirs is to be an eternal life, is, according to the poet, most untrue.

An interesting example of this same biting criticism is a lengthy poem entitled: *La coppie de l'instrument et memorial de la perte du dieu des freres Iacoppins de Lyon, qui fut l'an mille cinq cens trente et six, et le vingt et deuxiesme iour du moys de Iuillet. Estant le Roy de France: Francoys premier de ce nom (et toute sa court) au dict Lyon.* This poem may be cited as one of the best specimens of a genre so diligently cultivated by its author:

Scachent presens et à venir,
 Que l'an mil cinq cens trente et six,

¹⁷⁰ *Chrest. Res.*, p. 170.

Dieu ne se voulut plus tenir
 Dans boeste, vitre ne chassis,
 Et luy partit de sens rassis (Mat. 24. b.)
 De s'en aller hors de Lyon,
 Où, comme un our ou un lyon
 Les Iaccoppins l'auoyent enclos, (Isa. 66. a.)
 Pour tirer d'or un million, (Act. 7. e. f.)
 Mieulx qu'onq ne fait François Villon
 En iouant sa farce à yeulx clos.¹⁷¹

Toutesfois ilz furent forclos
 De leur dict dieu (i'entens de paste)
 Dont ilz perdirent bruit et los,
 Pour quelcun qui y mist la pate.
 Ce que voyans, à grosse haste
 Feirent de fonte un dieu pareil, (Exo. 32.)
 Prians le Roy et son conseil,
 Qu'au lieu de l'autre fust rendu,
 Ce qu'on fait en grand appareil (Apoca. 18.)
 Et en triumphe non pareil,
 Voyans leur premier Dieu perdu.

Alors, qui fut bien esperdu,
 Ce fut le commun populaire,
 Car disoit l'un: ie sois pendu
 Si ces cagotz n'ont voulu faire (Mat. 7.)
 Ceste faincte, pour mieulx attraire
 Le Roy à superstition,
 Et, pour qu'on feist procession
 Generalle: affin de l'offrande, (Iude. 1.)
 Car toute leur deuotion
 N'est qu'une simulation
 Pour inuenter une demande.

Et voycy la raison bien grande:
 Ces caphardz (pires qu'Arriens)
 Diront: Sire, on se recommande (2. Pier. 2. a.)
 A voz aulmosnes et voz biens,
 Car ces meschans Lutheriens

¹⁷¹ Does Beaulieu refer to the *Repenes franches* (no. 6) attributed to Villon, in which one of the *Gallans sans soucy* is blindfolded?

Nous ont prins l'hostie sacrée,
 (Combien qu'iceulx l'auront cachée),
 Dont vous supplions, cher Seigneur,
 Commander qu'elle soit cherchée, (Ro. 16. c.)
 Et de la foy tant esbranchée
 Vous monstrez maistre et enseigneur.

Vous estes nostre superieur,
 Et Roy tres Chrestien par voz lettres.
 Puis (dira le flatteur Prieur) (Marc. 7. b.)
 Sire: ensuyez voz bons ancestres
 Qui ont creu noz docteurs et maistres,
 Et faictes iustice sur tout,
 Tant que d'erreur voyez le bout,
 Mesmement de ces Lutheristes, (2. Pier. 2. c.)
 Qui sont iour et nuyct à l'escout,
 Donnans au peuple mauuais goust,
 Se disans estre Euangelistes.

Voyla que diront ces Thomistes.
 Non non, ce disoit l'aulture alors,
 Si Christ, comme ont dict ces Papistes
 Estoit en leur boeste en son corps, (Act. 17. e. f.)
 Que n'a il monsté ses effortz
 Contre cil qui l'est venu prendre?
 Et qu'est pis, ie ne puis entendre
 Comment peust estre en une boeste
 Un corps si parfaict en tout membre,
 Lequel, comme Daudid remembre, (Psal. 16. b.)
 N'est subiect à vers n'aulture beste?

Or, si un rat, mousche ou bellette
 Trouue ce Dieu dessus nommé,
 Il luy rongera corps et teste,
 Tant qu'il l'aye tout consumé. (Act. 2. d.)
 Parquoy le tout au vray sommé,
 Ie croy que Dieu nous illumine
 De veoir rober ceste farine,
 Et ceste paste tant debile.
 Laissons la donq, et qu'on s'encline (Ebri. 9. f.g.)
 D'adorer Christ, ou nous assigne (Ieh. 4. c.)
 Nostre Creance et l'Euangile.

Ainsi, plusieurs gens de la ville
 Murmuroyent tout secretement,
 Disans que c'estoit chose vile
 D'adorer un Dieu de froment,
 Veu que le nouveau Testament
 Dict : que Christ feit ascension (Marc. 16. d.)
 Au ciel, apres sa passion, (Luc. 24. g.)
 Et de là ne doit desloger,
 Par signe ou inuocation (Act. 1. b. 3.)
 Charme ne coniuration,
 Tant qu'il nous viendra tous iuger. (Mat. 25. c.)

Cella conclud (pour abreger)
 Ie notaire dessoubz signé,
 Les feiz tous par serment purger,
 Sur ce qu'auoyent déterminé,
 Lors ilz me dirent: Domine,
 Faictes nous instrument en forme
 Comment c'est chose trop difforme
 Que Christ en corps substanciel
 Prenne une corruptible forme, (Psal. 16. b.)
 Et que nous d'un vouloir conforme (Act. 2, d. 3. d.)
 Le croyons sans plus estre au ciel.

The poem is signed:

*Donné par coppie, par moy, M. Pierre de Cornibus, notaire apostatique.*¹⁷²

¹⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 170 et seq. We find mention of this poem in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1876, p. 456, and also of the epitaph which follows it. In the *Catalogue de la Bibl. du Roi*, vol. 1, n. 4486, there is a volume by Pierre de Cornibus entitled: *La traduction des epitaphes de Vener. Pierre de Cornibus, de l'ordre de S. François*, Paris, Adam Saulnier, 1542, 16mo. In the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (ed. Bourilly), Paris, 1910, p. 325, we read, "Le dimenche ensuiuant (Oct. 27, 1529), furent faictes processions generalles par la ville, à cause de ladicte paix, fut chanté haulte messe en la grande eglise, et sermon faict par M. Cornebus, cordelier." In a note (3) we learn that Cornibus, or Pierre de Cornes, was born at Beaune about 1480 and died on May 21, 1542. Cf. Picot, *Catal. de la Bibl. Rothsch.*, vol. iii, p. 377, no. 2575 (421a), *Epitaphia hono- / randi magistri nostri Pe- / tri a Cornibus, doctoris theo- / logi ordinis minorum, de fide Christiana optime / meriti, Latina, Graeco, atque Hebraea edita a complu- / ribus orthodoxis & catholicis, ob specialem / qua officiebantur ad eum reuerentiam, / quibus eius tumulum adornarunt / in ecclesia*

Tout cornettard qui à cestuy n'accorde,	plerumque
Et n'yra si chordé Cordeiller	potest ut
Qui le puisse onq d'ame et corps deslier.	nos letificet
Parquoy (Lecteur) laisse la cornardise	inimici ruina,
De ce corneur (quoy qu'aulture cornard dise)	charitate, in
Et en passant dy : Bran pour le cornard	nobis perma-
Qui gist icy à tort, quand son corps n'ard. ¹⁷³	nente diuina.

As we have seen in a preceding chapter (chapter 4), Beaulieu arrived in Geneva on the first of May, 1537. He dedicated to that city *Le Dieu gard de l'auteur à la ville et aux citoyens de Geneue*. In that poem he asks that God protect the officers of Geneva, the nobles, the merchants, the workingmen, and the women whom he asks if it is not better to hear a sermon about God than to listen to the saying of mass :

Vault il pas mieulx le repos d'esperit
 Que de ce corps qui à la fin pourrit ?
 Vault il pas mieux tendre au ciel voz courages
 Que babiller pres de sourdes ymages ?
 Vault il pas mieulx dire à Dieu voz secretz
 Qu'à un grand tas d'idiotz indiscretz ? (Psal. 37.)

Which is better, he queries, to give clothing and food to the poor or to puppets of gold, silver, stone or wood ? He would have said a *Dieu gard* to the *chanoyne*s, *caphardz*, *nonnains*, to the priests and monks, he tells us, but he has not seen any !

Aussi (pour vray) quelcun m'a faict à croire
 Qu'ilz sont allez ailleurs tenir leur foire,
 Dont suis marry ne les veoir au besoing, (Ieh. 2. c.)
 Pour ce qu'on dict qu'ilz sont gens de bien loing.
 Ce non obstant, Dieu leur doint à congnoistre
 Qu'est de prestrise et l'office de prestre,
 Voire aultrement que le Pape n'escript,
 Et doint à tous un coeur en Iesus Christ.
 Ainsi soit il.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ *Chrest. res.*, p. 175. For a discussion of the rime of the *Rhétoriqueurs*, cf. Guy, *L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs*, p. 82, "Les complications et les jeux rythmiques."

¹⁷⁴ *Chrest. Res.*, pp. 178, 179.

He also addresses a *dixain* to the same city, in which he states that the *nom tourné* for Geneva (Genève) is *Vengée*:

Car Dieu voyant qu'on m'auoit affligée,
 Vengée m'a de mes meschantz suppostz, (Luc. 18. a. b.)
 Or vais ie et vien, ie trote, i'ay campos
 Et liberté sainte et Euangelique,
 Sans craindre plus la secte Papistique (Ieh. 8. d.)
 Ne tout enfer, car Iesus est mon maistre, (Psal. 27. a. b.)
 Lequel de toute idolatrie inique
 M'a deliurée, et luy gloire en puisse estre. (1. Tim. 1. d.)¹⁷⁵

In the chapter on the *Divers Rapportz* Beaulieu's share in the *blason* literature was discussed. In the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* he repudiates his indecent poems, and as a sort of atonement publishes a *Blason spirituel a la louenge du tres digne corps de Iesus Christ*. The opening lines of the poem tell of his changed attitude:

Quand me souuient de sept blasons lubriques
 Qu'au Liure dict: Blasons anathomiques
 Ie mis iadis, à la louange & fame
 De la beaulté externe de la femme,
 I'ay aduisé & pensé en moy mesme
 Qu'il seroit bon faire un blason huictiesme,
 Pour decorer un homme que ie scay,
 Qui m'ayme bien, car i'en ay faict l'essay.
 Veu que la femme abuse bien souuent
 Des dons de Dieu s'on les luy met deuant.
 Parquoy ie vueil m'employer sus & ius
 A blasonner l'homme Christ, dict Iesus, (Ti. 2. b.)
 Mon aduocat vers Dieu tres saint & digne.

Altho he realises that he is very unworthy of the task, still he proceeds to inscribe in verse a little of his *aduis*. The poem is of great length. It seems to have been popular, for it was revised and reprinted. The revised version is even longer than the first.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 190, *Dixain, auquel la cité de Geneue se glorifie au Seigneur*.

¹⁷⁶ *Le Souuerain / Blason d'honneur, / a la louenge du tresdigne corps / de Iesus Christ, / composé par Eustorg, aultrement / dict: Hector de beaulieu, Ministre / euangelique, natif, aussi, de la wille de / Beaulieu, au bas pays de*

Eustorg de Beaulieu :

The tone of the poem is somewhat shocking to the modern reader. Beaulieu describes the graces of Christ's body in the same way that he praised the beauty of the *membres feminins*:

O donc Iesus, certes tes nobles membres (Luc. 2. a. b.)
 N'ont pas esté nourriz es belles chambres, (Ieh. 4. a.)
 Et ton beau chef qu'on deburoit tant priser,
 N'a pas tousiours eu où se reposer. (Mat. 8. c.)
 Aussi tes yeulx columbins pleins de grace (Ieh. 18. d.)
 N'ont pas esté sans plorer long espace, (Marc. 15. b.)
 Et sans sentir maintz souffletez et crachatz,
 Lors qu'à t'occire on faisoit le pourchas.
 Ton ventre blanc et trop plus clair qu'yuoire (Canti. 5. d.)
 (Matt. 21. c.)
 A eu souuent faim de menger et boire. (Ieh. 19. c.)
 Voire tes piedz, tes mains et ton costé
 De lance et cloux ont maint effort gousté. (Ieh. 19. f. 20. f.)
 Tes iambes mesme ont senti mainte estorce
 Des fiers bourreaux qui les tiroient à force.¹⁷⁷

The greater part of the poem, however, is devoted to the praise of Christ's good deeds and is not limited to the rather undignified portrayal of his physical charms. The poem ends as follows:

Brief, pour conclure (amy tres singulier)
 Tu me plaictz plus que d'autres un milier.
 Et à chascun ie denonce et declaire,

Lymosin. / Et extraict d'un sien liure, intitulé: / Chrestienne resiouyssanse. Renou, / depuis, et augmenté par luy mesme, comme on uerra. (No place and no date), 8vo, 14 fol., City Library of Zurich, *Variaband*, VI, 263, 6. On page 2 we read:

DIXAIN.

Tous blasons d'armes et d'amours	(Psal. 52. a. b.)
Retirez uous, pour faire place	
Aux belliqueux et nobles tours	
De Iesus, qui tous uous efface.	(Philip. 2. a. b.)
Ostez uous de deuant sa face,	
Car, uostre los tasche à l'honneur	
De la chair qu'il a en honneur:	(Gen. 6. a. b.)
A cause de ses deffaillances.	
Cachez uous, donc, blasons d'erreur,	
Ou, louez Christ et ses uailles.	(Psal. 150. a. b.)

¹⁷⁷ *Chrest. Res.*, p. 213.

Que toy absent, rien ne me scauroit plaire.

Donq, tire moy (cher amy), tire moy (Cant. 1. a.)

Iusques à toy, car ie languis d'esmoy,

Pour l'indicible amour que ie te porte. (Cant. 5. c.)

Si tu le fais, ie te dy et rapporte:

Que ie courray apres toy si dehait,

Que de ton corps i'auray tout mon souhait,

Et te voyant à l'heure face à face,

N'auray plus peur que ma ioye s'efface. (1. Cor. 13.)

Ainsi soit il.

The *Blason d'honneur* is followed, in the volume under consideration, by a lengthy prose piece, *La generale croisade, anciennement donnée et despuis nouvellement confirmée par nostre saint Pere. Avec plusieurs grandz priuileges, pardons et indulgences a perpetuité, comme on pourra veoir cy apres.* In this *Croisade* the first thing that the people demand is freedom to read the Bible in the vulgar tongue: "*Liberté de lire la Bible en langue vulgaire:*

"Premierement, toutes personnes de quelque estat, sexe et condition qu'ilz soyent, qui se croiseront et enrolleront comme est dict dessus, pourront licitement tenir à leur maison, porter partout, lire en secret ou publiquement, de iour, de nuict et à toutes heures, un liure intitulé la Bible (Iosu. 1. b., 2. Ti. 3. d.), contenant le vieulx et nouveau Testament, et ce en langage Ebrieu, Grec, Latin, François, Italien, Allemand, et generalmente en quelconque aultre langue qu'ilz voudront et qu'ilz entendront le mieulx, et où ilz prendront plaisir. (1 Co. 14.)

Other divisions of the *generale croisade* are: *Permission de prescher par tout*, *Liberté de laisser les loix humaines*, in which he expresses his disapproval of pilgrimages and of other *voyages fantastiques*, of depriving one's self of meat and other food on certain days, of the law forbidding the marriage of priests and many other things of which no mention is made in the Bible. He also asks for *Planiere remission aux destructeurs des ydoles*, for *Relaxation des peynes de Purgatoire*, and that all these pardons be given without money:

"Les iours esleuz pour recepuoir de nostre main les pardons de la dicte Croisade, commenceront inclusivement tous les ans, à la pre-

miere heure qu'il plaira à nostre souueraine Maiesté appeller les subjectz dudict nostre Filz Iesus Christ, à la foy d'iceluy. (Ro. 8, e. f.) . . . L'Eglise deputée pour recepuoir les dictz pardons est la seule Eglise de Christ. Datum pro copia: Paulus Apostolus Iesu Christ. (2. Timot. 3. d.)."¹⁷⁸

b. *Psalms*

The question that has been most discussed by those who have written about Beaulieu is whether he ever published the volume of psalms which was referred to in the correspondence between Calvin and Viret.¹⁷⁹ A book of psalms containing an *exhortation* by Beaulieu, gave rise to the discussion. The volume is entitled: *Les Psalmes de David translatez d'Ebrieu en langue Françoise, mxxxix.* (1539).¹⁸⁰ On the last leaf is a quotation from St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, followed by the *Exhortation au lecteur fidele*:

En lieu de la lettre lubrique,
 (Dont iadis souillas la musique,
 En ant que tu n'en vsas bien)
 Boute maintenant ta pratique
 Es chansons que Dauid t'applique:
 Aultrement ton chant ne vault rien,
 Icy peus veoir quand et combien,
 Le chanter est bon par mesure.
 Je te pri donq, suys ce moyen,
 Et tost seras musicien,
 Voire, et ta voix sera plus seure.

H. D. B.

Gloyre a Dieu seul.

We have seen that *Gloire à Dieu seul* was the anagram at the end of the *Divers Rapports* of both 1540 and 1545. The initials, too, are surely Beaulieu's, while the sentiment of the *exhortation* only strengthens the identification. At the end of the volume is an address in Latin,

¹⁷⁸ *Chrest. Res.*, pp. 215-227.

¹⁷⁹ Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁰ This volume was in the library of Henry Huth and then passed to his son Alfred Huth of Fosbury Manor, near Hungerford, England. The latter died in 1910 and the library was put on sale. The book has 112 pages. I have been unable to procure a manuscript copy or a photograph of it. Cf. Huth Library Catal., London, 1889, vol. iv, pp. 1193-1194.

"Petrus Robertus Olivetanus candido lectori," on the manner of translating the preterite and the future of Hebrew words.¹⁸¹ The same *exhortation* is to be found in another "Psautier" without music, printed at Paris in 1551: *Les cinquante Psalme* (sic) *du prophete royal David, traduitz en rithme Francoyse par Clement Marot et autres outheurs*, Paris, Estienne Mesuire, 1551, 32mo.¹⁸² It would be very difficult to prove that Beaulieu was the author of these psalms. The letter in which he speaks of having psalms to be printed "tous corrigés" is dated the end of August, 1540. The volume of the Huth library bears the date of 1539. It could hardly, therefore, be the psalms of which Calvin and Viret speak. According to Herminjard, it would first have to be proved that Beaulieu had seriously studied Hebrew, either at Geneva or at Lausanne under Imbert Pacolet. Then it would still have to be shown that the 1537 edition mentioned by Brunet, which is avowedly by Olivetan, differs from the 1539 edition. It is possible that the second is only a reprint of the first, to which the editor had simply added as an *Exhortation finale* the few lines by Beaulieu. It is very plausible that a man who wrote verse so easily as Beaulieu, would have written the psalms in verse, not in prose. In the letter of Viret to Farel we read: "Admonuit praeterea Beza, Bustorgium (probably a faulty reading of the manuscript for Eustorgium) dedisse Oporino suam in Epistolas Pauli versionem et paraphrasin gallicis rhythmis imprimendam." (Vol. xiii, no. 1282 of the *Corpus reform.*) In Viret's letter to Calvin he says that Beaulieu "Laboravit annos multos in reddendis psalmis aliquot et epistolis paulinis carmine gallico" (Epist. 621). It is evident that it was a question of verse translations. We must also remember that Beaulieu did not come to Switzerland until May,

¹⁸¹ Brunet (p. 213) does not mention this edition but gives one printed at Geneva in 1537, "translatez et reveu par Belisem de Belimakon," the pseudonym of Robert Olivetan: *Les Psalmes / de David / Translatez d'Ebrui en Francoys / S. Paul aux Coloss. / seigneur / MDXXXVII* (1537). *Fin du livre des Psalmes, translaté et revue par Belisem de Belimakon* (Olivetan), Genève, small 12mo.

¹⁸² Douen, *Clément Marot et le Psautier huguenot*, 1878, 1879, 2 vols. quarto, vol. ii, p. 647, says: "Volume fort élégant, dit M. Bovet, contenant outre les Psalmes, une *Exhortation* en vers, signée H.D.B., les épîtres de Marot au Roi et aux dames, *E. Pasquier au Lecteur*, et une épître en vers à Henri II. par Gilles d'Aurigny; les autres de deux auteurs désignés par les initiales C.R. et C.B., Bibliothèque de Genève." Cf. also Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, vol. vi, no. 886, note 5.

1537. There is no evidence in his *Divers Rapportz* of his knowing Hebrew, and he surely could not have acquired that knowledge in a few months! Douen says concerning the 1539 edition: "On ne voit pas ce que ces vers, qui sont évidemment d'Eustorg (Hector) de Beaulieu, ont à faire à la suite d'un Psautier en prose: ils eussent bien mieux convenu à un Psautier en vers destiné à être chanté, et l'on serait presque tenté de supposer que l'auteur les a écrits pour les Psaulmes de Clément Marot, auxquels les timbres auraient été ajoutés."¹⁸⁸ Why not suppose that Beaulieu wrote the poem to serve as an introduction to his own translation which he was already planning?

Clément-Simon (p. 36 of the *Curiosités*) includes the psalms of 1539 among the works of Beaulieu. He agrees with Herminjard when he says that the 1539 edition is but a reprint of the 1537 edition. He cites the letters by Calvin and Viret from which one may conclude that Beaulieu worked for many years on his translations, and also on melodies to the same. True enough, he says, these letters date from 1545:

"Elles n'en prouvent pas moins qu'Eustorg avait traduit les psaumes en vers et il devient ainsi vraisemblable que la traduction par lui déjà publiée était de sa façon. En 1545, il pouvait s'agir d'une réimpression avec la musique. On n'est pas en mesure d'éclaircir positivement la question, parce que le seul exemplaire connu des *Psalmes*, n'a pas été décrit. On n'a reçu communication que du titre. Cet exemplaire appartenait en 1879 à M. Henry Huth, à Londres. En tout cas, Eustorg a édité l'ouvrage, y a mis du sien; c'est une de ces publications."

Clément-Simon's enthusiasm for his compatriot Beaulieu seems to have blinded him a little concerning the question of the psalms. We do not believe that our poet had anything to do with the little volume of 1537. Only the discovery of Beaulieu's manuscript could solve definitely the problem.

c. "*L'Espinglier des filles*" and the revised edition "*la Doctrine et instruction des filles chrestiennes*."

M. Hauser, in his *Etudes sur la Réforme française*, devotes a chapter to the *Petits livres du xvi^e siècle*, in which he states:

¹⁸⁸ Douen, *op. cit.*, p. 647.

" Ces petits livrets sortent par milliers des presses clandestines de Meaux et d'Alençon, des presses protestantes de Lyon et de Genève, et bien qu'on les ait souvent brûlés avec leurs détenteurs, on en trouve un grand nombre dans nos bibliothèques. (p. 87) . . . Le petit in-8° de ce temps-là, dont le format ne dépasse guère celui de nos petits in-16, et qui n'est composé que de cinq à dix feuilles d'impression, se glissait facilement dans la balle du colporteur. Portatif et maniable, il jouait un rôle analogue à celui que joueront la gazette au xvii^e siècle et le journal à notre époque. Sous cette forme légère, insaisissable, toute une littérature réformée a pénétré les milieux les plus divers. Traductions de Luther, petits traités, recueils de prières, se sont répandus partout."¹⁸⁴

Though in this study Mr. Hauser does not pretend to exhaust the subject, he might have included a "livret" by Beaulieu, his well-known work, the *Espinglier des filles*.¹⁸⁵ The first chapter of this work is devoted to the love of God: *On doit aimer Dieu sur toutes choses* (chap. ii), *De l'amour qu'on doit au prochain* (chap. iii), *De l'amour, obéissance, qu'on doit à ses parens, & à tous autres superieurs*. Beaulieu's ideas on the duties of a wife toward her husband are rather severe:

" Pourueu, toutesfois, que ce soit, par le congé & bon vouloir de vostre seigneur & mary, sans l'autorité & licence duquel nulle femme de bien ne s'escare de sa maison, si les quotidiens & necessaires affaires domestiques ne le requierent, (Tite. 2.) car il n'y a pere, mere, ne autre quelconque personne, à qui la licence, l'amour, charité,

¹⁸⁴ Hauser, *Etudes sur la Réforme française*, Paris, 1909, p. 255.

¹⁸⁵ The third, a posthumous edition, was published by Jean Saugrain. Baudrier, in the *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 4^e série, Lyon, 1899, p. 317, says of Saugrain: "Libraire à Lyon, puis à Pau. Naquit en l'année 1518 à Ferrières-Haut-Clocher, autrement Sainte-Christine, diocèse près d'Evreux. Quitta fort jeune le pays de sa naissance avec envie de voir les pays étrangers. Passa en Italie, Espagne. Revenu en France en 1550, s'habituait à Lyon. . . ." Cf. also, Cartier, *Imprimeurs et Libraires Lyonnais*, xiv^e siècle, Lyon, 1899 (*Extrait de la Revue du Lyonnais*), p. 16: "Il avait comme tant d'autres de ses confrères, embrassé le protestantisme et devint l'un des adeptes les plus militants de la nouvelle religion. Associé avec Benoit Rigaud, son oncle, de 1555 à 1558, il s'en sépara pour se livrer plus librement à la publication des ouvrages de polémique protestante. Sa librairie devint le foyer d'où se répandirent tant de pièces anonymes, si rares aujourd'hui. Saugrain quitta Lyon en 1573 pour aller s'établir à Pau; il est fort probable que ce changement de résidence fut déterminé par les massacres et les violences qui furent à Lyon les conséquences de la Saint-Barthélemy." (For the first two editions cf. *ROM. REV.*, vol. vi, p. 217.)

crainte & subiection, enuers le mary en toutes choses, ne doieue estre preferée (Gen. 3. Ephes. 5)."

From chapter iv to chapter xiv we have *receptes spirituelles* relating to the parts of the body. In chap. iv, *receptes spirituelles, pour les cheueux & la teste*, we read the following:

"Touchant le regime & gouuernement de vostre corps, ie vous en toucheray ici sommairement aucuns points selon la sainte Escriture. Premièrement vos cheueux, & vostre teste (qui sont au plus haut de vostre corps) ne farderes, cresperez, ou entortillerez dissoluement, en les courant d'or (i. Timoth. 2. I. Pier. 3), ou d'autres bagues superflues. Et generallyment vous ne porterez aucuns habits ne linges sur vous, qui sentent lubricité, ou dissolution: ains vous vous vestirez & accousterez selon vostre estat, en toute modesté, & sainteté. Car sans user d'ambitieux accoustremens nous nous deuons contenter d'estre moyennement couuerts (i. Timoth. 6)."

The next chapter is devoted to "receptes" for the face, in which Beaulieu says that one should not paint the face as the wicked queen Jezabel did, but rather be satisfied with the complexion given by God, "& n'entreprendre rien sur vostre Facteur." One should do nothing to corrupt nature so as to attract the heart of a person. Besides, the good and virtuous man will seek you much more for your fidelity and good morals than for your bodily beauty. In the following chapter, *pour les oreilles* (chap. vi), we are told that the ears are for hearing the Divine Law, all holy, good and honest words:

"Vous ne les deues pas aussi faire seruir à escouter aucuns vilains contes, ou fables, n'aucunes folies mondaines, ou propos de lubricité (car cela corromproit voz bonnes moeurs) n'a ouir aussi aucunes chansons deshonestes: ains plustost, si vous prenes plaisir à ouir aucuns chants, vous deues escouter ceux-là, qui sont faicts à l'honneur de Dieu, comme sont chansons spirituelles & plusieurs Pseaumes & Cantiques. . . ."

The eyes (chap. vii) are for contemplating heaven, reading the Psalms and the Scriptures, and looking at the poor with compassion for their misery. Do not, Beaulieu recommends, use your eyes for looking at "farces mondaines, jeux de dez, ne de cartes, danses quelconques, n'aucuns passetemps dissolus ou liures d'amours, n'autres prophanes escritures." The nose (chap. viii), the mouth and the tongue (chap. ix), the neck and chest (chap. x), the arms and hands (chap. xi), the legs and feet (chap. xii), and finally all the parts of

the body in general, and also the heart (chap. xiii), are included in Beaulieu's *Espinglier*. In conclusion he says:

"Aussi vous noterez que ie ne vous ecrits pas cecy, pour vous faire peur, ou crainte : ains seulement pour vous admonester, & aussi toutes sortes de ieunes gens (1. Corin. 4.) de la terre : & vous aduertir ensemble des merueilleux & durs assauts que le diable vostre aduersaire se prepare de vous donner, si vous viuez long temps en ce monde (1. Pierre 5.). A fin donques qu'estans bien fortifiées & armées de l'Escu de Foy (& de toutes autres armures de Dieu, Ephes. 6.) vous luy puissiez mieux resister."

The posthumous edition, known as the *Doctrine et Instruction des filles chrestiennes, desirans de viure selon la Parole de Dieu*, contains a lengthy poem entitled *La repentance de l'homme pecheur*. This poem is written in a very smooth and easy style and contains many lines of real beauty. The opening lines are:

O Tout-puissant Seigneur, Dieu venerable,
Clement, tardif à ire, et pitoyable,
Pere abundant en sainte verité,
En paix, douceur, et pure charité,
Duquel la sainte & grand misericorde
De pardonner aux offenseurs s'accorde,
Ie te vien tous confesser les pechez
Desquels ie sens mes esprits empeschez.
Ie sçay, Seigneur, toutes choses couuertes
Estre à tes yeux claires & descouuertes;
Si ie disois que ne t'ay irrité,
Menteur serois deuant ta Deité;
Si i'auois soing de me iustifier,
Ma bouche assez pourroit testifier
Tout le contraire. Est-il de femme né
Qui de pechez ne soit contaminé?

Deuant tes yeux ie confesse humblement
Qu'ay contre toy péché iniquement. (f. C 33, p. 21).

The spirit of the poem is reminiscent of Marguerite of Navarre's *Miroir de lame pecheresse*,¹⁸⁶ and since Beaulieu mentioned the book elsewhere (*Div. Rap.* f. 82) there is no doubt that he was familiar with it, as well as with the Psalms. The *Repentance* ends with the following prayer:

¹⁸⁶ Marguerite de Navarre, *Le miroir de lame pecheresse* (1531).

Donques, Seigneur, par ta benigne grace,
 Je te supply tous mes pechez efface,
 Me faisant vivre en toute sainteté,
 En continence et pure chasteté.
 En me vistant des armes de lumiere
 Pour reietter obscurté en arriere.
 Puis quand viendra mon ordonné trespas,
 Fay moy iouir de l'immortel repas
 Qui est promis à tous ceux et à celles
 Qui ont suivi de charité les zeles (p. 27).

That Beaulieu often imitated rather slavishly the other contributors to the Protestant song-books is incontestable. Yet we must remember that he only followed the literary fashion; and we must also not lose sight of the fact that he tried to supply the wants of the Reformation movement. Turning popular songs into hymns was one of the prerequisites. One cannot blame Beaulieu, therefore, for his apparent lack of originality. He often, however, rose above the average and wrote some verse that places him above many of his contemporaries.

The *Chrestienne Resiouyssance* is a very important volume in the history of the Swiss Reformation. In it we see our former priest as a strong exponent of the Calvinistic doctrines, and one of the chief contributors to the song-books of the Reformation. His talent was most successful when applied to satire. His travesties met with perhaps too sharp criticism. Though the reader might not be willing to accept the judgment of the Duc d'Aumale, that Beaulieu was the only poet of the Renaissance who could be compared with Marot, he must admit that Eustorg de Beaulieu deserves a high place among the poets of the period.¹⁸⁷

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(To be concluded)

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Téchener, *Bull. du Bibliophile*, Oct., 1867, "La facture des vers d'Eustorg de Beaulieu est facile, mais quelquefois négligée. Toutesfois c'est le seul poète de l'époque de la Renaissance qui puisse être comparé à Clément Marot." Téchener here restates the opinion of the Duc d'Aumale, who was an admirer of our poet and who possessed a copy of the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*. Le Duchat also appreciated Beaulieu, and in the *Ducatania*, vol. i, p. 134, he defends Beaulieu's "coqs à l'asne," so severely criticized by the Abbé Lenglet.

REVIEWS

*FF Communications. Edited for the Folklore Fellows by JOHANNES BOLTE, KAARLE KROHN, AXEL OLRİK, C. W. VON SYDOW. Nos. 1-21, Helsingfors and Hamina, 1911-1915.*¹

By far the most important contributions of recent years to the study of Folklore are contained in the publications of the society which we are about to review and it is strange that they should have attracted so little the attention of scholars in this country, a fact only partly explicable by the universal absorption in the unhappy war now raging in Europe. It is my purpose to review at some length the contents of the contributions already issued by the Folklore Fellows and to urge the coöperation of American scholars in this most interesting and valuable enterprise. All students in this country have experienced the great difficulty of collecting material for their work, owing to the lack of information in regard to sources hidden in public and private libraries, and to the entire want of coöperation among the vast number of institutions of learning in America.² The same difficulties are felt to a lesser degree by European scholars and it is to lessen these difficulties and to facilitate the study of Folklore in all lands that the present association has been formed.

An account of the inception of the Association is given in a letter of Kaarle Krohn, dated Helsingfors, November 23, 1907 ("Erste mittheilung des folkloristischen forserbundes 'FF'"). The writer mentions the rapid growth of material which has rendered work in this field increasingly difficult and finds the only solution in the mutual aid of fellow investigators. How can this aid be procured? In a conversation with Axel Olrik, a distinguished investigator and teacher of Folklore at the University of Copenhagen, they concluded that an international association for mutual aid must be founded. The most important matter, in their eyes, was the provision for copies, excerpts and translations of MSS. and scarce books. This could be possible only by means of a local association in each country. At the beginning it would not be necessary to ask for more than the exchange of material in order not to make too difficult the foundation of these associations. Their own interest in the matter would lead to the preservation of material in one place of deposit and its arrangement according to contents. The catalogues could at first give the different classes of material at any given place with references by numbers or pages. An asso-

¹ The contents will be indicated in the course of the review.

² A recent experience of mine may be of interest to other students of Folklore. I was unable to find certain works on Oriental Folklore and my attention was directed to the Cleveland Public Library by a reference in the Bulletin, 1912, No. 23, published by the U. S. Bureau of Education, "special collections in libraries in the United States." A letter from the librarian contained the astounding information that "the statement that the collection consists of 10,000 volumes is an underestimate, as it numbers about 30,000 now, and Mr. White is still making additional donations."

ciation of the local societies could have an influence on the scientific editions of the folklore material as well as on the promotion of some uniform plan to overcome linguistic difficulties. The ones who have had the labor of collecting the material should have the first claim to the results, for without publication in the native tongue it is impossible to keep alive the interest in Folklore. There are some traditions, especially those in metrical form, which must be published in the original, but an abstract in one of the cosmopolitan languages could be added, as in the case of Hunt's *Estonische dialekttexte*. It is worth considering, whether in respect to the 20,000 Finnish and 10,000 Estonian "märchenvarianten," as well as all the other "märchenvarianten" of the world, it would not be well to give brief abstracts in a generally known language and to print in full only a selection of the best stories.

Finally, the Association must labor for the elevation of Folklore to the level of a strictly trained science and for the introduction of this science as a branch of study into the universities. Krohn then refers to professorships already established in Christiania, Helsingfors and Copenhagen.

As a result of Krohn's letter an international association has been formed with local societies in Copenhagen, Helsingfors, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Prague, Lemberg, Czernowitz, Reikiavik, Lund, Upsala, Athens, Petrograd, Moskow, Kazan, Dorpat, Budapest, Basel, and Munich.

The statutes are found in FFC. 4, pp. 15-16, and, slightly amended, in FFC. 16, pp. 5-7. The name of the Society is indicated by the letters "FF" (Folklore Fellows, Folkeminde-Forskere, Fédération des Folkloristes, Folkloristischer Forscherbund). The object of the Society is to facilitate strictly scientific research by making accessible to investigators folklore material from various countries and to edit publications of a scientific character in an easily understood language, or with abstracts in such a language. Such publications to be promoted by appearing under the imprint of the "FF."

At the head of the Society is a managing committee to consist of at least three. This committee publishes the *FF Communications*, which contain: Communications concerning folklore materials in manuscript and printed collections (catalogues of collections and systematic catalogues); accounts of the activity of folklore societies, institutions and investigators; an international exchange of communications concerning folklore questions; and, finally, folklore investigations of international importance and discussions of methods. The managing committee is authorized to give the imprint of the association to publications corresponding to the aim of the Society. There will be issued an "International Series" and a "National Series"; of the latter a "Northern Series," embracing the Scandinavian and Finnish-Estonian territory, will be issued first. New series can be instituted by the managing committee. So far as possible an information bureau or a representative of the FF Society shall be established in every provincial or national group of workers. Larger associations of folklore societies can form chief centers with the right, subject to the approval of the managing committee, to institute subordinate associations. These various associations receive gratis the *FF Communications* if they possess personal members of the "FF" and likewise collections of folklore.

Personal members of the "FF Society" can be received by each association or information bureau. The members are bound, until they withdraw, to subscribe for the *FF Communications*, which they receive at half the retail price in

installments of ten francs, not oftener than once a year. They are entitled, under the guarantee of the association concerned, to claim the agency of the Society for their investigations. Through the agency of the FF bureaus of information, chief and subordinate associations, copies, extracts and translations of MSS. and scarce printed works in public, and, so far as possible, in private, collections, can be procured. The materials under the supervision of the Society can, unless special permission be given, be used for no other purpose than scientific investigation, especially not for complete publication.

The various associations shall themselves decide whether they deem it necessary to ask contributions from their members to cover the cost of running expenses and the risks they incurred in delivering scientific material.

The managing committee is chosen every three years at a general congress or by a written ballot, by a simple majority. All information bureaus, chief and subordinate associations are entitled to one vote each, in case their personal members have selected and empowered a representative. In the same way changes in the statutes and the dissolution of the Society may be voted, a majority of two thirds of the ballots cast being necessary. Propositions for the choice of the committee or motions for changes in the statutes must be sent in at least two months before the date of the election, and communicated by the committee to the bureaus of information within a month.

The price for copying easily readable documents is fixed at about fr. 0.35 for 1000 letters, or fr. 1 by the hour, for collation and research fr. 1.50 an hour. This is also the case for the copying of originals difficult to read, and of translations. Special agreement is necessary in the case of translations to be used for literary purposes. The above prices may be modified in cases of distance to be covered in large cities and limited access to sources.

Four reports on the activities of the FF Society are published, at the end of Communications Nos. 4, 7, 12 and 21, and one special report of the Hungarian Section for the year 1913, at the end of No. 16. These reports contain lists of the organized local directors in various places, suggestion of the establishment of an international folklore journal with stress laid on the bibliographical side, brief notices of such important books as Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* to Grimms' tales, Pitre's lectures at the University of Palermo, the creation of a professorship of northern folklore at the University of Copenhagen, consideration of a proposition to use Esperanto or Ido in the collection and translation of *märchen*, and references to collections of South American folklore and similar collections in Finland awaiting the means of publication. There are also reports (in Nos. 12, 16) of the activity of the Hungarian Section during 1912 and 1913.

I have now disposed of the prefatory matter and can proceed to the description and discussion of the contents of the twenty-one (minus No. 17, not yet issued) communications. These may be arranged into three classes: Systems or lists and catalogues of *märchen*; Essays; and Comparative Studies. I shall consider these in the above order, citing them by title and number in the Communications.

As the object of the Society is to facilitate strictly scientific research by making accessible to investigators folklore material from various countries, it was proper to begin their publications with an account of the "National Collection of Folklore in Copenhagen," by Axel Olrik, Director of the Collection

(No. 1, Helsingfors, 1910, pp. 1-9). The collection is cited by the abbreviation DFS (*Dansk Folkemindesamling*), and was founded in 1904-5 with the aim to contain "the folklore of Denmark and all that might serve for its illustration." The collection forms a part of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, but with its own direction and funds. Of the older collections of folklore all the great collections of Svend Grundtvig (1825-1883, the celebrated editor of ballads, professor in the University of Copenhagen) are incorporated in DFS. Collections anterior to this (*e. g.*, the ballad-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) are scattered in several public libraries. In addition to the main collection of Svend Grundtvig, there are the Faeroic collection of Svend Grundtvig and J. Bloch, the latter's biographical collections concerning Svend Grundtvig and his wife, the new collection, the MSS. of Evald Tang Kristensen, and the Phonographical Section (containing among other things some Eskimo material).

The above collection is arranged, so far as the *märchen* are concerned, according to a system elaborated by Svend Grundtvig and described in "The System of Tales in the Folklore Collection of Copenhagen," by Astrid Lunding (No. 2, Helsingfors, 1910, pp. 13-24, paged continuously with No. 1). The *circa* 800 versions of tales in his MS. collections are here reduced to 134 (135, one number being left vacant) *types* (religious legends, animal stories and short humorous tales are not included in this number, each of these forming its own series in the Grundtvig MS.). These types form no system of *incidents*, but a system of *actual tales*, each represented by a number of versions which agree with one another in essential features.

In the later classification of tales in the Copenhagen Collection this system is also followed. Types which are not represented in Grundtvig's system are set apart as "without number" (*Udenfor nummer*), or as "religious legends," "animal stories," "short humoristic tales" ("Legender," "Dyresagn," "Skæmtesagn"). Some day all these will be classified according to a system which "FF" is preparing. In the last few years some of the Grundtvig types have been subdivided under A, B, etc. Sometimes these letters signify that one type of tale has two individual versions, sometimes also that two different tales have been incorrectly placed under one type. The distinction between these two classes is, however, in some cases uncertain. For better identification there is named if possible for each type *one* printed Danish version and *one* of other great collections, especially Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.

This system of Grundtvig opens up a very important question treated at some length in the preface to "Verzeichnis der Märchentypen mit Hülfe von Fachgenossen ausgearbeitet" von Antti Aarne (No. 3, Helsingfors, 1910, pp. x, 63). The object of the Society, as we have seen, is to make accessible to investigators folklore material from various countries and to publish catalogues of collections of the same. It can easily be seen that much time and expense would be spared by investigators if there were some standard system of classification to which the *märchen* of different countries could be referred by numbers, and such a system Aarne proposes in the *Communication* before us. The idea of a general index or classification of *märchen* is not new. As long ago as 1864 J. G. von Hahn in his *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, vol. I, pp. 45-64, gave an elaborate system of "Märchen- und Sagformeln," based largely on mythology, and with comparative references to the *märchen* of other countries. It is still a very convenient and useful classification. In 1866 the

Rev. S. Baring-Gould prepared such a classification for the first edition of W. Henderson's *Notes on the Folk Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders, with an appendix on Household Stories*, by S. Baring-Gould. This list was revised by the late Mr. Joseph Jacobs for the original edition of the *Handbook of Folklore*, published by the Folk-Lore Society in 1890, and again in the new and enlarged edition of 1914. Mr. Jacobs also prepared for the Folk-Lore Congress, 1891, a *List of Folk-Tale Incidents Common to European Folk-Tales, with Bibliographical References*. About the same time P. Sébillot published an exhaustive index of *Les incidents des contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, Vannes, 1892. The English Folk-Lore Society has also undertaken the tabulation of Folk-Tales on the most elaborate scale (see *Folk-Lore Journal*, VII, 1889, p. 11 and at end, and "Folk-Lore," vol. I, at end, in all sixty tales, with incidents, but not indexed as yet). There are also excellent classified notes in Steel and Temple's *Wide-Awake Stories*, Bombay, n. d. (reprinted with omission of notes, and no reference to previous edition, by Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1894). In this country a similar attempt has been made in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXI, pp. 24, 222, "Catch-words for Mythological Motives" and "Catch-words in American Mythology," by R. H. Lowrie and A. L. Kroeber.

It is still a disputed question whether *märchen* are stories with a more or less fixed plot, or a mere kaleidoscopic congeries of incidents varied at the will of the narrator. I think scholars now generally accept the first view, a view corroborated by the substantial similarity everywhere of *märchen* of the same type or group. However this may be, a catalogue or classification of *märchen* as such will be more useful to the student than mere lists of incidents, many of which occur in *märchen* belonging to totally different classes. As Aarne says, p. iii, "How greatly would the labor of gathering material be lightened if all the collections of *märchen* thus far printed had been arranged on the same system. The investigator would have been in a position to discover in a moment in each collection the material he needed, whereas he is now compelled to look through the entire work if he wants to make himself familiar with its contents. For each editor has arranged his collection as seems fit to him and few have been guided by any profound knowledge of the subject. Related materials are often scattered here and there." Before explaining the arrangement of the new catalogue of types, Aarne acknowledges that his own has no claim to completeness. The material on which it is based is the Finnish manuscript collections, Grundtvig's Danish collection and the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Grimms. For the present, with the exception of a few additions, only the types which appear in the collections mentioned are represented. Room is left for enlargement by extra numbers (the number of the types is 540, or, with variants, 587; the numbers used in the catalogue reach 1960). If in the course of time this should be exceeded, exponents can be used, *e. g.*, 165¹, 165², etc., or variants can be expressed by letters, *e. g.*, Type 313 may have three variants, 313 A, 313 B, 313 C. The different types have their number in the catalogue and might be cited by these numerical designations alone, but in addition a name is given to every *märchen*. So far as possible the names which are familiar from the collections of the Grimms and Grundtvig have been preserved. The individual *märchen*-types are so far as possible based on complete stories.

"It would have been possible," Aarne says, "to have worked out a sys-

tematic list of separate episodes and *motifs*, but this would have resulted in such a dismemberment of the complete stories that the student would have had much less use from the catalogue. Sometimes, however, it has been necessary to depart from the method indicated. For example, the separate stories of the cycle of the 'stupid devil' are related by the people in such different combinations that it was necessary to enter each of these episodes under its own number. This applies partly also to the 'animal stories' and the 'jests' (*Schwankmärchen*). This course seemed the most practical, otherwise too general conclusions might have been drawn. It should also be observed that the separate stories which usually appear as part of a longer tale, sometimes appear alone by themselves, and then deserve by all means an independent mention."

All the *märchen* in the Catalogue of Types are divided into three principal groups: animal stories, stories proper (*märchen*), and jests. The animal stories are arranged according to the animals involved and the stories relating to the same animal are placed together. Where several animals appear in the same story, it is classified according to the most prominent animal.

The largest group, stories proper, are divided into magic- or wonder-stories, stories of a legendary nature, stories of the nature of *novelle*, and stories relating to the "stupid devil." For the division of the magic-stories (*Zauber-märchen*) the wonderful, supernatural agent has been decisive. Thus arise the groups: the supernatural adversary (in which group reference is made to the closely related "devil" stories); the supernatural husband; the supernatural task; the supernatural helper; the supernatural object; the supernatural power or knowledge; and, finally, the group in which another supernatural element (*Moment*) occurs. These groups, so far as possible, are divided according to their contents into new subdivisions, as is also the case with the legendary and novelistic *märchen*.

Sometimes it happens that the same *märchen* can be referred to two different groups. The agent most important for the action decides its place, but the story is mentioned in the second group, in parenthesis, with a reference to its place in the first. Such references are employed in other parts of the catalogue. It may also be observed that related types as well as individual incidents which are found in several different types are also provided with references.

The first division of the jests is the "Wise men of Gotham" (*Schildbürger-geschichte*), which are divided into classes according as they have to do with agriculture, cattle raising, fishing, hunting, housebuilding, food, etc. Then come "married couples," "wife and husband." In the last mentioned and larger group are stories of the "clever man," "luck through chance," the "foolish man" and the "priest." In stories of priests they are generally fooled, and frequently by the sexton, which fact has been taken into consideration in the arrangement of "priest-stories." The last group of jests comprises the "stories of lies," divided into stories of the chase, of big animals, big objects, etc.

It is sometimes difficult to draw a sharp line between "legendary" *märchen* and "magic" *märchen* in which a supernatural adversary appears, and likewise between "novelistic" *märchen* and "jests." Some "devil-stories" and some "thieves-stories" constitute such border cases.

A word or two may be said in regard to the numbering of the types, which

is continuous from beginning to end of the catalogue. This has been done for practical reasons, for if, as was first contemplated, each principal group of stories received its own numerical series, large numbers would, it is true, have been avoided, but the notation of the stories would have been too complicated.³

I have not space here to criticize Aarne's catalogue. It would certainly be an enormous convenience for students of *märchen* if some such system could be adopted, and Aarne's is perhaps as good as could be devised. I imagine, however, that scholars will always find it safer to use some sort of catch-word for the story itself, and to specify in some detail the character of the variants.

A system of story-types having been established, it remained to apply it to the *märchen* of a particular country or province or to some classes of *märchen*. This has been done in five numbers (Nos. 5, 6, 8, 9 and 19) of the *Communications*, which I shall now briefly describe.⁴

The first is "Finnische Märchenvarianten. Verzeichnis der bis 1908 gesam-

³ In a subsequent communication, "Übersicht der mit dem Verzeichnis der Märchentypen in den Sammlungen Grimms, Grundtvigs, Afanasjews, Gonzenbachs und Hahns übereinstimmenden Märchen" (No. 10, Helsingfors, 1912, p. 15), Aarne gives the correspondence of the numbers in his "Catalogue of Story-Types" with the stories in the five important collections of German, Swedish, Russian, Italian and Greek stories by the collectors mentioned in the title.

⁴ Before doing so, however, it may be well to call attention to the suggestion of Krohn (FFC, No. 4, pp. 13-14) for the use of letters in the analysis of the variants of a story-type. The quarters of the globe are indicated by Eu, As, Af, Am, Au, in fat letters or italics. When the European variants precede, the designation for Europe may be omitted. A capital letter has regularly the signification of an initial. Each small letter can be used for any desired designation. Abbreviations must contain at least two small letters (Ital. not It.). Where two or more capitals are used, the first indicates a wider, the second a narrower, linguistic community. A third capital can occasionally be used as designation of locality. Generally it is preferable to use small letters in designating localities, whose initials would burden the memory. The scheme, then, is the following: First capital: C = Celts, F = Finn-Ugrians, G = Germans, R = Romanic peoples, S = Slavs, T = Turks. First and second capital: CB = Bretons, CI = Irish, CS = Scotch, CW = Welsh, FE = Esthonians, FF = Finns, FL = Laplanders, FM = Magyars, FP = Permians ("syrjänen, wotjaken"), FU = Ugrians on the Ural ("ostjaken, wogulen"), FW = Volga peoples ("mordwinen, tscheremissen"), GD = Danes, GE = English, GG = Germans in the narrower sense, "Deutsche," GH = Dutch, GI = Icelanders, GN = Norwegians, GS = Swedes, GSF or simply GF = Swedes in Finnland, German Finns, GV = Flemings, RE = Spaniards, RF = French, RI = Italians, RL = Ladin, Friuli, and Rheto-Romanic, RP = Portuguese, RR = Roumanians, SB = Bulgars, SČ = Czechs and Slovaks, SP = Poles, SR = (Great-) Russians, SS = Serbians, Croats and Slovenes, SU = Ukrainians (Little-Russians), and Ruthenians, SW = Wends, TČ = "Čuwaschen," TK = Kirghiz, TO = Ottomans, TT = Tatars. Isolated peoples of Europe are designated by three letters, one large and two small: Alb = Albanians, Bas = Basques, Gre = Greeks, Let = Letts, Lit = Lithuanians, Sam = Samoyeds. I have given this system of nomenclature in full, as the author would be grateful for criticisms and suggestions.

melten Aufzeichnungen mit der Unterstützung der finnischen Litteraturgesellschaft ausgearbeitet" von Antti Aarne (No. 5, Hamina, 1911, pp. xxxii, 167). In the preface the editor gives an account of the collection of Finnish *Volksmärchen* down to 1908. The first stories, two animal tales, appeared in 1783, and little was done until the foundation of the Finnish Literary Society in 1831. The interest then was confined almost exclusively to the *Kalevala* and the epic poems on which it was based. The object was chiefly a belletristic one. In 1866 the interest was in the dialects in which the stories were told. This led to the careful collection of the stories, but as the object was to foster the study of philology little was done for the stories themselves. Since 1880, however, the scientific value of the *märchen* has been recognized and a great impulse has been given to collection. On the first of January, 1908, over 26,600 stories had been collected, and since then several thousand more have been added. One collector, Kaarle Krohn, now professor of Folklore in the University of Helsingfors, gathered about 8500 *märchen* and *sagen*, and published in 1885 a catalogue of the tales acquired by the Society above mentioned. Aarne has now, in the *Communication* before us, arranged the vast body of material according to his system of typical tales and catalogued them according to printed and manuscript sources. The latter are arranged geographically and two maps are given, the second showing by shaded colors the frequency of collection in the various parishes of Finland. This Catalogue of Aarne, the result of prodigious labor, places the treasures of Finnish *märchen* at the disposal of scholars in other lands, and undoubtedly will contribute, as the author wishes, to making the need of such catalogues more widely known.

We may consider as a supplement to the work just mentioned Oskar Hackman's "Katalog der Märchen der finnländischen Schweden mit Zugrundelegung von Aarnes Verzeichnis der Märchentypen" (No. 6, Leipzig, 1911, pp. iii, 38). Story-types or variations not in Aarne's Catalogue are given with a brief description and marked with an asterisk. The frequency with which this occurs shows the difficulty of making anything like a complete catalogue of types. With these two catalogues the student can now have at his command a summary of the entire *märchen* material of Finland.

The remaining Catalogues are of a different nature, and concern limited fields or topics. From the Finnish material catalogued in the two works just mentioned, Aarne has made a "Verzeichnis der finnischen Ursprungssagen und ihrer Varianten" (No. 8, Hamina, 1912, p. 23). The Catalogue contains 132 legends concerning the origin of the world, its inhabitants, animals, birds, fishes, insects, plants, etc. From the same material the same author has made a "Variantenverzeichnis der finnischen Deutungen von Tierstimmen und anderen Naturlauten" (No. 9, Hamina, 1912, p. 17). The list contains 102 explanations or interpretations of the sounds made by animals and other natural sounds, *e. g.*, thunder, bells, millstones, etc.

The last of these special Catalogues is F. A. Hästesko's "Motivverzeichnis westfinnischer Zaubersprüche nebst Aufzählung der bis 1908 gesammelten Varianten" (No. 19, Hamina, 1914, pp. vi, 63). The author says that in no field of Finnish popular poetry has there been such earnest study as in that of magic-spells. This study has shown that the Finnish spells have for the most part arisen from *motifs* which have migrated from West Europe to Finland and there assumed a Finnish garb or been generally recast. This transplantation

of the *motifs* of the spells took place from the west, and, at least in the majority of cases, during the Christian middle ages. Under these circumstances West Finland had a special importance in the development of the spells. They constitute a peculiar group which is clearly differentiated from the spell-poetry of East Finland. Hästesko then gives a brief history of the collection of Finnish magic-spells, which, with variants, had reached in 1908 the considerable number of over 3500, and is now much larger. The author points out, in conclusion, the importance of the Finnish popular poetry for the study of the popular poetry of other countries, for although it stands in general at the terminus of the geographical migration of the poetry, it has often preserved old features which had already vanished elsewhere.

The considerable number of magic-spells which Hästesko has catalogued and briefly described in German form a valuable addition to the folklore of the rest of Europe.

We now pass to the second division of the material contained in the *Communications*, the two essays which are intended to describe the field of comparative storiology, to use a convenient word, and to explain the modern method employed in the scientific investigation of the diffusion of *märchen*. I shall consider the second essay first, as it seems to me that the description of the field logically precedes the method of study. The materials for investigation consist of printed and manuscript collections, forming a very extensive literature, which Aarne attempts to review in a systematic manner in "Übersicht der Märchenliteratur" (No. 14, Hamina, 1914, pp. iv, 75). His purpose is to afford young investigators the first guide to the study of the literature of *märchen*, and he limits his review to the statement of the principal traits and more important publications. In regard to the older collections of *märchen*, he does not pretend to enumerate their different European translations; some, however, are generally mentioned. The popular *märchen* literature is arranged according to countries and an attempt is made to give a comprehensive view of the wealth of *märchen* collected in various countries. Such works are especially mentioned as are most useful to the student on account of the richness of their contents or of the comparative notes to the tales. Such comparative notes are mentioned, even if they are found elsewhere than in collections proper. Even the scholar who is well acquainted with the bibliography of his subject will be astounded at the enormous wealth of material disclosed in Aarne's Survey. The Slavic *märchen* literature, first revealed to students in Polivka's contributions to the notes to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm, edited by himself and J. Bolte, gave some idea of the amazing richness of this one territory. We have seen in the course of this review how important is the Finnish *märchen* literature. The linguistic difficulties make the task of mastering this material very great, and it can be accomplished only by the coöperation of scholars and the cataloguing and description of these *märchen* in a language generally understood. Aarne's Survey, too, gives precious references to sources of information about these outlying fields of study, and is far more than a brief bibliography of the subject.

We come now at last to the most interesting part of our review, that, namely, which concerns the method of the study of popular tales and examples of its application in concrete instances.

As long ago as 1888 J. G. Frazer (*Archaeological Review*, vol. I, pp. 81-91,

161-181, "The Language of Animals") attempted to apply to *märchen* the methods of textual criticism, and to determine by means of comparison of the various versions the original form of the story. He says, p. 84:

In the case of authors who wrote before the invention of printing, scholars are familiar with the process of comparing the various manuscripts of a single work, in order, from such a comparison, to reconstruct the archetype or original MS. from which the various existing MSS. are derived. Similarly in folklore; by comparing the versions of a single tale, it may be possible to arrive with tolerable certainty at the original story, of which the different versions are more or less imperfect and incorrect representations.

The story selected for this purpose ("The Boy who became Pope," Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, No. XLIII) had relatively few variants and the result was not convincing. Frazer, besides, was interested only in the anthropological side of the subject. In the course of his article he has occasion to treat a variant of his story: "The man who knew the language of animals and his curious wife." This, as we shall presently see, has been treated by Antti Aarne in one of the *Communications* (No. 15), and it would be interesting to compare his method with that of Frazer.

The complete geographical-historical method of the investigation of *märchen* was originated by the Finnish scholar Julius Krohn, who applied it to the study of the *Kalevala* poems.⁵

The first application of the method to the field of *märchen* was by his son, Kaarle Leopold Krohn, professor of Finnish and comparative popular poetry at the University of Helsingfors, in his dissertation "Bär (Wolf) und Fuchs," Helsingfors, 1887, and "Mann und Fuchs. Drei vergleichende Märchenstudien," Helsingfors, 1891. It will be well to allow Krohn to explain his method, as he does in the preface to the second work cited above:

⁵ Aarne, in the *Communication* about to be examined, gives, p. 39, the following account of the way in which J. Krohn hit upon his method:

"A. A. Borenius in his article 'Where did the *Kalevala* arise?' showed, in 1873, by linguistic and substantive (*sachlich*) reasons that the *Kalevala* poems which had been recorded east of the Finnish borders by the Karelians dwelling in North Russia, could not have arisen from this neighborhood, but had migrated thither from Finland on the West. Julius Krohn perceived, moreover, that southern elements were found in the poems which had come from Ingermanland and Estland. In order to be clear as to what in the *Kalevala* poems had its origin in the West, what had come from the South, and what was of Karelian origin, he began a thorough investigation of the individual poems. He discovered that the poems in their migration from West to East and from South to North, had changed in such a manner that the one version was developed from the other in geographical sequence. Going backwards in this way he attempted to discover the original form of each poem and at the same time its home."

"It was no mere chance," Aarne adds, "that the geographical-historical method was first employed in Finland. This was caused first of all by the wealth of Finnish material collected from the mouths of the people. The method itself is entirely international, and so natural that one could have hit upon it independently in any other country, and there are instances in which the same treatment had begun to be applied by students of popular poetry elsewhere quite independently. 'Even without the Finnish investigation,' declares the Danish scholar, Axel Olrik, 'it would have become the principal instrument of the investigator.'"

Every one knows that the Brothers Grimm regarded *märchen* as the residuum of ancient myths, that Benfey derived them from literary sources, and that Lang sought in them remnants of primitive ideas and customs. Why not acknowledge that the *märchen* has a right to form an independent subject of scientific investigation. The mythological interpolations are entirely fortuitous accidents and present an exclusively national character. On the other hand, the common international element consists not only in a universal, fundamental idea, but in the complication and *dénouement* of the action, in the whole theme. An international science of *märchen* can only come into existence when the fundamental theme is stripped of all superfluous accessories. Since, however, the plot of a *märchen*, as we find it, is often very complicated, it must first be divided into simple actions consisting of only one complication and one *dénouement*, into isolated adventures. Each adventure is then to be studied for itself.

In order to discover the primitive form of a simple adventure, all existing versions, *i. e.*, all those adventures which represent the same complication of the action with the same *dénouement*, must be brought together. Such adventures in which only the complication or only the *dénouement* is the same, may be considered to owe their similarity entirely to chance, from the homogeneity of human thought. Chance repeated twice is, however, scarcely to be thought of in the enormous world of ideas.

It was Benfey's error that he laid the principal weight upon the literary versions of a *märchen* and attributed only a secondary worth to the modern stories which flowed from the lips of the people. It can be proved, however, that in our age versions taken down with scientific accuracy from the true and extremely conservative memory of the people, show often much more primitive forms than the oldest purely belletristic *rifacimenti* of the same *märchen*. In the north of Europe, for example, the individual adventures in the popular chain of animal-stories cited by Krohn in the present work, have preserved their primitive form better than in the corresponding fable in the *Roman de Renard*. In a comparative study of *märchen* all versions, as well literary as, especially, popular must be taken into consideration.

The versions cannot, however, be compared with each other in any order one chooses. Two versions separated from each other by time and distance are to be avoided if the object is to show the process of development without intermediate forms. They must be arranged in geographical order, and, so far as the older literary sources suffice, in historical order also. For it has been shown that the common origin of the nations has had little influence on the likeness of the *märchen*, whereas the geographical proximity and mutual intercourse, in spite of the greatest linguistic differences, have had much greater influence. *Märchen* are connected not with the language but with the culture. In order to put the comparative science, so far as geographical order is concerned, on a firm footing, versions must be forthcoming from every country, every district, even from every parish. In case the direction and routes of diffusion have been clearly established even in one country (*e. g.*, in Finland), trustworthy conclusions may be drawn in regard to the diffusion of the *märchen* in other countries.

Since the primitive form of an individual adventure has usually never been preserved pure, a further analysis of the same is necessary. The action must be divided into its principal elements, persons, objects, means, activities, and each element must be followed through the whole series of versions in geographical order, so that the primitive form may be discovered. In this process not only

is the majority of versions, which is often deceitful, to be considered, but the routes of diffusion and, finally, what is in accordance with nature.

Only by fixing the primitive form in each individual element of the action can the primitive form of an adventure be discovered. And when this is discovered, one can draw conclusions in regard to the place of origin, nationality, time of origin, original connection with other adventures, and the common idea lying at its basis.

The discovery of the primitive form of the *märchen* is, however, not the most interesting thing which the comparative geographical method can accomplish. Still more important, perhaps, is the investigation of the variations which the primitive form has undergone during its travels. It is well known that all linguistic changes rest on fixed phonetic laws or must be explained by analogy. So all changes in the variegated web of *märchen* have been brought about by fixed laws of thought and imagination. Of these laws, not numerous, may be named: forgetfulness of a circumstance; the acclimatizing of a foreign, and the modernization of an antiquated object; the generalizing of a special, and the specializing of a general designation; the inversion of occurrences; the exchange of personalities or activities; multiplication, especially with the numbers 3, 5, 7; "polyzoismus," where many animals instead of one appear; the anthropomorphism of animals and the reverse; the zoömorphism of men; "egomorphismus," where the narrator himself appears as hero; etc. In addition there is also the desire to adorn an adventure with interpolated episodes, to establish it on a firmer foundation by means of an introduction, to give it a pretty conclusion by a final refrain, above all to spin out in all directions the thread of the story. It is this desire for continuation which unites several adventures in one whole. For the limited fancy of the people creates nowadays little that is new, almost all additions are taken from material already at hand, either uniting a fragment of an adventure or the entire adventure with another or with fragments of it. This conjunction naturally can not be without influence upon the incidents which are joined together, which generally must be very much altered in order to be in keeping with each other. A very large part of the changes and distortions of an adventure is due to the influence of another connected adventure. This kind of change corresponds to the phonetic changes in language caused by neighboring sounds. Finally, the changes which take place by analogy should be mentioned. These correspond closely to linguistic changes *ex analogia*, in which an adventure is determined by another group of adventures (*e. g.*, the *märchen* of the bear and fox have imitated the ancient fables of the wolf and fox, the wolf having taken the place of the bear).

Krohn says, in conclusion, that the importance of the science of *märchen* for the history of civilization is as great, if not greater, than for folk-psychology. While it shows us the ways by which *märchen* have wandered from one people to another orally, and not only by literature, we obtain certain proofs of the influence of the culture of one people upon another. For, as has been said, the *Volksmärchen* have migrated not with the language but with the culture of the people. On the other hand, just as little as we owe our culture exclusively to a single nation and a single race, just so little have the *Volksmärchen* arisen from the intellectual (*genialen*) activity of a single people. They are rather the common property of the entire more or less civilized world, acquired by united labor, and therefore an object of international science.

It is this method which Antti Aarne develops and applies to concrete examples for the use of students in his "Leitfaden der vergleichenden Märchenforschung" (No. 13, Hamina, 1913, pp. iv, 86). Aarne considers in his five chapters the origin of *märchen*, the changes in their form, the geographical-historical method of investigation, the technique of *märchen*-investigation, and, finally, examples of this technique. After the great space which has been given to Krohn's exposition of the method it is not necessary to repeat that of Aarne. It is worth while, however, to allude briefly to some of the facts which he believes to be established by the new method.

"Each *märchen*," he says, p. 12, "is originally a fixed story which has come into existence once only in a definite place and at a definite time. This idea is one of the fundamental ideas of *märchen*-investigation." He denies the theory which refers *märchen* to the most primitive times, and declares, p. 13, that "the whole structure of the *märchen* shows that they were not framed in primitive conditions, but are products of an historical time." This is shown, he thinks, by the presence of later notions, animals of civilized times, etc., and by the fact that one does not find these stories as original among the peoples of a lower level, but as stories which have come from somewhere else. The Finnish-Ugrian peoples in Russia have obtained their *märchen* from the Russians. No one denies that remnants of primitive modes of thought are to be found in *märchen*, but these inherited notions were naturally used when the *märchen* was formed in historical times. Aarne thinks, p. 16, that *märchen* have for the most part arisen in definite places, and that some nations and localities have had a particular predisposition for *märchen*, as India, for example. As regards the diffusion of *märchen*, it takes place principally by oral means, although the importance of certain literary channels is not to be disregarded.

We have seen the importance attributed to the discovery of the primitive form in the modern method of investigation, and how this primitive form has been changed in the course of time. Krohn referred briefly to these changes and made a classification of them. Aarne in his second chapter examines more fully the laws of these changes with examples of their occurrence in *märchen*. The method itself is examined in the third chapter, but after Krohn's exposition we need not dwell upon it again. The fourth chapter, "The Technique of *Märchen*-investigation," prescribes the rules for applying the method and gives examples of it. The whole "Leitfaden" is an admirable piece of scholarly work, clear and exact, and will undoubtedly contribute greatly to the spread of the new method.

We have little space left for the three remaining *Communications*. They are, as has already been said, examples of the application of the geographical-historical method to concrete instances. The first is "Der tiersprachenkundige Mann und seine neugierige Frau, eine vergleichende Märchenstudie" von Antti Aarne (No. 15, Hamina, 1914, pp. iv, 81). This is the story I have already mentioned in connection with J. G. Frazer's article in *The Archaeological Review*, I, 81. One only needs to compare the two articles to see the vast superiority of Aarne's and the wealth of material at his disposal absolutely unknown to Frazer, especially from Finland, Poland and Russian oral sources. The story is familiar to us from the *Arabian Nights*. A man who understands the languages of animals laughs and his curious wife insists on knowing the cause.

He tells her he must die if he reveals the secret. She still insists, and the man hears the cock explain his method of ruling his family and advise his master to apply it to his curious wife. He does so and beats her until she repents of her curiosity and they henceforth live together in peace for the rest of their lives. The story, as Aarne says, offers a good example for the elucidation of one of the fundamental questions of *märchen*-investigation. When the *märchen* are orally diffused, they change in many ways and blend with each other, but the changes affect the individual features and parts of the story, whereas the stem is preserved. On the whole it is the same with the literary versions in this respect.

The comparative geographical-historical method may of course be applied to other objects than *märchen* and this is done by Reidar Th. Christiansen in "Die finnischen und nordischen Varianten des zweiten Merseburgerspruches, eine vergleichende Studie" (No. 18, Hamina, 1915, pp. vi, 217). Seventy-four years ago there were discovered in the Cathedral library of Merseburg in Germany two incantations or spells, the second of which was a spell for a sprain. What gave this spell especial interest was the presence of the names of heathen divinities, so that J. Grimm, who first edited this poem, declared that "its composition reached back far beyond the Christian period of our national antiquity into heathen times." The spell has been the subject of countless investigations from the moment of its discovery, and great numbers of versions have been collected in Germany, England, Scandinavia, Finland, etc. These versions with few exceptions are Christian in character, and it has been presumed that they were derived from the heathen formula. This great number of versions has now been subjected to the new geographical-historical method by Christiansen who, after his elaborate investigation, concludes that the Christian blessing for a sprain was in early circulation with many other blessings and the form of the spell discovered in 1910 at Trier may give us some idea of what it was like. The ecclesiastic who put the blessing among the religious pieces of the Merseburg MS. wished to deprive it of its sinful character by substituting other names for those of the saints. For this purpose he chose names which were partly really heathen ones, perhaps, however, some that were only imaginary. To this epic portion were early attached the magic words which go back to even older forms. Whether this substitution was the work of the scribe or whether it had occurred already in the oral tradition can scarcely be ascertained; the first supposition seems the more likely, because the spell has a learned character. A more interesting and convincing example of the new method would be hard to find.

The third and last example of the application of the new method is Aarne's "Schwänke über schwerhörige Menschen" (No. 20, Hamina, 1915, p. 90). The subject of this investigation is not a *märchen* like the first, nor a popular formula like the second, but is an anecdote pure and simple. The object of the study is to see whether the theory of the independent origin of stories, etc., has weight, and what is the relation between popular (oral) and literary (written) versions. The anecdote in question is the widely spread one of the irrelevant answers given by a deaf man to his interrogator. Sometimes both parties are deaf, sometimes an altercation arises which involves a judicial proceeding before an official who in some versions is himself deaf. Sometimes the deaf person

thinks out beforehand the answers to questions which he supposes will be put to him, and which are not at all what he has imagined. This last class of anecdotes forms the transition to a great number of similar stories, not treated by Aarne, where persons not deaf give irrelevant answers to a series of questions. In some of these stories a lack of knowledge of a language takes the place of deafness, in others a dull or diffident person is taught replies to a series of questions likely to be put. The questions really put are different from those expected, or put in a different order. At first sight it would not seem that this topic afforded sufficient material or interest for a scientific investigation, and the editor does complain of the lack of versions at his command. Still, it is remarkable how many versions, both oral and literary, he has been able to collect from all parts of Europe and the Orient; even Africa is represented.

The two general questions involved, independent origin and relation of oral and literary versions, are discussed by Aarne at the end of his study. He concludes that the theory of the independent origin of *märchen* is entirely incorrect if it is carried so far as to deny the migration of *märchen* or to restrict it to the smallest possible measure. Otherwise the theory has a certain importance in individual cases under certain conditions. His investigation shows that this is true and that the similarity of the various stories without doubt is in part of independent origin.

As to the second question, Aarne thinks he has shown that the stories about the deaf are chiefly popular, and so belong to oral tradition. Most of them are known only orally and many of them are confined to one locality and have been collected seldom or once only. Even some of the stories which appear in the older literature spring undoubtedly from a popular source. Also such stories as to-day are known only in literature may have been popular originally, and later forgotten by the people. The stories told of court jesters (see Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, No. XCVIII, "Firrazzanu's Wife and the Queen") are quite certainly of literary origin, but differ so much from the other stories of this class that they need not be included with them.⁶

⁶ Although not forming part of the *FF Communications*, and published some years earlier, it may not be inappropriate to mention here three similar studies of Antti Aarne contained in *Vergleichende Märchenforschungen*, Helsingfors, 1908 ("Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne," XXV), 8vo, pp. xviii, 200. The stories treated are: the magic ring which accomplishes its owner's wishes; the three magic objects stolen from the owner who regains them with the aid of magic fruits; and the magic bird which has a wonderful effect upon a person who has eaten a certain part of it. The three studies are interesting examples of the new method as applied to well-known *märchen*.

I have reviewed at great length the 21 (20) numbers of the *FF Communications*, which, in my judgment, constitute the most important contribution to the study of folklore which has appeared in many years. They will undoubtedly give a fresh interest to the subject and they place in the hands of the student a new instrument of research. Its edge and temper have yet to be tested, but already there can be no question of its value and interest.

The history of every field of study reveals the same interesting evolution of intellectual processes. As soon as one theory becomes antiquated or discredited, another takes its place. When the interest in a subject of study seems

entirely exhausted a new standpoint or a new method emerges to refresh it and impart to it new life. So in Folklore, the theory of the Grimms gave way to that of Benfey, and their mythological and linguistic methods yielded to the broader ethnological one of Lang and Frazer. Now, when this last theory seems to have been exhausted and serious doubts have arisen as to the correctness of its fundamental principles (so far at least as *märchen* are concerned), a new method of investigation is proposed, which, in its turn, will stimulate study and arouse new interest.

T. F. CRANE.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

The ROMANIC REVIEW has received from the office of the "Belgian Scholarship Committee," 309 Wilkins Building, Washington, D. C., a brief account of the purposes of that organization, which already includes in its membership a number of leading university presidents and other men of national reputation. By 'Belgian Scholarship' is meant, not a foundation such as might be suggested by the familiar Rhodes scholarships, but rather the collective activities of Belgian scholars, whether exercised in temporary expatriation or in the home country after the close of the war. These scholarly activities it is the object of the committee to rehabilitate by the establishment of an adequate fund; associate membership calls for an annual payment of ten dollars, sustaining membership for one of a hundred dollars. Libraries are invited to contribute available books, to be designated in advance and held in reserve until a date propitious for their delivery in Belgium. Communications may be addressed to the Secretary, George Sarton, D.Sc., at the office of the Committee, and checks should be drawn to the order of John Joy Edson, Treasurer.

The Librairie Larousse is publishing a series called *Ecrivains Français pendant la Guerre*. Volumes have already appeared by Barrès, Boutroux and Lavissee. These books are admirably adapted to class use, and are of fascinating interest. The series will be sold in this country by the Oxford University Press, New York.

In announcing, vol. VI, p. 463, that various colleges were adopting aural and oral tests for admission in the modern languages, it might have been stated that Mount Holyoke College is believed to have been the first American institution to apply such tests.

Professor C. H. Grandgent of Harvard University has returned from Paris, where, as Exchange Professor, he lectured on Dante.

Dr. Eunice Morgan Schenck, Associate in French at Bryn Mawr, has been elected Dean of that college.

Dr. E. H. Wilkins of Chicago University has been promoted to the professorship of Italian.

Dr. Arthur Livingston of Columbia University has been made associate professor in Italian.

Mr. E. J. Fortier of Columbia University has been promoted to an assistant professorship of French.

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ENGLISH OR FRENCH IN THE TIME OF EDWARD III

THE position of the English language after the Norman Conquest has been variously stated. To early writers English was entirely displaced except among the lowest orders of society. Later writers assumed that the native tongue must early have begun to be rehabilitated as the language of the whole people, and interpreted the few direct references accordingly. Hume, in his early presentation of the first view,¹ might be pardoned for following the forger Ingulf, and his countryman Scott for popularizing Hume in the first chapter of *Ivanhoe*. Such pardon, however, should scarcely extend to a serious historian or writer of much later time. Palgrave seems to have been the first to protest the view of Hume a century before,² but Freeman,³ who did so much to show the true continuity

¹ *History of England* (1754-61), I, 200: "William had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the English language; and for that purpose he ordered that in all schools throughout the kingdom the youth should be instructed in the French tongue; a practice which was continued from custom till after the reign of Edward III, and was never indeed totally discontinued in England. . . . No other tongue [than French] was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable company; and the English themselves, ashamed of their own country, affected to excel in that foreign dialect." Ingulf is distinctly mentioned by Hume in a footnote to the same page.

² *History of Normandy and of England* (1851-64), III, ch. xv, and especially p. 627 f.

³ *The Norman Conquest* (1867-76), ch. xxv, and appendices to vol. V. Freeman recognized his indebtedness to Stubbs (*Constitutional History of England*, 1874-78) for some facts, and alludes to Palgrave. Otherwise his treatment of the subject is original and far reaching, in spite of some errors on purely linguistic matters. He particularly combats Hume's statement above, in the opening sentence of his twenty-fifth chapter: "Of all the dreams which have affected the history of the times on which we are engaged, none has led to more error than the notion that William the Conqueror set to work with a fixed purpose to root out the use of the English tongue."

of English history from pre-Norman times, made the first elaborate and painstaking examination of the evidence for the case.

The first serious historian to convey the same impressions as Scott's romance, itself an exaggeration of Hume, was Augustin Thierry in his *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1825). This, too, was made more accessible to Englishmen and doubtless more influential by Hazlitt's translation in 1837. Thierry's indebtedness to Scott for his general notion of English-Norman history has been long recognized, but his romantic view still colors the conception of many writers. How close is the French historian to the English novelist may be seen from two quotations. Contrasting the English language in England and Scotland, Thierry says:

"Cette langue, que sa ressemblance avec celle des Anglo-Saxons faisait nommer *anglisc* ou anglaise, avait un sort bien différent en Écosse et en Angleterre. Dans ce dernier pays, elle était l'idiome des serfs, des gens de métier, des gardeurs de troupeaux, et les poètes, qui chantaient pour les hautes classes, ne composaient qu'en pur normand; mais au nord de la Tweed, l'anglais était la langue favorite des ménestrels attachés à la cour; il était poli, travaillé, gracieux, recherché même, tandis que de l'autre côté du même fleuve, il devenait rude et sans grâce comme les malheureux qui le parlaient."⁴

And again of the French language in England:

"Il y remplaça insensiblement la langue saxonne, qui, n'étant plus parlée que par la partie de la nation la plus pauvre et la plus grossière, tomba autant au-dessous du nouvel idiome anglonormand, que celui-ci était au-dessous du français, langage de la cour, du baronnage et du quiconque prétendait au bon ton et aux belles manières."⁵

The idea that English remained entirely in the background for more than three centuries after the Conquest is often reflected in what is said of the language in the time of Edward III. Thus Pauli, in his *Bilder aus Alt-England* (1st ed., 1860), has this definite pronouncement:

"Wir haben keinen genügenden Beweis, dass nur einer der drei ersten Edwards geläufig englisch gesprochen habe; dem dritten

⁴ Vol. II, p. 5.

⁵ II, 378.

unter ihnen noch soll es schwer geworden sein, bei einer öffentlichen Gelegenheit drei Worte in der Volkssprache hinter einander hervorzubringen."⁶

Pauli's statement led Longman (*Life and Times of Edward the Third*, II, 72) to say:

"King Edward the Third was barely able even to speak English, always wrote his dispatches in French, and his proclamations were often made in that language."⁷

Pauli, as already noted, gives no authority for his statement regarding King Edward's English. Longman has added what is perhaps the main reason for Pauli's language, Edward's use of French in dispatches and sometimes in proclamations. But the writing of dispatches in French, and the use of French or Latin in proclamations do not indicate that English may not also have been known and used by both king and secretary. In the use of French for public documents the scribes were merely following a long established custom, going back to the time of Richard I, the first king after the Conquest of whose reign no English public document is preserved. One may compare Cromwell's use of Latin in foreign dispatches, or Frederick the Great's use of French in more modern times. On the other hand, as early as 1258, when Henry III wished

⁶ The quotation is from the edition of 1876, pp. 194-5. Pauli gives no authority for the statement, and Freeman, who quotes it (*Norman Conquest*, V, 597), says he knows of none. Nor is there any authority given in Pauli's continuation of Lappenberg's *Geschichte von England*, pp. 307-504, relating the reign of Edward III. It is Freeman also who mentions the Roman manuscript of Froissart, used below, but who did not consider it in detail as the period of Edward III was beyond that he was treating.

⁷ Longman's footnote to the above quotes the translation of Pauli made in 1861. We get some idea of the modernity of Pauli by his giving 1328 as the year of Chaucer's birth; and of Longman by his quoting as Chaucer's, on the same page with the above sentence, Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*. Pauli and Longman are perhaps responsible for such a remark as that of Professor Kittredge, in his admirable *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 37:

"King Edward had but slight acquaintance with the English language, and no interest at all in English literature."

Over against these unsupported assertions of Pauli and Longman might be placed that of the oldest biographer of Edward III, Joshua Barnes, who says in his *History of Edward III* (1688), p. 912: "He understood Latine, French, Spanish, Italian, and High and Low Dutch, besides his Native Language." Barnes's *History*, too, is said by J. F. Tout to be still "in some ways" "less unsatisfactory" than the Longman or Mackinnon Lives of the same monarch.

to reach the people of all England, he sent out the Provisions of Oxford in English as well as in Latin and French.

Besides, ignorance of English on the part of English kings, even if it were based on incontestable proofs, does not support the conceptions of Thierry and Scott regarding the language in the country as a whole. The first two Georges in the eighteenth century could not speak English, and the second George also used French in his correspondence.⁸ Yet this does not argue even a decadence of the English language among their subjects. That kings of Norman and Angevin birth did not use English freely, does not prove that English was not in general well understood by their courtiers, or even by themselves. Moreover, that great nobles and churchmen used Norman or Angevin French does not necessarily argue that English was not also known and used by most of them.

But are there facts to oppose such contentions as those of Pauli and Longman regarding Edward Third's asserted ignorance of English? I shall consider specifically the status of the language in the time of Edward III, and his own use of it, because he is often brought forward so prominently in discussions of the subject. This is the more surprising, too, since his reign fell in the century of the great victory of English as a national language. Of this we have more than incidental allusions. Before half of Edward's reign had ended, the reaction against French in the schools had been begun by John Cornwall, as we know from John of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Bk. I, ch. 59), a passage which has often been printed. Seven or eight years before Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, that is in 1362, the Commons had been granted their petition that pleadings in the law courts might be in English. The next year parliament was opened by a declaration of the summons in the native tongue. Soon English petitions to parliament, English wills, letters, and gild statutes appear. Side by side with these more incidental allusions, a new and abundant literature is the open evidence of the new place the English language was already holding in Britain.

⁸ Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, III, 635-6, used this later parallel, and noted that "the correspondence between George II and the Prince of Wales, as laid before Parliament during their unhappy discussions, is wholly in the French language."

Yet besides these there are contemporary allusions to the growing use of English which have not been fully appreciated. The Roman manuscript of Froissart, barely referred to by Freeman, was discovered by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove as late as 1860. It was then found that the medieval chronicler had prepared a fourth redaction of parts of his great history, with considerably more of detail in certain particulars than he had earlier used. Among them are significant references to the use of English in the time of Edward III,—references numerous enough to confirm each other, and more weighty because of their wholly incidental character.

The first relates to an incident of Edward Third's first year on the throne, when he was a boy of fourteen. After the defiance of Edward by Robert king of Scotland, the English king asked Sir John of Hainaut to assist him against the Scots, and the latter responded with a great company. The young king, to feast the Hainauters, held a great court at the House of the Minor Friars in London on Trinity Sunday (June 11), 1327. There a fight broke out between the English archers and the grooms of the visitors. In the parley which followed the king addressed Sir John, and the latter answered him in a defensive plea. At this, perhaps so as not to be understood by the Hainauters, Sir Thomas Wake spoke in English to the king. The passage reads:

"Donc respondi messire Thomas Wage [Wake], marescal dou roi, et dist au roi en son langage: 'Sire, il parole sagement, et peut estre tout ce qu'il dist.'"⁹

Whether this was so that the Hainauters might not perceive the drift of the remark, as seems reasonable, we are at least told a little later that they could not understand English:

"Et disoient bien li auqun baron et chevalier d'Engleterre as chevaliers de Hainnau, qui point n'entendoient le langage des Englois, et liquel ne haioient point les Hainnuiers, mais le disoient pour euls aviser, à la fin que il fuissent le mieuls sus lor garde: 'Chil archier de Lincole, et moult d'aultres communs, pour l'amour d'euls, vous ont quelliet en grant haine; et se il n'estoient brisiet de par le roi, il le vous mousteroient et de fait.'"¹⁰

⁹ Froissart's *Chroniques*, Luce ed., I, 266; De Lettenhove's ed., V, 127.

¹⁰ Froissart (Luce), I, 267; (De Lettenhove), V, 128.

This incident, slight as it is, shows that Edward III as a young king must have understood English. Besides, it must have been no unusual thing to address him in that language. Otherwise his marshall would not have presumed to use the native speech in such a way.

Some confirmation of the fact that the monarchs of England at this time were addressed in English is furnished by another incident. When Edward II was in the hands of his enemies, after his deposition and the election of his son to the kingship, he was treated with great indignity. One circumstance in the *Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi* is reported as follows:

"Duxerunt etiam exemplar patientiae per grangias castri Bristolii, ubi de foeno factam coronam capiti, jamdudum oleo sancto consecrato, imposuit nefarius ille de Gorney, ausus contingere Christum Dei: cui illudentes ironia nimis acerba milites duxerunt, 'Fare forth, syr Kynge.'"¹¹

Now such a terse record surely does not mean that once and once only some such expression was used to the deposed king. It must mean that the mock heroics were many, and frequently repeated in the several months during which every kind of ill-treatment was heaped upon him. It equally follows also that these expressions of ironical courtesy could have had no point, even to his brutal captors, if Edward II had not well understood English. The record seems reasonably good evidence that the father of Edward III, as the son, did understand the language of Englishmen. Whether Edward III, with whom we have especially to do, could speak English depends on other passages which will be cited. Meanwhile we have information regarding the use of English by the great nobles.

¹¹ *Chronicles of Edward I and II* (Rolls Series), II, 316. The Latin quoted is based on an earlier French account, in which the words to the king read, "Avant, sire kinge." Even this might all be English, since French *avaunt* in this sense is recorded in English of not many years later, the English translation of the *Romance of the Rose*, 3959 and 4790. That English alone would have been used by the common soldiers seems the only probability. The Latin translator at least so understood them.

The incident was reported to Sir Thomas de la Moore, at whose suggestion it was recorded, by another Englishman who was present with the king and his guards when it occurred, a William Bishop (Gulielmus Bisschop). It was recorded in the French form within twenty years of the event. Bishop Stubbs, in his introductory discussion of the *Vita*, says: "I believe it to be in the main trustworthy."

When Edward went to France in 1329 to pay homage to the king of France for the duchy of Guienne, he was accompanied to Amiens by a considerable body of high retainers. They included, as recited in the first of Froissart's paragraphs, the bishops of London and Lincoln, perhaps the bishop of Winchester; four earls,—Henry, earl of Derby and son of Thomas earl of Lancaster, together with the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and Hereford; six barons,—Lords Reginald Cobham, Thomas Wake, marshall of England, Richard Stanford, and Lords Percy, Manny, and Mowbray; more than forty other nobles and knights.¹² The retainers were clearly representative of the nobility of England, as of its intelligence and knightly custom. But the homage of Edward was not wholly satisfactory to the French king, and the English king was not ready to proceed further until he had consulted the records in his own country.

To explain this breaking off in the paying of homage, Froissart says in the Roman manuscript:

“La nature des Engles est telle que tous jours il se crientment à estre deceu et repliquent tant apriès une cose que meruelles; et ce que il aueront en couvenant un jour, il le deliieront l'autre. Et à tout ce les encline à faire ce que il n'entendent point bien tous les termes dou langage de France; ne on ne lor scet comment bouter en la teste, se ce n'est tout dis à lor pourfit. Et encorez en avint adonc ensi. Dont li signeur et li per de France, qui là estoient venu et asamblé pour celle matère, en furent trop fort esmervilliet; et en parlèrent especiaument à mesire Jehan de Hainnau, et li remoustrèrent tous les pions et les articles dou dit honmage comment il se devoit faire.”¹³

Here, then, is admirable evidence that English was not only the usual language of a large circle of prominent courtiers of Edward III, but that they could not have been thoroughly acquainted with any other. For surely there was not enough difference between the French of England and the French of the Continent, so that men commonly using the one should have failed to understand the other. But there is further direct proof that English was the usual language

¹² The list of those who were to go to France is given in more detail (*Nomina illorum qui cum Rege transfretarunt*) in Rymer's *Foedera*, IV, 387-8.

¹³ Luce's *Froissart*, I, 306; De Lettenhove's, V, 237. The document finally signed by representatives of the French and English kings is in Rymer's *Foedera*, IV, 765.

of the great nobles, even in state affairs. Moreover the next passage shows that Edward III must not only have understood English, but have sanctioned its use in a great council of the nation.

In 1337 Edward III, urged by Count Robert of Artois to make war upon the king of France, placed the matter before a council of the realm, or many councils as Froissart says in another place.¹⁴ One of these was a great gathering at London in the palace of Westminster, "consisting of the prelates, the nobles, and the mayors of cities and towns of England." The account goes on to tell how the king, in order to be seen the more easily, was seated in royal state, with the crown on his head and royal scepter in his hand. Two steps below were the prelates, earls and barons, while below them were six hundred knights. In the aisles were the men of the Cinque Ports, and the mayors of cities and towns. When all were assembled and silence made, as Froissart goes on to say:

"Adonc se leva uns clerc d'Engleterre, licensiiés en droit et en lois, et moult bien pourvus de trois langages, de latin, de françois et dou langage englês; et commença à parler moult sagement. Et estoit messires Robers d'Artois dalés lui, liquels l'avoit enfourmé, trois ou quatre jours devant, de tout ce que il devoit dire. Si parla atemprement et remoustra tout en hault, et [en] englois, à la fin que il fust mieuls entendus de toutez gens, car tous jours scût on mieuls ce que on voelt dire et proposer ens ou langage où on est d'enfance introduit qu'en un auktre, tous les poins et les articles desquels messires Robers d'Artois les avoit, le roi, le clerc et auquns signeurs, enfourmés; et con proçains li rois, lors sires, en quelle istance il estoient là venu et asamblé, estoit de l'iretage et de la couronne de France. Et qant il ot remoustré la parole tout au lonch, par grant avis et par bon loisir, tant que tout l'avoient volentierz oï, il demanda ens ou nom dou roi à avoir conseil de toutes ces coses."¹⁵

After this presentation of the case Earl Henry of Lancaster spoke at length, and the others "respondirent tout d'une vois: 'Il dist bien.'" The implication clearly is that Earl Henry spoke in English, and that the king understood if he did not reply in that language. That Henry of Lancaster knew English is attested by another and more dramatic incident. At the naval battle against the Spaniards (*Espagnols sur Mer*), Aug. 29, 1350, we are told:

¹⁴ *Chroniques* (De Lettenhove), V, 321.

¹⁵ Luce's *Froissart*, I, 360; De Lettenhove, V, 326.

"Li dus de Lancastre, assés priès da là, se combatoit à Espagnols et oy crier en englois: 'Rescouse, rescouse au prince de Galles!' Si dist à ses chevaliers: 'Alons deviers mon cousin le prince; je voi bien que il a à faire.' Donc chil qui tenoient le gouvernal de sa nef, le fissent tourner à force, et li aultre estendirent lor single contrement; et tout combatant, vosissent ou non li Espagnol, il vinrent jusque à la nef du prinche que li Espagnol tenoient à dangier."¹⁶

It is not explicitly stated that the Duke's second command was in English, but nothing else can be believed for a moment. Commands in different languages at such a time are not to be thought of.

So far, proof appears in this Roman manuscript of Edward Third's full understanding of the English speech. It is also certain that he could and did use English on occasion. After Edward's great success against the Scotch at Halidon Hill the great nobles came out from Berwick to do homage, as their fathers had done homage to Edward's grandfather at the same place. The scene is described as follows:

"Tout li signeur d'Engleterre, qui là estoient en la presence dou roi, s'ouvrirent et laissièrent les Escoçois passer. Il enclinèrent le roi, et non plus avant. Li rois les requelli de une parole tant seullement, ce fu que il dist en son langage: 'Bien venant.' De trop petit se disfèrent li uns langage de l'autre."¹⁷

The passage shows somewhat more than the speaking of a single word. For one thing it was not to be expected that the young king, even then only twenty, should have had much to say to rebellious nobles now returning to their allegiance. Nor was there need that he should have been conciliatory in any sense. Besides, too, we can hardly believe he had been taught like a parrot to pronounce a single vocable. Indeed, the last sentence indicates the king knew enough English to compare his Midland form with that of the North, and was interested in the comparison.

If, however, there was still any doubt of Edward's understanding the language of his people and speaking it to some extent, that doubt ought to be set at rest by another passage in the Roman manuscript which can not be explained away. It describes with some greater detail than any other the well-known scene of the captive burgesses

¹⁶ Luce's *Froissart*, IV, 326; De Lettenhove, IV, 269.

¹⁷ Luce's *Froissart*, I, 324; De Lettenhove, V, 277.

of Calais in 1347. We are told that Edward was in the hall of his lodging when it was announced Sir Walter Manny was come with the haltered prisoners. The king went out to receive them, followed by a great concourse. Then Froissart says :

“En la place toutes gens se ouvrirent à l'encontre de li. Si passèrent oultre messires Gautiers et li siis bourgeois, et s'en vint devant le roi et li dist en langage englois : ‘Très chiers sires, vecchi la presentation de la ville de Calais à vostre ordenance.’ Li rois se taisi tous quois et regarda moult fellement sus euls, car moult les haioit et tous les habitans de Calais, pour les grans damages et contraires que dou temps passet li avoient fait.

“Chil siis bourgeois se missent tantos en genouls devant le roi, et dissent ensi en joindant lors mains : ‘Gentils sires et nobles rois, veés nous chi siis, qui avons esté d'ancesserie bourgeois de Calais et grans marceans par mer et par terre, et vous aportons les clefs de la ville et dou chastiel de Calais, et les vous rendons à vostre plaisir, et nous mettons en tel point que vous nous veés en vostre pure volenté, pour sauver le demorant dou peuple de Calais qui souffert a moult de grietés. Si voelliés de nous avoir pité et merchi par vostre haute noblèce.’ Certes il n'i ot adonc en la place, conte, baron, ne chevalier, ne vaillant homme qui se peuist astenir de plorer de droite pité, ne qui peuist parler en grant pièce. Li rois regarda sus euls très crueusement, car il avoit le coer si dur et si enfelloniient de grans courous, que il ne pot parler ; et qant il parla, il commanda en langage englois que on lor copast les testes tantos. Tout li baron et li chevalier qui là estoient, en plorant prioient, si acertes que faire pooient, au roi que il en vosist avoir pité et merchi ; mès il n'i voloit entendre.”¹⁸

Upon this, Manny begged the king in the name of his sovereign gentility and nobleness (souverainne gentillece et noblèce), to have pity on the men who had offered their lives for others. But the king stops him as follows :

“Adonc se grigna li rois et dist : ‘Mauni, Mauni, soufrés vous. Il ne sera aultrement.’ Mesires Gautiers de Mauni [lacuna here] et n'osa plus parler, car li rois dist moult ireusement : ‘On fache venir là cope teste. Chil de Calais ont fait morir tant de mes hommes que il couvient ceuls morir aussi.’”

Then it is that the queen makes her pathetic plea and the king grants the lives of the brave Frenchmen to her supplication. Nothing is said about the language of these last speeches, but if English

¹⁸ Luce's *Froissart*, IV, 290; De Lettenhove, IV, 214.

was used by Manny and the king in the first place so that the captives should not understand what was said, as is probable, then that language would have been continued to the end of the scene. In any case, as Freeman briefly mentions, there is no doubt of the use of English both by the king and by Manny.

It is difficult to see how these several passages can be gainsaid, or how they can be very differently interpreted from what has been here attempted. Of course, so far as the exact incidents are concerned, Froissart was at most reporting the statements of others. He himself could not have been present at these early events. But regarding the use of English by Edward III and his courtiers Froissart was a wholly competent witness. As is well known he had first visited England a score of years before Edward's death, and his opportunities for observing king and court were unlimited. Moreover Froissart could have had no reason for deceiving contemporaries or posterity on such a point. If anything, we should have expected his sympathies to be with the use of French in England. When, therefore, he testifies to the use of the English language, his testimony must be regarded as doubly valuable.

But the question may be asked why then, in this fourth and last redaction, did he thus add these significant references to the use of English when he had not mentioned the latter fact before. I suggest a possible explanation. The last half of the fourteenth century was one of growing consciousness regarding the English language, and its peculiar status in the land of its birth. Trevisa's additions to Higden, already noted, are one evidence of this. Chaucer in his *Troilus* (V, 1793 f.) had glanced at "so greet diversitee in English," especially "in wryting of our tonge," and begged that no one would "miswrite" and "mismetre" his poem, as he also begged "Adam scriveyn" to be more careful in his copying. Thomas Usk in his *Testament of Love* written about 1387, after according to "clerks" their Latin and to Frenchmen their French, adds: "And let us showe our fantasyes in suche wordes as we lerneden of our dames tonge." With such new consciousness regarding the status of English finding expression even in literature, it may be that Froissart became impressed with the new spirit, and thus came to note, as he had not thought of doing before, the use of English by one or another of his

characters. At any rate, even if we can not fully account for them, we may not disregard these allusions to the use of the native tongue.

One thing further may be said of Edward Third's relation to the English language. When in 1346 he took the French city of Caen he found there the Ordinance of Normandy, purporting to be an agreement between Philip of France and the Duke of Normandy for a second Norman conquest of England.¹⁹ This document was at once used by Edward to inspire patriotism in his English subjects. Besides, it is in point that the English king emphasized the purpose of the confederates "to destroy and wholly annihilate the English nation and language." The latter idea is the noteworthy factor.

This reference to the English language occurs in the Introduction to the Ordinance when laid before parliament, as follows:

"Et sur ce fu moustre une Ordinance faite par le dit Adversaire, & ascuns Grants de France & de Normandie, a destruire & anientier tote la Nation & la Lange Engleys: Et de faire Execution de ceste l'Ordinance le dit Adversaire avoit ordeigne le Count de Eu, & le Chaumberleyn de Tankerville, od grant Multitude des Gentz d'armes, Genevois & Gentz a pie de y estre alez. Mes sicome Dieu voleit, les ditz Count & Chaumberleyn furent pris a Caen, & plusours de lour Gentz tuez, & ascuns de eux pris, si q'ils ount faillez quant a ore de lour puros, ent loez soit Dieux. De quele Ordinance le copie s'ensuyt, en la forme souzescrite."²⁰

Now the Ordinance itself does not mention the English language specifically, but does propose a new Norman conquest which should be thoroughgoing. One passage will show this purpose:

"Item, Acordez est, que en cel cas que Dieu eidant le Roialme d'Engleterre par le dit Voiage se conquerra, le Conquest serra fair tut en noun & l'onur du dit Monsieur le Duc; et que tut ce que le Roi d'Engleterre y a, serra & demorra au dit Monsieur le Duc come

¹⁹ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, IV, 323, was the first to throw discredit upon this Ordinance, suggesting that it was a forgery. More recently some doubt of its genuineness has been expressed by an English historian, as by Sir J. H. Ramsay in his *Genesis of Lancaster* (I, 324), who speaks of it as "a real or pretended compact." For the purpose of this discussion it makes no difference whether the Ordinance was real or forged, since the use of it is the important thing. On the other hand, surely Philip of Valois and John I of Normandy were quite as capable of entering into such an agreement as Edward III was of forging it.

²⁰ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, 158.

Rois & Seigneurs, & as Droitz & as Honurs que le Roi d'Engleterre les tient."²¹

This Ordinance Edward III at once sent over to England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury preached upon it at St. Paul's, doubtless by the king's order.²² How fully the Archbishop emphasized the destruction of the English language we do not know, but presumably the same introduction which accompanied the parliamentary copy was in his hands and that he made the most of it. This would seem to be implied by another document which bears upon the subject.

Not only did Edward lay the Ordinance of Normandy before parliament and have the highest functionary of the English church expound it to the people of London, but he took pains to have it more widely disseminated. A long communication, with the title "De Causæ Guerræ, contra Philippum de Valesio, Clero & Populo

²¹ The Ordinance closes with the words: "Ce feust fait au Boys de Vincenii, le xxiii jour de Marcz, l'an xxxviii" [that is 1338].

²² Robert of Avesbury, *De Gestis Regis Edwardi Tertii*, p. 363:

"In vigilia Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ, virginis gloriosæ, anno Domini millesimo cccmoxlvito, reverendus pater dominus Johannes de Stratforde, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ante processionem generalem, pro pace et dicto rege Anglorum tunc, ut præmittitur, infra regnum Franciæ militante, a clero et populo Londoniensi illo die solempniter faciendam, verbum Dei ipsis clero et populo ad crucem in cimiterio ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Londoniis prædicans et exponens, inter cætera publicavit quod nobilis comes Huntingdoniæ, qui cum dicto rege Anglorum in conflictu habito apud Cadamum fuerat febribus fatigatus, ad Angliam tunc reversus, literas quasdam, inventas in Cadamo, continentes præsumptuosam Normannorum confederationem seu ordinationem ad subversionem ipsius regis et regni Angliæ, per consilium dicti domini P[hilippi] de Valesio ordinatas et callide adinventas, sibi tradidit vulgariter exponendas, ut per hoc excitaret clerum et populum eo libentius preces fundere salutare pro pace et dicto domino rege Anglorum et suis, qui ipsos Normannos, per medium ipsorum transeuntes, in suis propriis laribus edocebant, ne ad infra-scripta per ipsos dictis regi et regno comminata mitterent manus suas."

Murimuth's *Continuatio Chronicarum* (Rolls Series), pp. 211-12, gives the account with even more of feeling: "Praedictam ordinationem Gallicorum, licet nullum sortiebatur effectum, publicavit archiepiscopus duodecimo die Augusti in cimiterio Sancti Pauli Londoniis in sermone suo habito cum processione solempni, ut per hoc excitaret populum regni, ut eo ferventius diligerent regem et devotione pro prosperitate et expeditione ipsius orarent, qui ipse populum suum a dictis Gallicorum machinationibus conservavit indempnes, se ipsum et suos, ut præmittitur, per terram et aquam multis periculis exponendo."

Knighton, *Chronicon*, II, 431, also mentions the Ordinance of Normandy and the intended invasion of England.

exponenda," was sent to the heads of both the Dominican (Preaching or Black) Friars and the Augustines, evidently that they might use it wherever they went.²³ This document, after reciting at length the case against Philip, proceeds:

"Set ipse, diu per Tractatus hujusmodi nos protrahens fallaciter sub incerto, & Expensis gravibus nos exponens, nichil nobis facere voluit in effectum; set semper, sub dictorum umbra Tractatum, cumulavit peramplius Mala Malis, nos & nostros persequens hostiliter, tam in Terra, quam in Mari, & in subversionem Linguae Anglicanae cominans pro viribus & conspirans," etc., etc.

The emphasis, it will be seen, is again placed on the destruction of the English language.

Now it is unbelievable that the destruction of the English language would have been mentioned so prominently if there had not been hope of its appealing to the popular pride. It is true that appeal had first been made by Edward's grandfather, Edward I, who had laid before parliament in his summons of 1295 what he asserted was the purpose of the French king:

"Linguae Anglicanae, si conceptae iniquitatis proposito detestabili potestas correspondeat (quod Deus avertat) omnino de terra delere proponit."²⁴

Now, however, a half century later, the third Edward carries the appeal directly to the people, as if the matter were at this later time one of greater popular interest. We can scarcely be wrong in supposing it was so.

The use made by Edward of the Ordinance of Normandy, together with the evidence of his own knowledge and use of English speech, are good reasons for believing that the victory of English

²³ Rymer's *Foedera*, V, 496-8. This is the copy to the Dominicans, as shown by the beginning:

"Rex, dilecto sibi in Christo, Provinciali Ordinis Fratrum prædicatorum in Anglia, Salutem."

At the close, however, is the note, "Eodem modo mandatum est Priori & Conventui Sancti Augustini London, mutatis mutandis."

²⁴ Rymer's *Foedera*, II, 689. This copy of the summons is that sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy; it is reproduced in Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 484.

over French as the language even of the court was complete sometime before the period usually set. The conservatism of the schools would have persisted considerably after the wish for English in teaching had been often expressed. John Cornwall was doubtless not the first to see the importance of the reform, though the first of the schoolmaster class to institute the change. The desire for English in the courts must have preceded, perhaps for a generation, the actual granting of the permission to use it. The wish for an English "summons" for parliament must have long antedated the actual petition of the Commons. Besides, it was no bolt out of a clear sky when in 1386 the Mercers of London presented in English their vigorous and picturesque petition to parliament. Such use of the mother tongue must have been only the expression of a popular wish that had long been growing among London tradesmen. That class would scarcely have risked its hope for a redress of serious grievances on the use of a despised tongue.

One may well go further. The quantity of literature in English during the whole of the fourteenth century, and especially the second half, can not be accounted for on the supposition that the English language was only beginning to make its way among the upper classes.²⁵ Besides, it seems scarcely possible that Laurence

²⁵ I can not forbear quoting two other examples of what seems to me a curious obscuring of facts. Legouis, in his excellent *Geoffrey Chaucer*, has this on the subject of language—I quote the translation:

"Whilst the use of English was steadily extending to all classes throughout the fourteenth century, and making its way into the schools, the law-courts, and the parliament, poets were still groping for a proper medium. John Gower, the contemporary and friend of Chaucer, bore witness to the uncertainty by writing the first of his three great poems in French, the second in Latin, and the third in English. But English was split up into dialects differing sufficiently from each other to hamper intercommunication; the differences in vocabulary and syntax were such as to render a man barely intelligible to those who did not speak his own dialect."

Here Legouis, in using Gower for his purpose, has neglected practically every other author of the time. There is no evidence that Minot, Chaucer, Trevisa, the poet of *Pearl*, or the authors of *Piers Plowman*, *Mandeville's Travels*, and the Wyclifite *Bible* were "groping after a medium." Legouis must have in mind his countryman Thierry, and the latter's view of English conditions. As to dialects, too, Legouis has apparently forgotten that Chaucer made his Reeve of the *Canterbury Tales* use the Northern dialect to some extent, while he also made the Parson say,

Minot between 1333 and 1352 could have composed his stirring national lyrics on Edward Third's Scottish victories without some hope of their appealing, not only to prominent Englishmen, but even to the king himself.²⁶ Nor is there evidence that Chaucer, squire and courtier and king's man as he always was, could have been leading a revolt against courtly taste when he devoted his long literary life, beginning more than a decade before Edward III passed away, to practically exclusive use of the English speech. If Edward III and his court largely employed French to the exclusion of the native language, the young squire, dependent upon court favor for preferment as he was, would hardly have adopted the

"I am a Southren man,
I can nat geste—rum, ram, ruf—by lettre,"

showing that Chaucer at least knew the alliterative literature of the West and Northwest Midland. The differences between the dialects is often greatly exaggerated.

The latter exaggeration appears also in a statement by H. W. C. Davis (*England under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 183):

"For social purposes the tongue of Cædmon and Alfred was altogether inadmissible. It could hardly be otherwise since the English tongue had differentiated into dialects so various that the Yorkshireman was unintelligible to a native of the western shires. The north and south communicated perforce through the medium of a foreign language."

Mr. Davis's remark on the dialects apparently rests on a rather violent interpretation of William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, Bk. III, Prologue, Rolls Series, p. 209). One might find quite as prejudiced statements about Scotch of the eighteenth century, for example in the *Monthly Review* on Burns, December, 1786. But that "the north and south communicated perforce through the medium of a foreign language," that is, French, is delicious. Mr. Davis has forgotten that William the Conqueror used English and Latin, never French, in public documents, and that no French public document is known before 1215, a decade after England had lost Normandy, and a century and a half after the Conquest. In less than half a century, also, English was again resumed for public use, as in the proclamation of the Provisions of Oxford in the reign of Henry III.

²⁶ Miss Clara L. Thomson, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 400, has carried conjecture considerably further: "Minot seems to have been a professional gleeman, who earned his living by following the camp and entertaining soldiers with the recitation of their own heroic deeds. It is possible, however, that his skill in versification may have led to his promotion to the post of minstrel to the king, and that he held some recognized office about the court."

despised English. Has not too much been made of purely negative evidence, at least for the fourteenth century?²⁷

In any case the notion that Edward did not understand and speak English, and that it was not commonly known and used by the great nobles most intimately associated with him, would seem to be set at rest.

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²⁷ Gower was a laggard in the use of English, it is true. But Gower was not dependent on the court, and seems never to have had any great popular purpose. He was a man of catholic tastes, with sufficient leisure and detachment to satisfy them in his own way.

SOME SOURCES OF OLIVIER MAILLARD'S SERMON ON THE PASSION¹

OLIVIER MAILLARD, who was born about 1430 and died about 1502, was the best known of the popular preachers of the Middle Ages. In common with his associate Michel Menot, the "Langue d'or," and with such figures as his contemporary, the Italian Gabriel de Barletta,² and the famous German preacher of the seventeenth century, Abraham a Sancta Clara,³ boldness and originality are his leading characteristics. The need of such teachings in an age of universal moral laxity was real, but the tone of pulpit eloquence suffered from this freedom of speech. In the words of M. Lanson:⁴

"La foi ne manquait pas aux Maillard, aux Menot, à ces fougueux va-nu-pieds de cordeliers, qui disaient leurs vérités à tout le monde, durement, impudemment, ne ménageant personne, ni la coquette bourgeoise, ni le prince luxurieux; mais c'était une étrange éloquence que la leur."

While Maillard was outspoken by nature and original in thought, yet he lived in an age when sermons were composed largely by bor-

¹ *L'histoire de la Passion douloureuse de nostre doulx Sauveur et Redempteur Jhesus, rememoirée es sacrés et saintz mistères de la messe, ordonnée et composée par le beau père reverend frère Olivier Maillard, de l'ordre des frères Mineurs, au temps qu'il estoit vicaire general des frères appelez de l'observance dudit ordre, pour le premier cours, es parties cismontaines, qui fut l'an mil quatre cens quatre vings et X. . . .* This is the title of the sermon in the Paris edition of 1493, as given by M. Arthur de la Borderie in his book entitled *Les Œuvres françaises d'Olivier Maillard*, Nantes, 1877. M. de la Borderie notes also that the colophon states that the sermon was *Preschée devant le grant maistre de France [Guy XV, comte de Laval] en sa ville de Laval*. For the purposes of this article the sermon has been accessible only in the edition of M. Gabriel Peignot, *Histoire de la Passion de Jésus-Christ, par le R. P. Olivier Maillard*, Paris, 1828.

² Whose eloquence gave rise to the proverb "Nescit praedicare, qui nescit barlettare."

³ The model of the Capuchin in Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager*, and the author of sermons with such titles as: "Huy! und Pfuy! der Welt; Der Geistliche Kramerladen; Der Geistliche Weyn-Keller, etc."

⁴ Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature française*, Paris, 1912, p. 171.

rowing from other writers, and especially from the church fathers. He follows this custom in the composition of the historical part of his sermon on the Passion, which is the only side of the sermon to be treated in this article.⁵ Thus a study of his sources will at the same time serve to throw light on the sources of the other sermons of his time which deal with the subject of the Passion.

Paradoxical as it may seem, we may say that Maillard's borrowing produces an original result; these selections which he takes from other writers form a sermon of a type peculiar to himself, that is to say, strongly emotional, and even sensational. Wherever he can lay hands upon a touching passage he seizes it and incorporates it into his sermon, whether it readily fits the context or not. The rough edges of these bits of mosaic are often perceptible. In the words of M. Alexandre Samouillan:

"Ces réflexions . . . se heurtent gauchement, sans se mêler et se fondre au reste du développement, et il manquait à Maillard, pour opérer cette combinaison harmonieuse, les procédés plus savants de la composition moderne."⁶

One result of this tendency to which M. Samouillan makes special reference is the mixture of sentiment and pedantry in sentences such as: "Mon âme est triste intensivement," and "Voyant Dieu le Père son Fils affligé dans la partie sensitive de son humanité."⁷

In contrast with his famous predecessor, Jean Gerson, who was one of his main sources, Maillard was by no means remarkable as a writer. He also lacked the profound scholarship of Gerson. He was, however, a vigorous, energetic preacher, influential thru his boldness and courage. His sermons were effective because of the audacity of their language, and they reached the ear of the people thru their melodramatic exaggeration. The sermon studied in this article illustrates his deliberate search for material to stir the emotions. In some cases where the original text does not seem strong enough he does not hesitate to add a few choice bits of his own

⁵ Those portions of the sermon which treat of the Passion in its relation to the sacraments of the church are not discussed in this article.

⁶ Alexandre Samouillan, *Olivier Maillard, sa prédication et son temps*, Paris, 1891, p. 34.

⁷ Samouillan, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

concoction for emphasis. One illustration of this fondness for emphatic language will serve as an example of the personal touch of Maillard. It occurs in the passage where Peter denies Christ. The gospel of Matthew says simply: "Tunc coepit detestari, et jurare, quia non novisset hominem."⁸ The gospel of Mark says: "Ille autem coepit anathematizare, et jurare: Quia nescio hominem istum, quem dicitis."⁹ In our sermon the passage stands (Peignot, p. 39):¹⁰

Adonc commença à detester, jurer et anathématiser en disant: Par le Dieu le vif, jamais ne le cogneu, ou je puisse fondre en enfer, et estre damné comme excommunié.

No parallels for this addition have been found. Nevertheless we cannot be entirely sure of its originality for Maillard may have taken it word for word from some of his predecessors, who were men as free-spoken as he.

The ultimate sources of many of the passages in the sermon are unmistakable. It is not so clear which books were actually consulted by Maillard. He certainly quotes from various authors without ever having seen their writings.

As the fifteenth century is the flowering time for the *mystères* one is surprised to find so few clear traces of their influence in this sermon. While the detailed descriptions of the sufferings of Christ and the Virgin, so popular in the contemporary mysteries, may have had their influence on the general form of the sermon, the actual wording of such descriptions comes directly from other sources. Some slight influence may be perceived in the picturesque descriptions of the crowds, as for example in the scene of Christ's arrest (Peignot, p. 35):

[Judas] venoit accompagné de cinq cens gens darmes (ainsi que dict Papie) avec les ministres des princes et prestres de la loy, en grant arroy, bien armés, et garnis de bastons de deffence, avec grant force de lumieres, de torches, de fallots et lanternes.

⁸ Matthew 26: 74.

⁹ Mark 14: 71.

¹⁰ All quotations from Maillard's sermon are taken from the edition already mentioned: *Histoire de la Passion de Jésus-Christ, par le R. P. Olivier Maillard*, p. p. Gabriel Peignot, Paris, 1828.

A little earlier in the sermon we find the sentence (Peignot, p. 35) :

Ce voyant, Lucifer le grant Sathanas envoya son messagier le traïstre Judas pour executer sa prodicion et traïson.

This passage shows clearly the trace of theatrical usage, for hardly a mystery can be found without its *messagiers*, and Satan (or Lucifer) is continually sending out some lesser devil to do his bidding on earth.

Farther along in the sermon, just previous to the journey to the place of crucifixion, Christ is given over to the people to be mocked and beaten; we read (Peignot, p. 50) :

Cependant que les sergens crioient par les rues que chacun se rendist en la montaigne de Calvaire pour le veoir crucifier et qu'on queroit ce qu'il falloit.

This passage reminds one of the well-known theatrical custom of crying features of a performance about the streets, and the same idea is found again towards the end of the description of this journey to Calvary (Peignot, p. 52) :

Lors sonna la trompette; fut cryé à haulte voix: Quiouldra veoir Jhesus de Nazareth le faulx prophete crucifier, si s'avance de monter.

This *cry* is an echo of the *monstre*, or parade, of some mystery, or more probably, judging from the term *le faulx prophete*, it is taken from a scene within the body of the mystery itself.

The gospels are of course an important source utilized by Maillard in his sermon. Next in importance is Jean Gerson's sermon on the Passion, *Ad Deum Vadit*.¹¹ Then would follow the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, attributed thruout the Middle Ages to St. Bona-

¹¹ All the quotations in this article from the sermon *Ad Deum Vadit* are taken from a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fr. 24841. This is the most authoritative text of the sermon. The Latin translation, originally published by Jacob Wimpheling, and republished in the edition of Gerson's works by Ellies Dupin, is based upon this MS., which is cited by its former catalog number, MS. Cod. Vict. 138. Cf. *Joannis Gersonii Opera Omnia*, opera et studio M. Lud. Ellies DuPin, Antwerpiae, 1706, Vol. III, cols. 1153-1203.

ventura,¹² and the *Liber de Passione Christi*, attributed to St. Bernard. Sources for other passages, as will be shown later in the article, are found in the works of St. Bonaventura, St. Ambrose, St. Bridget of Sweden, and the *Legenda Aurea*. Shorter quotations are derived, with more or less certainty, from the works of St. Bernard, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Hilarius, Origen, St. Jerome, Nicolas de Lire, St. Anselm, Ludolph of Saxony, and Albertus Magnus. The brevity and indefinite nature of some of these latter quotations render their origin open to doubt.

Maillard's use of the gospels is confined largely to that part of the sermon which describes the scenes preceding the crucifixion. It is also in this portion of the sermon that the influence of Jean Gerson's *Ad Deum Vadit* is apparent. This influence is strong, altho it must be admitted that Maillard made use of this sermon in a rather careless way, glancing thru it and picking out striking passages without careful study of their real meaning or of their relation to the rest of the sermon. Curiously enough, both of the two passages for which he cites Gerson as his authority are inaccurately quoted. The first of these references follows the account of Pilate's final condemnation of Christ. It is as follows (Peignot, p. 50) :

Car maistre Jehan Gerson dict qu'ilz le firent rebatre, revestir de pourpre et recouronner d'espines, et comme devant adorer par mocquerie.

Again at the end of the description of Christ's sufferings at the hands of the executioners before they fastened him to the cross Maillard says (Peignot, p. 53) :

Et la tierce fois, selon maistre Jehan Gerson, le recouronnerent du chapeau d'espines.

Gerson in reality records but one scourging, and one scene of mockery, with the purple robe and the crown of thorns. Maillard's error arises from the fact that Gerson relates the above scene in his *Texte*,¹³ and then repeats the description more in detail in his

¹² The editors of the latest edition of the works of St. Bonaventura attribute this work to Joannes de Caulibus, a Franciscan of San Gimignano, who died in 1376. Cf. *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1902, Vol. X, p. 25.

¹³ Ms. B. N. fr. 24841, fol. 26 vo.

*Exposition.*¹⁴ We have a reference in the *Ad Deum Vadit* to a third disrobing of Christ before the crucifixion but there is no mention of a third crowning with thorns. Thus we find the following:

Ilz vous devestent tout nuz la tierce foiz où estoit tout le monde, ilz vous prenent et trebuchent rudement et estandent en la croix.¹⁵

Gerson treats at length the struggle between *Sensualité* and *Raison* at the time of Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane. Maillard reduces the length of the scene to a few lines:

Maillard (Peignot, p. 34):

Et ces choses leues et entendues, le debonnaire et innocent Aigneau fut faict en dure bataille, et prioit plus longuement par la crainte que avoit la sensualité, et l'amour qui [que] avoit raison à sa Divinité, laquelle chassa crainte si violement que sa sueur fut faicte comme gouttes de sang decourant en terre.

Gerson (*op. cit.*, fol. 5 ro.):

Jhesus . . . tressua sang pour la consideration de sa mort qui approuchoit, tant la doubtoit il selon la sensualité, et par especial ceste seconde foiz quant il fut mis comme en bataille et en l'estrivement de la mort. . . . Et est assavoir que ceste bataille fu par ce que raison d'une part demonstroït au vif et au cler et representoit neument [nuement] à la sensualité la mort angoisseuse qu'elle devoit assez brief soustenir, et vouloit raison qu'elle la soustint pour obeir à Dieu sans l'eschever ou sans remede y trouver. D'aulturepart la sensualité sentant et eppercevant ceste mort prouchaine par l'ensaignement de raison, . . . ressongnoit [redoubtoit]¹⁶ à merveillez ceste mort. . . . Et quer raison ainsi le vouloit avecques Dieu, la sensualité y obeissoit. . . . Et par ce veez vous quelle bataille estoit ycy.

The source for Gerson's description is evidently a few lines of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*:

Fuit enim in Christo tunc quadruplex voluntas, scilicet voluntas carnis, et haec nullo modo volebat pati; voluntas sensualitatis, et haec remurmurabat et timebat; voluntas rationis, et haec obediebat, et consentiebat, nam juxta Isaiam dicitur: *Oblatus est, quia ipse*

¹⁴ Ms. B. N. fr. 24841, fol. 27 ro.

¹⁵ Ms. B. N. fr. 24841, fol. 32 ro.

¹⁶ Ms. B. N. fr. 990.

voluit. Et fuit in eo voluntas divinitatis, et haec imperabat, et sententiam ipsa dictabat.¹⁷

The incident of the young man with the *sidoine* who fled at the time of the arrest of Christ is treated in a similar manner by Maillard and Gerson. Maillard states (Peignot, p. 37) :

Un adolescent que l'on dit communement que c'estoit saint Jehan, vestu de linge blanc, anud le suivoit, et le tindrent, mais il laissa son linge en leurs mains et s'enfuit tout nud, et lors courust en Bethanie porter les piteuses nouvelles à sa tres digne Mere la tres douce Vierge Marie; et revestu hativement et sitost retourna qu'il entra chez Anne avec Nostre Seigneur.

Gerson has the same version of the scene (*op. cit.*, fol. 11 vo.) :

Les aulcuns alerent où estoit logiée Nostre Dame . . . en especial on le peut penser de monseigneur saint Jehan l'evangeliste qui fu ce jouvencel auquel fu osté son mantel selon la plus commune opinion des docteurs, et là il s'en peut aler revestir et puis revenir.

Again, Maillard, in relating the meeting of Christ and his mother on the road to Calvary, says (Peignot, p. 51) :

Si s'entre regardoient piteusement, dont le dard de douleur percea leurs cueurs en ceste adversité, comme le dard d'amour les perceoit en prosperité.

This passage differs but slightly from that of Gerson (*op. cit.*, fol. 31 vo.) :

Et entregarda, come je tiens, son amée mere et elle luy, duquel entre regard sailly une saiette de pitié qui persa les cueurs des deux en ceste adversité comme paravant la saiette de doulceur les persoit en prosperité.

Another less clearly defined quotation follows the scene where Herod sends Christ back again to Pilate. Maillard says (Peignot, p. 43) :

O quelles allées, venues et revenues où chascun luy faisoit du pis qu'il pavoit. Va après sa douce Mere plourant et gemissant en ayant de sa douleur compassion.

¹⁷ Cf. *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, cura et studio A. C. Peltier, Paris, 1868, Vol. XII, p. 602.

This passage is made up of several of Gerson's sentences. Thus Gerson refers in one paragraph,¹⁸ dealing with this topic, to "ceste alée plaine de reprouches," and again to "Ce fu ycy la quarte foiz." A little later he returns to this thought: "Se l'alée de Nostre Seigneur fu tresdure et treshonteuse, encore le fu plus la retournée à Pylate." A part of the wording used above by Maillard occurs also in the *Ad Deum Vadit*:

Ceste maudite gent faisoit du pis qu'elle pouoit.

Referring to the Virgin Gerson says here:

Vous ensuistez [ensuivez]¹⁹ votre douloureux filz, mere tresdouloureuse, . . . Las et quelle estoit l'angoisse de votre piteux cuer de mere!

Some other similarities of wording and thought are given in the following list:

A.—*Maillard* (p. 49), (Pilate washes his hands):

Mais toute l'eau de ce monde ne l'eust pas lavé.

Gerson (fol. 25 ro.):

Toute l'eau la grant mer ne porroit en plus oster le sang.

B.—*Maillard* (p. 51):

Contraignirent le dict Symon . . . porter sa croix. A ce petit arrest se leva Nostre Seigneur.

Gerson (fol. 31 vo.):

A ce petit arrest quant on queroit qui porteroit la croix.

C.—*Maillard* (p. 53), (Disrobing of Christ):

Et pourtant que les vestements estoient ja glacés, et tenans à son precieux sang figé, ne pouoient les tirer. Si vindrent les bourreaux, et à grand violence le despouillerent à rebours, tellement qu'ilz luy renouvellerent toutes ses playes, à plus grand douleur que devant, en emportant sang, cuir et chair à grans morceaux. Ainsi demoura

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, fol. 21 vo.

¹⁹ The form *ensuivez* is given in Ms. B. N. fr. 448, which also contains this sermon.

l'Aigneau sans tache tout escorché au vent qui en ses playes, courantes de sang, à plain entroit. . . .

Gerson (fol. 27 ro-27 vo.):

Secondement quant les vestemens qui tenoient à la char toute plaiée et qui estoient fort estachez à sa precieuse char à cause du sang chaut qui s'estoit refroidé furent à present moult rudement ostez et tellement que c'est bien à penser que grant partie de la tendre pel virginale s'en ala avec et de rechief apparu le jeusne corps de Nostre Seigneur Jhesus Christ come tout escorché et seignant de nouvel.

D.—Maillard (Christ on the Cross):

(P. 56): Tout le fais de son precieux corps tenoit seulement es clous qui rompoient et eslargissoient avec grant violence les playes des mains et des pieds.

(P. 59): Les genoulx luy ployoient pour le fais du corps, et les mains et les bras presque rompoient.

(P. 60): Et ne avoit où reclinier sa teste.

Gerson (fol. 32 vo.):

Et le fes du precieux corps chiet sur ses piés cloués en bas et sont forment tirés et à merveille traveillez; les mains et tous les bras presque sont tous rompuz et la teste qui ne scet où incliner.

E.—Maillard (p. 68), (The Virgin at the Sepulcher):

Que voulés vous faire? Voulés vous que je vous laisse sitost le corps de mon cher et aymé Filz? L'esperit s'en est allé à Dieu, et encore me ostés le corps; mais je l'octroye par la volonté de Nostre Seigneur Dieu, qui l'a ainsy ordonné, comme dict Ysaye, que son sepulcre sera glorieux.

Gerson (fol. 44 ro.):

Las! que voulés vous faire, Joseph et Nichodeme? que ditez vous? Voulez vous que je vous laisse si tout le corps de mon amoureux filz. L'esperit s'en est alé à Dieu et encores on m'oste le corps, et je l'octroye quer ainsi doit il estre enseveliz pour accomplir la prophecie que son sepulchre sera glorieux.

Having discussed the *Ad Deum Vadit*, the first and most evident source of our sermon, we turn to that unadvertized *Dormi secure of*

preachers of Maillard's epoch, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.²⁰ The most important part of Maillard's long account of the descent from the Cross is taken from two chapters of the *Meditationes*. It will be seen from a comparison of the following extracts that Maillard follows his original rather closely:

Maillard (p. 66-67):

Vint aussi Nicodeme avec luy [Joseph], qui de nuyct premier estoit venu au doulx Jhesus, portant oignement comme cent livres de myrre et aloes, avec leurs gens qui portoient ses instrumens à ce faire necessaires; lesquels (selon la contemplation de saint Bonaventure) veit de loing la tres douloureuse Mere de Dieu assise avec sa compaignie, en attendant l'aide de Dieu. Et lors tous s'esleverent aiant grant paour que ce fussent aucuns qui veinssent encore le injurier et persecuter; et regardant saint Jehan ce que c'estoit, dit: Benoist soit nostre Dieu qui nous a envoyé ayde, car je cognois là Joseph et Nicodeme qui sont disciples de nostre Maistre; et convenuz et assemblez s'agenouillerent les uns vers les aultres en plourant si tendrement à chaudes larmes, qu'ilz ne povoient dire mot les uns aux aultres et sembloit que tout deust demeurer. Lors dirent Joseph et Nicodeme: Nous avons grant deuil au cueur des choses qui contre justice luy ont esté faictes, car nous voyions bien que les iniques et pervers ont supplanté le Juste. Nous l'eussions volontiers delivré de si grande injustice si nous eussions peue; à tout le moins nous ferons ce petit service à Nostre Seigneur et Maistre. Lors soy levans se appareillerent à descendre le divin corps de Nostre Seigneur. Les uns monterent à desclouer la main dextre, les aultres la senestre, les aultres au meillieu à soustenir son divin corps, chacun en droit soy, faisant service au corps de Nostre Seigneur. O combien sont telz gens eueux! Lors s'esforçoit la tres digne Mere de Dieu de soy tenir sur les pieds, levant ses bras pour attoucher les mains du corps de Nostre Seigneur, qui ja pendoient à val. Et quant elle put tenir la dextre main, la baisa moult reverentement en grandes larmes et soupirs. Et, les pieds desclouez, le descendirent et le mirent (ainsi que l'on croit piteusement) en son giron. . . .

Meditationes.²¹

Iterum autem vident alios plures per viam venientes, qui erant Joseph ab Arimathia et Nicodemus, ducentes secum alios, portantes instrumenta, quibus corpus deponant de cruce; et portabant quasi centum libras myrrhae et aloes, et veniebant ad sepeliendum Dom-

²⁰ Cf. note 12 of this article.

²¹ Ed. Peltier, XII, pp. 608-609.

inum. Tunc surgunt omnes cum timore magno. O Deus, quanta est ista afflictio hodie! Circa conspiciens autem Joannes dixit: Ego cognosco ibi Joseph et Nicodemum. Tunc Domina, resumptis viribus, dicit: Benedictus Deus noster, qui mittit nobis auxilium; memor fuit nostri, et non dereliquit nos. Fili, occurras eis. Vadit ergo Joannes ejus obvius velociter, et attingentes se, ad invicem amplexantur cum fletu magno, non valentes per magnam horam ad invicem sibi loqui, ex compassionis teneritudine, et abundantia fletus et doloris; postea veniunt adversus crucem. . . . Applicantes autem recepti fuerunt reverenter per Dominam et alias socias genibus flexis, inclinantibus usque ad terram. Similiter ipsi genuflectentes cum ploratu magno, sic steterunt per longam horam. . . . Et illi: Dolemus ex toto corde nostro de his omnibus, quae contra eum facta sunt: praevaluerunt enim impii contra justum. Libenter eum eripuissemus de tanta injustitia, si potuissemus. Saltem hoc modicum obsequium Domino et Magistro nostro praestabimus. Surgentes ergo, paraverunt se ad deponendum corpus Jesu. . . . Joseph ascendit super lateris dextri, satagit extrahere clavum ipsius manus. . . . Deinde Nicodemus alium extraxit manus sinistrae, et clavum similiter dat Joanni. . . . Joseph vero sustentabat corpus Domini; felix quippe ipse Joseph, qui corpus Domini meruit sic amplexari. Tunc pendentem manum dexteram Domina suscepit reverenter, et ponit ad vultum suum, intuetur, et osculatur cum lacrymis validis et suspiriis dolorosis. Evulso autem clavo pedum, paulisper descendit Joseph, et omnes accipiunt corpus Domini, et ponunt in terram. Domina suscipit caput cum scapulis in gremio suo.

In the second quotation from the *Meditationes* treating the descent from the Cross we find an example of the carelessness with which Maillard arranges the material which he borrows. He fastens a beginning and an ending from the *Meditationes* on the selection from Gerson already described in the section of this article under the letter "E" [p. 152]. His beginning fits the selection but his ending does not do so. The whole scene is arranged by Maillard as follows (p. 68):

Joseph et Nicodeme voyans le soleil reconcer, et que la nuyct s'approchoit, et qu'ilz se mettoient en dangier, dirent à saint Jehan: Prions nostre Dame, bonne et sainte Maistresse, qu'elle permette l'ensevelir. A quoy respondit: Que voulez vous faire?

Then follows the passage from Gerson in which the Virgin grants the request, and the anointing begins. Then, borrowing blindly

from the *Meditationes*, and regardless of the fact that he has just described this anointing, Maillard has John ask the permission to begin this work (p. 68) :

Voyant saint Jehan que l'heure tardoit pria à la tres digne Mere de Dieu, qu'elle se condescendist.

The scene stands in the *Meditationes* as follows:²²

Post aliquam morulam, cum nox appropinquasset, rogat Joseph Dominam, ut permittat eum volvi linteaminibus, et sepeliri. Ipsa contendebat, dicens: Nolite, amici mei, tam cito filium meum accipere, vel me cum ipso sepelire.

Then follows a description of the lamentations of the Virgin over the body of Christ, which ends with John's request :

Tardante autem hora, dicit Joannes: Domina condescendamus Joseph et Nicodemo, et permittamus aptari et sepeliri corpus Domini nostri.

Maillard quotes the *Meditationes*: "Selon saint Bonaventure en ses contemplations," for his description of the prayer of Christ before the cross. It will be noticed however that he describes the cross as lying on the ground, and has Christ kiss it before beginning his prayer. In the *Meditationes*, Christ is standing on the ladder with his back to the cross, and there is no mention of the kiss. The two passages follow :

Maillard (p. 53) :

Quoique non escript en l'Evangile, piteusement, selon saint Bonaventure en ses contemplations, on peut croire que le doux Sauveur se inclina devant la croix couchée à terre les mains jointes et que il la baisa en monstrant le desir que il avoit de nostre redemption, faisant à Dieu son Pere cordiale oraison: Toy donc, Pere tres clement, je te prie, supplie, requiers, que tu acceptes et benisses ces dons de mon ame et de mon corps unis à la personne de moy ton Filz, qui m'a livré de trop grande charité en ceste croix crucifié. Reçois moy ton aymé Filz, qui me offre en sacrifice pur sans macule pour le salut de l'humain lignage et remission des pechés.

²² *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 609.

²³ *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 606.

Meditationes.²³

Cum ergo in superiori parte istius parvae scalae pervenit ad crucem, renes vertit, et illa regalia aperit brachia, et extendens manus pulcherrimas, in excelsum eas porrigit suis crucifixoribus. Aspicit in coelum, Patri dicens: Ecce hic sum, pater mi, usque ad crucem me humiliari voluisti pro amore et salute generis humani: placet, accepto, et pro eis me tibi offero, quos dedisti mihi, et fratres esse voluisti. Accepta igitur et tu, pater, et deinceps placibilis esto mei amore, et omnium maculas veteres absterge, et elonga ab eis: me pro eis tibi offero, Pater.

The author of the *Meditationes* does, however, farther along in the paragraph, give a second hypothesis as to the position of the cross:

Sunt tamen quidam qui credunt, quod non hoc modo fuerit crucifixus, sed cruce extenta in terra, eum elevaverunt, et crucem fixerunt in terram.

This second passage may explain also the later statement of Mail-lard (p. 54):

Lors fust levé amont, selon saint Bonaventure et saint Hierosme, le corps branlant et ça et là.

After the death of Christ, when the soldiers come in order to break his legs, the gospels say simply that they did not do so because they saw that he was already dead. Our text gives an additional reason for this fact (p. 64):

Par les prieres et piteuses supplications de sa tres douloureuse Mere, de saint Jehan, de Marie Magdalene et des aultres ses amys qui là estoient, ne luy froisserent pas les cuisses.

This scene is developed at length in the *Meditationes*.²⁴

Redeuntibus autem ipsis versus Dominum Jesum, timens mater ne similiter faciant cum filio suo, . . . cogitavit ad arma sua currere, scilicet ad humilitatem innatum. Et genibus positus, . . . sic eos alloquitur, dicens: Viri fratres, rogo vos propter Deum altissimum, ne amplius me vexare velitis in dilectissimo filio meo. . . . videtis enim quod jam mortuus est et migravit. . . . Joannes vero, Magdalena et sorores matris Domini, stabant genuflexi cum ea, et

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 608.

amarissime omnes flebant. . . . Longinus . . . latus Domini Jesu dextrum vulnera grandi aperuit. . . . Tunc illi, sicut Deo placuit, discesserunt.

The *Meditationes* are again used in the description of the loud cry of Christ when dying:

Maillard (p. 61):

Si s'ecria à grande et haulte voix tellement que, comme dict le glorieux ami de Dieu monseigneur saint Bonaventure, il fust ouy jusques aux enfers.

Meditationes:²⁵

Fuit autem ita magnus clamor ,quod usque in infernum fuit auditus.

A passage in one of the authentic works of St. Bonaventura furnishes Maillard with a description of the sufferings of Christ on the cross. This selection occurs in his second sermon for the *Dominica in Quinquagesima*.²⁶ The two passages are as follows:

Maillard (p. 62):

Qui pourroit comprendre (dict saint Bonaventure) l'acerbité, aspresse, atrocité et cruauté de ce douloureux et tres amer tourment, quant . . . hastivement fust separée sa tressainte ame d'avec son sacré corps; car en estoit demouré le sang du cueur tout frais où est la fontaine de vie, comme après apparut en sa lancéation; et ainsi mourust tout plein de vie à tres grant douleur et affliction.

St. Bonaventura:

Tertio vehementem acerbitatem hujus dolorosi supplicii ostendit atrocitas amari suplicii celeriter perimentis. Valde enim crudele et amarum fuit supplicium . . . cujus immensitate acerbitatis et poenalitatis, celeriter anima fuit divisa a carne. . . . Ex quo apparet quod adhuc sanguine existente in corde, ubi est fons vitae, facta est separatio animae a corpore.

It seems probable that the account of the sufferings of Nature at the death of Christ, quoted by Maillard from St. Jerome, does not come to us directly but only after having passed thru the hands

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 607.

²⁶ Ed. Peltier, XIII, p. 133.

of St. Bonaventura. The passage is composed of separate sentences from the works of St. Jerome, collected by St. Bonaventura, and presented as a unit. This view finds support in a footnote by the editors of the Quaracchi edition of the works of St. Bonaventura, in which they cite separate sources for some of the parts of the selection.^{26a} This selection is given as follows by Maillard (p. 62-63):

Toute creature, dit saint Hierosme, a eu compassion jouxte sa maniere de son Createur mourant ainsi honteusement: le soleil perdit sa clarté, la terre trembla, les pierres fendirent: mais les miserables pecheurs humains sont seuls sans compassion pour lesquels seulement il a souffert mort et Passion.

The same arrangement of ideas is presented by St. Bonaventura in his *Expositio in Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, Cap. XXIII:²⁷

Hieronymus: Et ideo compatiuntur elementa Conditori suo: refugit sol, quia non potuit videre mortem Christi, collaborat laboranti, et blasphemantibus suae lucis beneficium retrahit. Nam sol obscuratur, terra movetur, petrae scinduntur, velum templi dividitur, sepulcra aperiuntur; solus miser homo non compatitur, pro quo solo Christus patitur.

A strong scene from the standpoint of emotionalism, the scene where the Virgin embraces the cross with the dead Christ upon it, is furnished by the *Liber de Passione Christi*. Maillard gives St. Augustine as his authority here and not St. Bernard.²⁸ The two passages follow:
Maillard (p. 64):

Comme dict saint Augustin, ceste tres douloureuse Mere se

^{26a} Cf. *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1902, VII, p. 581, note 11.

²⁷ Ed. Peltier, XI, p. 216.

²⁸ M. Mabillon, in placing the *Liber* in the Appendix to the works of St. Bernard in the *Patrologie Migne*, says "et num sit Bernardi Clarae-Vallensis vel alterius abbatis Bernardi, ignoramus." Cf. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 182, Col. 1133. Jacobus de Voragine, in his *Sermo de Passione Domini*, quotes likewise from this *Liber* with the words "Teste Augustinus in libro de passione Domini." Cf. *Sermones aurei et pulcherrimi, editi a Jacobo de Voragine*, veneunt Francisco Regnault, via ad sanctum Jacobum, MDXXXIII, Fol. R. Ludolph of Saxony likewise attributes this scene to St. Augustine, in his *Vita Jesu Christi*. Cf. *Vita Jesu Christi, per Ludolphum de Saxonia*, studio et opera A. C. Bolard, L. M. Rigollet et J. Carnandet, Parisiis et Romae, MDCCCLXV, p. 674.

levoit sur les pieds, estendant ses bras à le toucher, mais ne pouvoit et recheoit. Si ambrassoit la croix, et la baisoit en celle partie qui estoit arroucée de son precieux sang, lequel avec sa sacrée bouche elle touchoit; aussi baisoit la terre où estoit espandu, tellement que sa face palle et toute morte estoit toute vermeille du sang precieux de Nostre Seigneur.

*Liber de Passione Christi.*²⁹

Juxta crucem stabat Maria, . . . amplectens crucem, ruens, et oscula ejus, Christi qua parte sanguis nuda rigabat, ut Christum valeret amplecti, quae non poterat sursum volebat tendere manus. . . . Se levans a terra sursum se erigebat ad Christum, et quia tangere nequibat illum, male collidebatur ad terram; . . . Tamque mortis pallor ejus persuderat mentem, vultu tamen persuderat, et genis, et ore rubra erat Christi cruore. Cadentes guttas sanguinis ore tangebatur, terram deosculans, quam cruoris unda rigabat.

Mention has already been made of the two passages from the *Liber de Passione Christi* which enter into the description of the descent from the cross. The first one describes the visit of Joseph of Arimathea to Pilate. Maillard states (p. 65) :

Pourtant le noble seigneur Joseph d'Arimathie, bonhomme et juste, secret disciple de nostre Saulveur Jhesuchrist pour la crainte des Juifz, . . . Il vint et entra hardiment chez Pilate, et luy pria et demanda qu'il descendist et ensepulturast, ou par luy ou par les siens, le sacré corps de nostre Saulveur et Redempteur Jhesus.

In the *Liber de Passione Christi* we find.³⁰

Interim quidam vir nobilis, nomine Joseph, qui erat discipulus ejus, sed tamen occulte, confidenter ad Pilatum ingreditur, sibi postulans dari corpus Domini nostri Jesu, quo concessio sibi, accersivit. . . .

The second passage in the description of the descent from the cross, taken from the *Liber*, treats of the grief of the angels, and reads as follows:

Maillard (pp. 67-68) :

Qui seroit celuy des anges, archanges ou principautés, throsnes, cherubins ou seraphins, qui illec n'eust plouré, voyant contre nature

²⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 182, Col. 1138.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 182, Col. 1138.

l'Auteur de nature, Dieu immortel, . . . homme mort, ainsy estendu en piteux et cruel estat, et sa tres digne Mere . . . en tel angoisse?

*Liber de Passione Christi.*³¹

O quis angelorum vel archangelorum contra naturam illic non flevisset! imo contra naturam immortalis Deus homo mortuus jacebat. Videbant corpus Christi sic male tractatum ab impiis, sic vulneratum jacere exanime, et Mariam . . . suam beatissimam matrem tantis cruciari singultibus, . . .

A few short quotations from the authentic works of St. Bernard occur in the sermon, but as they have become commonplaces they will be included later in the list of general quotations.

We have already discussed some strongly realistic passages which Maillard has employed in his desire to win the attention of his audience. For the climax of realism he turns to a northern mystic, and borrows a terrible picture from the *Revelationes* of St. Bridget of Sweden. It is that of the dying Christ on the cross, painted as the most realistic of the earlier painters would have conceived it. The two versions follow:

Maillard (p. 59):

Sa tres douloureuse Mere . . . laquelle adonc le veoit languissant, les yeulx tous morts, les levres toutes mortes, la bouche ouverte, la langue sanglante, la cher basse, la face enflée et tout le corps asseiché, couvert de sang mort et figé, le ventre tenoit au dos et sembloit ne avoir point de entrailles, son chief et sa barbe glacez de sang. . . .

*Revelationes.*³²

Tunc oculi ejus apparuerunt semimortui, maxillae ejus submersae, et vultus lugubris, os ejus apertum, et lingua sanguinolenta, venter dorso inhaerens, consumpto humore quasi non haberet viscera. Omne corpus pallidum, et languidum ex fluxu, et egressione sanguinis. . . . Barba et crines ex toto respersi sanguine.

The three direct references in our sermon to St. Ambrose are all found in his *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, which should

³¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 182, Col. 1139.

³² Cf. *Revelationes S. Birgittae*, Coloniae Agrippinae, MDCXXIIX (1628), Liber Primus, Cap. X, p. 14.

be sufficient evidence to justify the classification of this work as a direct source. The three passages are as follows:

A.—Maillard (p. 53):

Ainsi demoura l'Aigneau . . . tout nud, sans drap, . . . selon saint Ambroise.

*Expositio Evang. Sec. Luc.*³³

Nudum video: talis ergo ascendat qui saeculum vincere parat.

B.—Maillard (p. 58):

Les Apostres, dit saint Ambroise, s'en estoient fuis, sa tres loyalle Mere la Vierge Marie estoit jouxte la croix, . . . congnoissant que par sa mort et Passion amere, il rachetoit tout le monde. . .

*Expositio.*³⁴

Sed nec Maria minor quam matrem Christi decebat, fugientibus apostolis ante crucem stabat, . . . quia exspectabat non pignoris mortem, sed mundi salutem. Aut fortasse quia cognoverat per Filii mortem mundi redemptionem, . . .

C.—Maillard (p. 58):

Lequel, [Christ] ainsy que dist saint Ambroise, testa en la croix, et fist son ordonnance, . . . Ce testament signa saint Jehan digne tesmoing et notaire de un si grant Testateur; bon testament et utile, non de pecune ou chose temporelle, mais de la vie eternelle, escript veritablement non pas d'encre materielle, mais . . . de son sang precieux, avec le doy de Dieu le vivant, . . .

*Expositio.*³⁵

Testabatur de cruce Christus, et testamentum ejus signabat Joannes, dignus tanto testatore testis. Bonum testamentum non pecuniae, sed vitae: quod non atramento scribitur, sed Spiritu Dei vivi.

Maillard ends his sermon with an exhortation to repentance, in which speech he draws a striking contrast between the sufferings of

³³ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 15, Col. 1831.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 15, Col. 1837.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. 15, Col. 1837.

Christ on the cross and the worldly pleasures of his hearers. He credits St. Bernard with the entire passage. While some of the ideas are found scattered thru the works of St. Bernard, it is probable that Maillard took the description as a whole from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacques de Voragine. Space will be given here only to the first two sentences of this long selection from the sermon, together with corresponding sentences from the works of St. Bernard. The remainder of the passage is given below in the footnotes to this article, in the form in which Maillard presents it, and also as it stands in the *Legenda Aurea*. The selection begins as follows (pp. 70-71):

Escoutons ce que le Redempteur nous dict d'effect et par oeuvre, par saint Bernard: Il n'est pas decent, congru, ne convenable que le membre du corps soit delicat, vivant en delices et le corps se gaudisse en volupté sous la teste de celuy qui est couronné d'espines. Je porte (dict Nostre Seigneur) la couronne d'espines, et tu as en ta teste chapeau de fleurs, ou aultres ornemens de vanité mondaine.

The ideas found in this passage are expressed by St. Bernard in various forms. Three such selections follow:

I.—From the *Vitis Mystica* [attributed to St. Bernard]:⁸⁶

Quia non decet membrum delicatum esse sub capite crucifixo; nec ad capitis corpus se indicat pertinere membrum, quod capiti compassum non fuit.

II.—From *Sermo V in Festo Omnium Sanctorum*.⁸⁷

Pudeat sub spinato capite membrum fieri delicatum, quod omnis ei interim purpura non tam honoris sit, quam irrisio.

III.—From *Sermo II in Dominica Palmarum*.⁸⁸

Quam dissimiles rami virentes et crux, flores et spinæ.

Other similar quotations can be found in the works of St. Bernard. All these expressions became commonplaces, and occur in many other sermons. Maillard, as stated above, did not consult the works of St. Bernard for his version. A comparison of the two

⁸⁶ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 184, Col. 647.

⁸⁷ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 183, Col. 480.

⁸⁸ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 183, Col. 258.

forms of the complete selection, as given in the footnote below, will show that he follows closely the *Legenda Aurea*, except in a few places where he changes the order of the sentences.³⁹

The statement that Maillard did not consult directly the works of all of the authors whom he quotes is especially applicable to his shorter quotations. The following list is composed of short quotations for which Maillard cites his authority. The selections in this list and in the one which follows it, while not yielding so definite results in the matter of sources, are of more general interest because of the unusual nature of the topics discussed.

I.—*Maillard* (p. 28) :

Nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist . . . retourna . . . en Bethanie, et la luy firent un grant convive; et Lazare y estoit assis, et (ainsi que dict S. Augustin) racontait de l'autre monde, des peines d'enfer et de l'attente des saints peres du limbe;

St. Augustine (Sermones Supposititii Sermo XCVI) :⁴⁰

³⁹ *Maillard* (p. 71) : Je porte (dict Nostre Seigneur) la couronne d'espines, et tu as en ta teste chapeau de fleurs, ou aultres ornemens de vanité mondaine. J'ay les clous fichés en mes mains, et tu as les petis gans es mains de paour que ne soient ternies. Tu danse et prens tes delitz en ornemens precieux et curieux, mesmes homme et femme aiant chemises fines et delicates, vivans en toute volupté. A la mienne volonté tu pensasse comment avec un vestement blanc je fus demouqué comme un fol en la maison de Herode. Tu te repose de tout bien, prenant grant peine en choses de ce monde, et j'ay tant labouré pour toy jusques à la mort les pieds cousus à la croix. J'ay eu pour toy les bras estendus à la croix, et es danses mondaines tu estens les bras en maniere de croix en mon opprobre, injure et derision. . . . Tu as la poitrine, le costé et le cueur ouvert à vanité, la teste levée en signe de vaine gloire, luxure ou plaisance mondaine; et pour toy ay . . . le costé jusques au cueur tout ouvert avec le fer d'une cruelle lance. Toutes fois retournes toy à moy veritablement, et je te recevray.

Legenda Aurea (Jacobi a Voragine). Ed. Th. Graesse, Leipzig, 1890, p. 227, *De Passione Domini*:

Bernardus: Tu homo es et habes sertum de floribus et ego Deus et habeo coronam de spinas; tu habes chirothecas in manibus et ego habeo clavos defixos; tu in albis vestibus tripudias et ego pro te derisus fui ab Herode in veste alba; tu tripudias cum pedibus et ego laboravi cum meis pedibus; tu in choreis brachia extendis in modum crucis in gaudium et ego ea in cruce extensa habui in opprobrium; ego in cruce dolui et tu in cruce exsultas; tu habes latus apertum et pectus in signum vanae gloriae et ego latus effossum habui pro te. Tamen revertere ad me et ego suscipiam te.

⁴⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 39, Col. 1929.

Atque ut miraculum divinae virtutis accresceret, dum convivis interrogantibus tristia loca poenarum, sedesque alta nocte semper obscuras, Lazarus indicat diligenti narratione per ordinem; diu quaesiti longisque temporibus ignorati invenerunt tandem inferi proditorem.

II.—*Maillard* (p. 40) :

Il [Christ] retiroit les homicides, et, selon saint Bernard, deicides, de leur malice.

St. Bernard (Sermo De Passione Domini) :⁴¹

Et sacrilegas manus in ipsum Dei Filium injecerunt, crudelissimi homicidae; imo, si fas est dicere, etiam deicide.

III.—*Maillard* (p. 44) :

Judas . . . raporta les trente deniers . . . en disant : J'ay peché en baillant . . . le sang juste. Verité partout reluist, dit saint Jehan Crystostome.

St. John Chrysostom (In Matthaeum Homilia LXXXV) :⁴²

Tunc videns Judas. . . Tu vero mihi veritatem consideres velim undique fulgentem, etiam ex iis rebus, quas adversarii faciunt vel patiuntur.

IV.—*Maillard* (pp. 46-47) :

Ung chapeau d'espines percentes, jusques au cerveau luy faisant mille poinctures, selon saint Bernard et saint Anselme, . . .

St. Anselm (Meditatio IX) :⁴³

Coronatus incedit, sed ipsa ejus corona cruciatus est illi, et mille puncturis speciosum ejus verticem divulgat.

St. Bernard (Lamentatio in Passionem Christi) :⁴⁴

Coronatus incedit, sed corona ejus cruciatus est illi; quia mille puncturis speciosum ejus verticem vulneravit.

⁴¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 183, Col. 266.

⁴² Migne, *Pat. Graeco-Lat.*, Vol. 58, Col. 759.

⁴³ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 158, Col. 755.

⁴⁴ Attributed to St. Bernard. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 184, Col. 769. Also found in the *Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini*, attributed to St. Bernard or St. Anselm, *op. cit.*, Vol. 184, Col. 960.

V.—*Maillard* (pp. 52–53) :

Car saint Augustin dist que saint Jerosme trouva par les anciens docteurs hebrieux que ou lieu où fust mise la croix de Nostre Seigneur, fust immolé le mouton qui tenoit par les cornes aux espines du buysson que immola et sacrifia à Dieu Abraham pour Isaac. Les cornes des clous es mains et es pieds tindrent le doux Aigneau de Dieu couronné d'espines en la croix :

St. Augustine (Sermones Suppositiui, Sermo VI) :⁴⁵

Beatus Hieronymus presbyter scripsit, ab antiquis et senioribus Judaeorum se certissime cognovisse, quod ibi oblatus est Isaac, ubi postea Dominus Christus crucifixus est.

Ibid. (col. 1750) :

Aries vero ille qui inter spinas cornibus tenebatur, et ipse typum Domini habuisse videtur. Nam et Christus quasi cornibus inter spinas haerebat, quando ad crucis cornua clavorum confixione pendeat.⁴⁶

VI.—*Maillard* (p. 60) :

[Vinegar] Car il n'en print point pour le boire, mais pour accomplir ce que estoit escript, et saint Jehan Chrysostome dist à ce propos que simplement ne different point gouter et ne boire point.

St. John Chrysostom (In Matthaeum Homil. LXXXVII) :⁴⁷

Neque tamen ille ipsum bibisse ostendit: nihil enim differunt gustare solum et non bibere, sed utrumque idipsum significat.

VII.—*Maillard* (p. 61) :

Si s'ecria à grande et haulte voix. . . . En ce grand cry, selon saint Hilaire, se douloit que il n'emportoit tous les pechés.

St. Hilarius (Comment. in Matth., Cap. XXXIII) :⁴⁸

Spiritum cum clamore et voce magna emisit: dolens non omnium se peccata portare.

⁴⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 39, Col. 1751.

⁴⁶ Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 172, Col. 911. Also the *Glosa Ordinaria (Biblia Lirae)*, Basilee Impressum (1498), Pars V, r, 5.

⁴⁷ Migne, *Pat. Graeco-Lat.*, Vol. 58, Col. 770.

⁴⁸ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 9, Col. 1075.

VIII.—*Maillard* (p. 62) :

Dict icy Origenes que grandes choses furent faictes, pourtant qu'il crya si hault cry, le voile du temple fut rompu et divisé depuis le hault jusques au bas . . .

Origen (In Matthaeum, Commentariorum Series) :⁴⁹

Quorum velorum templi unum scissum est in duas partes a summo usque deorsum, quando voce magna clamans Jesus emisit spiritum: . . . Et terra mota est . . . Apertae sunt ergo nunc petrae . . . etc.

In the preceding list of short quotations *Maillard* names the author from whom his quotation comes. This quotation is ordinarily found somewhere in the authentic or spurious works of that author. In the following list no names are given by *Maillard*; in fact there is no indication that the passage is quoted. The sources which are given below in this article, therefore, should be regarded as doubtful. Many of them had become such commonplaces in the Middle Ages that *Maillard* could have taken them from any one of several different works.

I.—*Maillard* (p. 29) :

Le piteux Aigneau demoura avec sa tresdigne Mere en Bethanie, maison de obedience.

St. Jerome (Expositio Quatuor Evang. Marcus) :⁵⁰

Cum autem esset in Bethania, id est, in domo obedientiae: hic domus pro mundo ponitur.⁵¹

II.—*Maillard* (p. 32) :

Et à l'entrée du jardin laissa huict de ses Apostres . . .

Nicolas de Lire (Matthei Cap. XXVI) :⁵²

Et dixit discipulis suis: sedete hic. Hoc dixit octo apostolis: quare Judas non erat ibi: et tres secum duxit.

⁴⁹ Migne, *Pat. Graeco-Lat.*, Vol. 13, Col. 1790.

⁵⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 30, Col. 559.

⁵¹ See also Bede, *op. cit.*, Vol. 92, Col. 244, and St. Bonaventura, Ed. Peltier, Vol. XIII, p. 333, etc.

⁵² *Biblia Lirae*, Basilee Impressum (1498), Pars V, m 2.

III.—*Maillard* (p. 35) :

Car saint Jacques le Mineur luy [Christ] sembloit.

St. Anselm [Appendix Spuriorum] (Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi De Passione Domini) :⁵³

Judas . . . dixitque Judaeis: Duo consimiles sunt, scilicet Jacobus et Jesus.

Ibid. (Col. 287) :

[The Virgin speaks] Venit etiam Jacobus, qui frater filii mei appellatus est, qui simillimus illi erat . . .

IV.—*Maillard* (p. 40) :

[Christ] Lors, pour la reverence du nom de Dieu, respondit tellement . . .

Nicolas de Lire (Matthei Cap. XXVI) :⁵⁴

Adjuro te par Deum vivum. Ad hoc autem respondit Christus propter reverentiam divini nominis invocati dicens: . . .

V.—*Maillard* (p. 40) :

Car sa venerable face que les Anges desirent à veoir, fut toute couverte de leurs excréations . . .

St. Bernard (Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini [Attributed]) :⁵⁵

Vultum tuum desiderabilem, in quem desiderant Angeli prospicere, qui omne coelos adimplit laetitia.⁵⁶

VI.—*Maillard* (p. 46) :

Et, selon saint Bonaventure, eust icy cinq mille quatre cens soixante et quinze playes.

⁵³ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 159, Cols. 273 and 287.

⁵⁴ *Biblia Lirae*, Basilee Impressum (1498), Pars V, m 3.

⁵⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 184, Col. 959.

⁵⁶ The same passage occurs also in the *Lamentatio in Passionem Christi*, attributed to St. Bernard, and in the *Lignum Vitae* of St. Bonaventura. Cf. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 184, Col. 770, and Peltier, *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Vol. XII, p. 75.

*Ludolph of Saxony (Vita Jesu Christi):*⁵⁷

Quinque millia quadringenta nonaginta vulnera mei corporis extiterunt; . . . quidam ponunt . . . quinque millia quadringenta septuaginta quinque, . . . ⁵⁸

VII.—*Maillard* (p. 50):

Sa croix . . . elle estoit longue de quinze pieds.

*Meditationes Vitae Christi:*⁵⁹

Et ut dicitur in historiis, opinio est crucem Domini quindecim pedes habuisse in altum.⁶⁰

VIII.—*Maillard* (p. 65):

Un vieil gens darmes, . . . ouvrit son costé dextre, dont yssit sang et eaue; sang en pris de redemption pour la remission de nos pechiés, et eaue en ablution de nos pechiés.

*St. Ambrose (Expos. Evang. Sec. Luc.):*⁶¹

Aqua enim et sanguis exivit; illa quae diluat, iste qui redimat.

IX.—*Maillard* (p. 69):

Et ledict sepulcre estoit taillé en un roche qui a esté à la confirma-

⁵⁷ *Vita Jesu Christi per Ludolphum de Saxoniam, Parisiis et Romae* (1865), p. 600.

⁵⁸ This passage is not a source; it is simply an interesting parallel. The complete passage is as follows:

Cuidam etiam seni matronae reclusae multitudinem et numerum omnium vulnerum Christi scire cupienti, et pro hac re flebiliter Deum oranti, vox coelica missa dixit: Quinque millia quadringenta nonaginta vulnera mei corporis extiterunt; quae si venerari volueris, orationem Dominicam cum salutatione Angelica quindecies quotidie in memoriam passionis meae replicabis, sicque anno revoluto unumquodque vulnus venerabiliter salutabis. . . . Et accipitur hic numerus secundum annum bissextilem, ut semper sufficere possit; quia minor numerus quem quidam ponunt, scilicet quinque millia quadringenta septuaginta quinque, aliis annis tantum, sed non hoc sufficit.

For a further discussion of this topic see the *Revelationes S. Birgittae*, Ed. Coloniae Agrippinae (1628), Liber Primus, Cap. X, Notae, p. 17.

⁵⁹ Cf. Peltier, *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, Vol. XII, p. 605.

⁶⁰ The *Historia Scholastica* adds to this sentence the phrase: "et tabulam superpositam, pedem et dimidium." Cf. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 198, Col. 1634.

⁶¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, Vol. 15, Col. 1858.

tion de la foy de sa resurrection. Car luy et non aultre yssit du sepulcre tout clos, lequel on ne pouvoit fouyr ou miner par dessoulz.

Nicolas de Lire (Matthei Cap. XXVI) :⁶²

Quod exciderat in petra, eadem ratione factum est hoc ne si Christus fuisset sepultus in terra, diceretur a Judeis quod discipuli rapuissent corpus ejus fodientes in terra desubtus per viam subterraneam.

While this article deals specifically with only one sermon of Olivier Maillard, it is, at the same time, a study of the methods of composition used by the other French sermon writers of the early period, and to a certain extent, by the late Latin writers. Such sermons were largely reproductions of selections from earlier Latin writers, put together more or less skillfully according to the talent of the writer. The above study has aimed to show in part how peculiar was the nature of some of these selections, and how varied were their sources.

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⁶² *Biblia Lirae*, Basilee Impressum (1498), Pars V, n. 2.

7. PROVENÇAL DOS.

IN the extract from the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*¹ published by C. Appel in the fourth edition (1912) of his *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, No. 7, there occurs the following passage (ll. 26–38 = *Chanson* ll. 3187–3199) :

- 26 Mas pero l'apostolis, qu'es savis e guiscos,
denant tota la cort e vezen dels baros
monstra per escriptura e per leials sermos
que'l comte de Tholosa no repren ocaizos
30 qu'el deia perdre terra ni que mals crezens fos,
ans l'a pres per catholic en faitz e en respos ;
mas per la covinensa c'avian entr'els dos,
e per paor de clercia, de qu'el es temoros,
34 li retenc pueih sa terra e'n devenç poderos,
e volc que la tengues en comanda'n Simos,
car en outra maneira no l'en era'l faitz dos—
don li conte remazo ab coratges felos,
38 car cel que pert sa terra, mot n'a'l cor engoichos.

As in the preceding editions, Appel's Glossary quotes the vocable *dos* of l. 36 under *dous*, *doutz*, and translates it by 'angenehm, willkommen.' This interpretation was obviously determined by the fact that in the text, as handed down, *faitz* appears as the subject of *era* and *dos*, a form occasionally used for *dous*,² as a predicative adjective. In the light of the context, however, it is clear that the rendering 'because otherwise the transaction was not agreeable to him,' while satisfying the letter of the extant manuscript, entirely misses the point of the argument. For what the pope desired to say was not that a certain fact was acceptable to him, but that the land surrendered to him by Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, had been handed over (*faitz dos*) to Simon de Montfort not for the latter's

¹ *Éditée et traduite*, p. P. Meyer. Paris, MDCCCLXXV, 2 vols.

² See Levy, *SW.* (= *Supplement-Wörterbuch*), s.v. *dous*.

possession, but only *en comanda*, that is, for temporary keeping,³ as is made evident by the pope's letter of April 2, 1215 cited by P. Meyer, *l. c.* II, p. 169, note 3.⁴ In accordance with this unmistakable meaning of the passage in question, P. Meyer (II, p. 173) translates l. 3196 (= Appel, l. 36): 'Car le don ne lui en fut pas fait à autre titre' and reads (I, p. 142) *era* for *eral*, suggesting below the text as a possible correction: *faitz no l'en eral dos*.⁵ There is consequently every reason why the editor of the *Chrestomathie* should have registered *dos* s. v. *don*, *dô*, s. m. with the meaning 'trust property; transfer,'⁶ and taken into account a reading conformable with the rendering: 'for its transfer to him (*i. e.* to Simon de Montfort) was not made in any other way.'

³ Levy, *l. c.*, s. v. *comanda*, gives several instances for the meaning 'interimistische Uebertragung,' 'Verwahrung, interimistischer Besitz,' among others the very case in question, whereas Appel, satisfying no other requirement than that of his own interpretation, translates the term by 'Gebot, Botmässigkeit.'

⁴ See also *Chanson*, ll. 3135-3140.

⁵ Appel contents himself in his variants with the note to l. 36: '*era faitz dos*, P. Meyer,' without mentioning either Meyer's different interpretation or the suggestion of a possible correction of the second hemistich of the line.

⁶ Neither Raynouard nor Levy cites our passage either under *don* or under *dolz*, *dous*, but as Levy (s. v. *comanda*) copies the text as emended by Meyer, it may be presumed that he accepted the latter's interpretation.

8. PROVENÇAL APOSTA.

IN the poem bearing in Appel's *Chrestomathie*, No. 106, the title "The Sinner's Repentance," the Virgin replies as follows to the sinner's appeal for her intercession (ll. 61–68) :

Amics, si'n tan¹ vilesa as la obra guerpida,
greu sera mais aposta, tant s'es afrevolida,
la vertut e la forsa, e desapoderida,
que no i a nulh conort, si merces no l'avida
em ploramens de lagremas e'n bona repentida;
c'ab aquestz tres mestiers ve hom a la guerida
del gaug de paradis, et enaissi covida
l'emperaires de gloria vais la sua partida.

Suchier, *Denkmäler*, p. 536, translated the first hemistich of l. 62 as follows: "Schwerlich wird es (*scil.* das Werk) wieder aufgenommen werden." Appel, in his glossary, s. v. *aponre*, conjectures 'hinzufügen, anwenden.' Schultz-Gora, in his review of Appel's book,² remarks: "Die Bedeutung 'hinzufügen, anwenden' für *aponre* scheint mir nicht zu passen; es dürfte doch = 'in Ordnung bringen, einfügen' sein; allerdings konstruiert, nach der Interpunktion zu urteilen, Appel anders als Suchier, *Dkm.* I, 227, aber des letztern Auffassung ist doch natürlicher." Raynouard, *Lexique*, gives as the significations of *aponher*, *apondre* 'joindre, unir, atteindre, parvenir, redoubler d'efforts, apposer.' Levy, *SW.* s. v. *aponre*, cites only a passage from *Leys d'Amors* III, 374, where he renders the vocable by 'hinzufügen,' while in his *Petit Dictionnaire* he translates 'ajouter, joindre.' Neither Raynouard nor Levy quotes the poem under discussion.

It is clear that Appel's version of *aponre* is not acceptable, even if we accept his interpretation of our passage as indicated by his punctuation. *Aposta* stands in antithesis to *guerpida*,³ 'abandoned, neg-

¹ Appel rightly proposes the reading *tal* for *tan*.

² *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 21, p. 143.

³ Appel's glossary explains *guerp* here by 'lassen, im stich lassen.'

lected' in the preceding verse and was consequently intended to mean 'made good' or 'set right,' as Suchier suggested. Appel would doubtless have seen this himself if he had carefully considered the context of the preceding stanzas from which it sufficiently appears that it is upon the suppliant's admitted failure to do good works that the Virgin bases her refusal to intercede for him. Thus lines 45-50:

Amics, no i venra hom per aital aramida
 en la ciutat de gloria qui no l'ha be servida,
 que vengu' acompanyatz de compania grazida :
d'istar en bonas obras, de menar bona vida;
 qu'enaissi intra hom en la cort benesida,
 aqui on hom recep la corona de vida.

In the light of what has been said, we may, therefore, removing the comma after *afrevolida* in line 62, render the passage under discussion as follows:

"My friend, if you have neglected your life's work in so abject a manner, it will hardly be set right again; so much are virtue and strength weakened and their power broken that there is no hope unless mercy revives it in your weeping and in genuine repentance."

To this interpretation it may be objected that no other instances are known of the use of *aponre* in the sense of 'to set right, to put in order,' while Raynouard and Levy adduce several in support of the meaning 'to add, to join.' In reply to this it may be pointed out, however, that a usage current in other Romance languages and in Latin renders it very probable, if not absolutely certain, that the Provençal *apost*, *aposta* was employed in the adjectival sense of 'well ordered, suitable.'

To begin with Latin, the past participle *appositus* as an adjective had the force of 'fit, suitable, useful.'⁴ Thus Varro, *RR.* I, 7, 5: *loca adposita ad foenum, ad vinum, ad oleum*; Cicero, *Verr.* IV, 126: *ut multo appositior ad ferenda quam ad auferenda signa esse videatur*; cf. *ibid.* V. 108; *de Invent.* I, 14: *argumentatio appositissima ad judicationem*.

⁴ Neither *appositus* nor *positus* nor any of their Romance derivatives figures in Meyer-Lücke's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (the only exceptions being no. 552 *apposita* and no. 553 *appositicius*).

In Spanish, *apuesto* means 'well ordered, suitable, decorous'⁵ appearing not infrequently as a synonym of *hermoso*. A few examples may suffice.

Poema del Cid, 1317.

Afe Minaya Albarfanez do llega tan *apuesto*.
1320 besavale las manos e fablo tan *apuesto*.

Berceo, *Milagros*, 31 :

Tornemos ennas flores que componen el prado,
que lo fazen fermoso, *apuesto* y temprado.

L. c., 874:

Pero avie un panno, era cosa boniella,
Pora muger de orden cubierta *apostiella*.

Libro de Alixandre, 1710:

Venia apuesta miente Calectrix la reyna
Vestia preçiosos panos de buena seda fina.

L. c., 888:

En medio del hueste auie un colladiello,
Della e della parte era alto un poquiello;
Era enna cabeça sano e verdeziello,
Era un logareio por uerdad *apostiello*.

Juan Ruiz (ed. Ducamin), 549:

por ende fuy del vino e faz buenos gestos;
quando fablares con dueñas, dile doñeos *apuestos*.⁶

The same meaning attaches to *apostado*, the past participle of *apostar*, 'to make *apuesto*, to adorn, endow.'⁷

Conosce como Dios de muchos bienes le dotara,
Al omne de riqueza e de rason *apostara*.

⁵ Cf. also Sp., Port. and Catal. *apostura*, 'courtesy, elegance'; 'good deed or work,' a word listed in all dictionaries.

⁶ See also L. c., 613.

⁷ E. g., *Rimado de Palacio*, 1503:

Rimado de Palacio, 227:

En todo el aldea non ha tan *apostada*
 Como la su manceba, nin tan bien *afeytada*.⁸

As might be expected, the same use of the word is found in Portuguese.

Canzoniere della Vaticana, no. 11 (refrain):⁹

ca nunca outra dona vi
 tan mansa, nen tan *aposto* catar.

Canz. Colocci-Brancuti, no. 6, 3:¹⁰

Pois me non val d'eu muit'amar
 a mha senhor, nen a servir,
 nen quan *apost*'eu sei negar
 amor que lh'ei, etc.

Lenda de Barlaam e Josaphate (14th c.), p. 6:¹¹
 deolhe . . . mancebos autos e *apostos*.

Corte Imperial, p. 5, ll. 17-19:¹²

E a fora estas cadeiras estauam muytas seedas muy bem *apostadas*
 . . . e em aquella rreal cadeyra que era mais alta ssya seentado huñ
 barom muy *aposto*¹³ e muy fremoso; a estadura do seu corpo era
 meãa e bem composta de seus membros.¹⁴

Our interpretation of *aposta* in the poem under discussion hav-

⁸ Cf. Juan Roiz, 15 *fablar apostado*; *Poema de Alfonso XI*, 30: *apostadas ases*.

⁹ Vol. I of *Comunicazioni dalle Biblioteche di Roma e da altre biblioteche*. Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1875.

¹⁰ Vol. II of *Comunicazioni*. See preceding note.

¹¹ Ed. G. de Vasconcellos Abreu.

¹² Published in Vol. I of the *Collecção de Manuscriptos ineditos agora dados a estampa*. Porto, 1910.

¹³ In the glossary of his *Textos Archaicos* (2d ed., 1907), J. Leite de Vasconcellos renders *aposto* by 'composto, grave,' a sense which the word does not have either here or elsewhere.

¹⁴ For *apostar* in the sense of 'ordenar, adornar,' see the glossary of the Galician *Cronica Troyana*, II, La Coruña, 1900. In the *Livro de Esopo* (ed. J. Leite de V., 1906), no. XLIV: "E veo-lhes [Arguu] *apostando* seu comer," the meaning appears to be 'arreglar, disponer.'

ing thus been established with a fair degree of certainty, we may in conclusion examine another Provençal passage in which the word occurs. This is the one quoted by Raynouard¹⁵ from the *Cartulaire de Montpellier*, a text which is not accessible to us at this writing:

Tela poirida ni *aposta* ni cozida ni traucada. In this case, Raynouard renders *aposta* by 'rejointe.' Now, as will be observed, *aposta* is here contrasted with *poirida* 'decayed,' as *traucada* 'trouée' is with *cozida* 'cousue.' Instead of 'rejointe,' therefore, which would practically be a duplicate of 'cousue,' the context, insofar at least as it may be inferred from the words as they lie before us, would seem to point to some such expression as 'in good condition, useful' as the intended meaning, thus adding one more instance to the one claimed above.

¹⁵ *Lesique*, 4, 611.

9. PROVENÇAL AFFRON

THE first stanza of a satire addressed by the minstrel Joanez d' Albuison to Sordel¹ reads as follows:²

[Vostra] dompna segon lo meu semblan.
vos contra [fatz ?]. bel amic en sordel.
car uos annatz prouentza conquistan.
engleterre e franza e lunel.
e lemozi aluergna e uianes.
e bogoigna e totz los autres paes.
e d'espagna los plans els pois el mon.
de conquerre tutor uos er affron.

Raynouard and Levy do not cite this passage in their dictionaries either under *afrontar* or *fron* or under any of the vocables contained in its last line; and the only attempt at an interpretation of it known to me at present is in the edition of Sordel's works by Cesare De Lollis (Halle, 1896). After the following rather free translation of the last two lines of our stanza: "e siete uomo da conquistare i piani e i poggi e i monti di Spagna," the Italian scholar says (p. 20, note 2):

I duoi ultimi versi qui tradotti suonano nell' originale: "E d' Espaigna los plans els pois el mon De conquerre tutor uos er affron"; sicchè si resta in dubbio se "mon" sia lì per *mondo* ovvero per *monti*. Col primo significato la parola ricorre nella stanza seguente là dove appunto è detto che il mondo intiero (che dunque non può esser prima conquistato già da un solo dei due) finirà per esser conquistato dai due amanti: oltre di che, una tale interpretazione renderebbe necessaria una spezzatura di senso troppo brusca nell' interno del verso. Ciò considerato, pare anche allo Chabaneau, a cui posi

¹ Gauchat e Kehrli, *Il Canzoniere Provensale H*, no. 171 (in *Studi di Filologia romanza*, 5, p. 516).

² The only deviation here made from the text of the manuscript consists in the arrangement of the lines in strophic form. The variants of MS. a, published in *Archiv f. d. Studium der Neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, 34, p. 403, are as follows:

2 contra (fatz?)] fon trahitz? 3 prouenza. 8 tubor.

il quesito, che convenga piuttosto ammetter qui l'uso, per licenza poetica, del singolare in luogo del plurale e interpretar *monti*: e a me pare che a conforto di un tale uso stia, in mancanza di meglio, l'*outra mon* della biografia di Pietro d'Alvernia (cf. Meyer, *Recueil d'anciens textes*, I, Paris, 1887, p. 99) che non dovè, come l'*outra mar*, avere il valore di una frase addirittura tradizionale, se qualche manoscritto (E) scrive "*outra el mon*": e s'aggiunga ancora che se qui, com'io credo, "*mon*" sta in bocca d'un Provenzale a designare per antonomasia le Cevenne, al modo istesso nel nostro caso Giovannetto avrebbe potuto parlare nella direzione opposta, dei Pirenei. Nulla però che faccia al nostro caso ci offre il prov. moderno che da regolarmente "*mount*" e "*mar*" al pl. in espressioni come "*faire mar e mount*," "*a travès mar e mount*" (cf. Mistral, *Lou Tresor*, s. "*mar*").

It will be seen from this that De Lollis adopts the insufficiently supported explanation of *mon* as *montem* instead of *mundum* for no other reason than that otherwise, as he assumes, the passage in question would be at variance with the prediction of the second stanza that Sordel was going to conquer the whole world. This assumption, however, is erroneous because in our text the minstrel plainly speaks, not of what Sordel has already done, but of what he may attempt to do, thus leading up to the more positive taunt addressed both to his errant lady-love and to himself:

et enaissi conquerretz tot lo mon,
se conquerretz d'aual, e il d'amon.

There is therefore no cogent reason for taking, in our case, *el mon* in any other than the obvious and grammatically regular signification of "and the world," and the question now remains—a question entirely overlooked by De Lollis—how to understand the words *uos er affron*.

At first glance, one might be tempted to see in *affron* a Provençal noun parallel to Fr. *affront*, Ital. *affronto*, Old Span. *afrento*.³ But apart from the fact that such a noun has not as yet been met with in Provençal,⁴ it would be of no service here because such a

³ E. g., Berceo, *S. Dom.*, 411; Alphonse X, *Septenario*, Pt. III, 14, 12.

⁴ Neither Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, nor Levy, *Supplement-Wörterbuch*, registers the word. Carolina Michaëlis (*Canc. Ajuda*, II, p. 375) takes exception to the view expressed by De Lollis, and proposes to translate either: 'e os montes de conquistar de Hispanha vos será afronto (?),' or: 'e d'ora avante tomareis a peito a conquista, etc. (?).'

statement as "it will be an accusation (or : an insult) to you to conquer the world" would ill accord with the idea of the poem.

One may again regard *affron* as the first person singular of the present indicative of *affrontar* (Fr. *affronter*),⁵ which verb, like Old Span. and Port. *afrontar*,⁶ may, beside the meanings recorded by Raynouard and Levy, have had the one of "demanding," "challenging." Considering, in this case, that Provençal verbs of demanding may take as object an infinitive with the preposition *de*,⁷ we might translate as follows: "And I challenge you now to conquer the world." But entirely consonant as this interpretation is with the minstrel's intention, it can hardly be accepted as satisfactory so long as we have no other example of this use of Provençal *afrontar*, to say nothing of its obliging us to assume in *er* the employment of a second adverb of time, synonymous with *tutor*.

The last named objection also applies to the interpretation of *affron* as *a fron*, "opposes," "resists," from *aver fron*,⁸ an interpretation which would furthermore render it necessary to construe *el mon* as the subject of *a fron* and, consequently, to leave *conquerre* without a direct object.

There seems thus to remain only one other way of explaining the text as we now have it. This is to take *affron* as representing the adverbial phrase *a fron*, 'with boldness,' 'boldly,'⁹ and *er* as the future of impersonal *esser*. We thus obtain the rendering: 'And the world it will now remain for you boldly to conquer.' It is true that no other Provençal instance has so far been recorded in which it is the preposition *de* instead of *a* that serves to connect *esser* with an infinitive in this sense;¹⁰ but as *de* is found beside *a* in locutions of similar import, as e. g. *Vida de S. Honorat* (Appel, *Chrest*, 8, 105) : *siblan tan fort e cridan que non es de pensar*; *Evang. de l'Enf.* (Appel, *l. c.*, 9, 88) : *Per sert, aisso non fon a creire*, we may be permitted to ac-

⁵ See Raynouard and Levy, *l. c.*

⁶ See, e.g., Cuervo, *Diccionario*, s.v., and for Old Port. the writer's note in *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philol.*, 32, pp. 150-151.

⁷ See Dittes, *Der Infinitiv im Provenzalischen* (in *Roman. Forschungen*, 15, p. 28).

⁸ See Raynouard, *l. c.*, and Levy, *l. c.*, s.v. *fron*; also P. Meyer, *Romania*, 21, p. 223.

⁹ See Raynouard, *l. c.*

¹⁰ For Provençal, see Dittes, *l. c.*, p. 34, and Levy, s.v. *esser*. Cases of *esser* with *de* and *infinitive* are omitted in Raynouard and Levy.

cept the use of *de* in our impersonal construction, and this all the more so as a similar usage obtains elsewhere in Romance speech.¹¹ Thus in Old Portuguese, as *Trovas* 19 (*Canc. Ajuda*, no. 174), refrain:

Que, se mil vezes podesse morrer,
Mêor coita me fora de soffrer,

where *meor coita* is the object of the infinitive ('there would be less pain for me to bear').¹² Cases of a similar nature, in some of which *esser* may be taken personally, are the following: *Poema del Cid*, ll. 1120-1121:

Si en estas tierras quisieremos durar,
Firme mientre son estos a escarmentar.

Ibid., l. 3528:

Preso auemos el debdo e a passar es por nos.

Berceo, *S. Dom.*, 153:

Dizlo el Evangelio, que es bien de creer,
El que las almas iudga, esse es de temer.

S. Oria, 175:

Mas quando non lo quiere el Criador sofrir,
Lo que a el ploguiere es todo de sofrir.

Primera Crónica General, p. 410 b: Por que dond deuie nacer uerdad e lealtad. nasce lo que non era de dezir de rey; *ibid.*, p.

¹¹ It need hardly be mentioned that *a* and *de* are used in the same function with other verbs, such as *comenzar*, *laiszar*, *penre*, *ponhar*. See, e, g., Dittes, *l.c.*, pp. 20-22.

¹² The pure infinitive is also employed with this impersonal construction of *esser*. Thus Arnaut Daniel (*Annales du Midi*, 22, 174, ll. 71-72): *Sofrir m'er per vos mainz orguouills*; and in Old Port., King Denis (*Liederbuch des Königs Denis*, ll. 1034-1036):

De mi fazerdes vos, senhor,
bem ou mal, tod' est' em vos é,
e soffrer m'ê, per boa fe,
o mal.

Cf. the Greek: *ὅτι ἔστι λέγειν*. Being unfamiliar with this syntactical usage, Carolina Michaelis (*Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, 19, 524) here proposed the emendation *sofrer m'ei*.

471 b: Yennego Vega fue estonces muy sannudo contra ell et dixo: don Rodrigo, ante quel matassemos los caualleros fuera esso de ver; mas ya agora non es tiempo de dexarle assi;¹³ King Denis (*Liederbuch*, ll. 2011–2012):

Amiga fremosa e mesurada,
nom vos digu'eu que nom pode seer
voss'amigo, pois om'é, de morrer.

Ibid., ll. 2556–2559:

Vai-'s o meu amig'alhur sem mi morar,
e par Deus, amiga, ei end'eu pesar
porque s'ora vai, eno meu coração
tamanho que esto nom é de falar.

Trovas, no. 8 (= *Canc. Ajuda* no. 163), ll. 8–9:

E o pesar que me fazen soffrer
e a gran coita non é de dizer.¹⁴

We may therefore read the last two verses of our stanza as follows:

e d'Espagna los plans els pois; e'l mon
de conquerre tutor vos er a fron.

and interpret the last line as proposed above: "And the world it will now remain for you boldly to conquer."

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¹³ For similar cases cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, pp. 351–352.

¹⁴ See also Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, III, § 409.

VENICE IN 1723: THE STUDENT RIOTS OF PADUA
AND THE EXECUTION OF GAETANO FANTON
IN THE MACARONIC POEM: *STRAGES*
INNOCENTIUM

THE *Strages Innocentium* which we here reproduce from a manuscript of the Querini-Stampalia library¹ deal with events that have already been reviewed by Tassini,² by Condio³ and Papadopoli.⁴ But one or two points may still be made in regard to them. Looking back to the year 1658, when Angelo Marcello was captain of Padua, we find, in his terse report of conditions at the University, a picture of the struggle being made to preserve for that institution something of its ancient lustre and prestige.⁵ Marcello's chief point of attack, as regards studies themselves, was the obligation of extempore lectures imposed upon professors by a series of Venetian laws, forbidding the use of notes, written lessons, or syllabi. As regards student life, he protests in general against the independence of the various *nationes* in the matter of self-government, which made the student quarter the refuge of all sorts of criminals; and in particular against the abuse of certain student customs: the *spupille*, the *matricole*, the *Chi va lì*, the carrying of firearms and other weapons, and the interruption of lessons.

Of this last prerogative of Italian students we need not speak, for the time-honored privilege of getting degrees without examination shows at least straggling survivals in Italy to this day.⁶ The privilege of bearing arms was of course a general right of the nobility, and on the feudal and chivalric background of life under

¹ Cl. VI, cod. XX, cc. 323b-327.

² Giuseppe Tassini, *Alcune delle più clamorose condanne capitali eseguite in Venezia sotto la Repubblica*, Venice, 1892, pp. 212-4.

³ Pippo il Veneziano (Giuseppe Condio), *Studenti di Padova, Curiosità storiche, saggio d'un' opera documentata*, Venezia, Società di Mutuo Soccorso fra Compositori Impressori Tipografi, 1892, pp. 23-5.

⁴ *Historia gymnasii patavini*, Venetiis, 1726, utilized by Tassini.

⁵ The *relazione* of Marcello is published by Cesare Cantù, *Grande illustrazione del Lombardo-Veneto*, Milano, Corona-Calmi, 1859, Vol. IV, pp. 146-153.

⁶ See King-Okey, *Italy To-day*, New York, Scribner, 1909, pp. 248-9.

the old régime offers nothing remarkable. But in the custom of the *chi va lì* the students of Padua arrogated to themselves the right to hold up any citizen and examine him, while the use of the *spupille* was directed primarily against the girls of the common people. This was the source of most of the friction between town and gown in Padua, though the students of the Bo, by a humorous tradition easily understood, professed special antipathy toward the butchers, and directed most of their noisy fun at the markets and slaughterhouses. The government of the Republic was however most directly concerned with the *matricole*, whereby the students were allowed to import from home all sorts of commodities for their personal consumption. This led directly to smuggling on a considerable scale, all the more easily conducted from the fact that the student quarter was not subject to police surveillance. The police itself was an irregular body of mercenary soldiers in the employ of the *bargello*. There was little sense of responsibility on the part of police-officers to check such corrupt practices as those openly referred to in our poem (v. 74).

This, simply to give the other side of a picture which is drawn wholly in favor of the students of Padua in the official and other documents which relate to the disturbances of 1723. For it is only fair to assume that the violent attack of the troop of *zaffi* under Zulian Bonapace upon the syndic of the students lounging in the *Bottega delle Acque* of the Piazza dei Signori was the climax of many previous clashes between students and police. This particular quarrel grew out of the question of the carrying of arms. On February 14, 1723 (*more veneto*, 1722) the police had executed a general disarmament of the students. It is clear that the resistance encountered had aroused the *sbirri* to fury; for on the following afternoon when a company of nineteen police proceeded to the search of students in the caffè mentioned above a scuffle ensued in which the police opened fire. Giacomo Non, a young noble of the Grison *natio* and vice-sindic of the law school, and the Contino Giam Battista Cogolo, son of Count Vincenzo Cogolo of Vicenza, were killed. The remainder of the students took refuge in the upper story of the house, whence they threw themselves in terror from the windows before the violent pursuit of the police, one more being killed.

The picturesque narrative of these events and their immediate

sequel in our poem is rigidly accurate, when compared with the documents on file in the archives of the Council of Ten.⁷ The *ipse ego vidi* of its anonymous author (v. 97) is abundantly confirmed also by the fact that this poem was composed in the first excitement of the affair and ends with the transfer of the offending *zaffi* to the prisons of Venice. We need add only the essential supplementary facts down to the conclusion of the whole case.

The news of the assassination of the students spread like wild-fire through the University quarter. The bells of the Torre del Bo⁸ summoned the students to assembly, and the meeting assumed the proportions of an armed mob. Meanwhile however the Podestà had besieged the *zaffi* in their quarters; and through speeches by Professors Cestis and Morgagnis, he communicated to the infuriated students promises of speedy justice on the murderers and appeals for calm. The Torre del Bo was occupied by soldiers to prevent another ringing of the bells. The students however went on strike, and many of them took advantage of the disturbances to return home. The situation looked serious for the reputation of the University. In all the documents of the Venetian authorities, there is a manifest preoccupation to placate the striking students in every way. The avogador Angelo Foscarini was at once despatched to Padua to draw up the preliminary indictment of the murderers. His first task was to compel them to lay down their arms which they did with great reluctance. By March 1 his investigation had proceeded so far and so well that the Council of Ten, ordering the transfer of the culprits to the prisons of Venice, was able to thank Foscarini for his energy and promptness "mentre la gravità del caso e le sue circostanze meritano che con prontezza siano egualmente esercitati gli effetti di giustizia." In response to the *supplica* summarized in our poem, the Doge Alvise Mocenigo published a letter guaranteeing justice, and expressing his personal solicitude for the peace and safety of the University and the welfare of the students.

⁷ Archivio di Stato, Venice, *Consiglio de Xci, Criminal*, March 22, 1723, p. 4b; *Comun*, p. 5; March 1, *Comun*, p. 2b; *Filze*, Feb. 16, 1722, no. 135; Aug. 23, 1723; Sept. 20, 1723, no. 136.

⁸ Tucked away among the stirring news items of August, 1914, I found the report that the Torre del Bo, which for centuries has symbolized the University *esprit de corps* of Padua, had been demolished, owing to its menacing state of decay.

As may easily be imagined the students were not disposed to give us the pleasure of a protracted holiday for so little. By May 1 the absentees were still numerous and the year's work had been hopelessly ruined. On the 8th the Senate by decree awarded diplomas to all students who had completed their third year of residence. It was not till late summer however that the affair had been thoroughly sifted by the Council of Ten. On August 23 the documents had become so bulky that it was voted to give this case precedence over all others. On September 20 the Council decided to separate the cases of the nineteen *zaffi* from each other. Three days later the final decisions were rendered. Gaetano Gondola and six others were held guiltless of responsible part in the disturbance, but were sentenced to perpetual banishment from Padua. Only upon Gaetano Fanton could the actual crime of murder be fixed. He was condemned to death. Giuliano Bonapace, *capo di compagnia*, and Domenico Martiali, *contestabile*, both referred to in our poem, were condemned respectively to a life term and to nine years imprisonment. Zuanne Mazzotti, *tenente sbirro*, received a sentence of eighteen months in a dark cell, a fine of five hundred ducats and five years of banishment from Venice. Francesco Guarda *detto* il Villan, Zuanne Giomo *detto* Mungna, Zammaria Zanchi *detto* il Fornaco, Francesco Sconi *detto* Corto, Francesco Roncadi, of Vicenza, Zuanne Batocco, Nicola Torelli, and Iseggo Milan were sentenced to ten years each in the galleys. The *Necrologi* of the Archivio di Stato, under date of September 25, 1723, show the following item, adorned, as usual in these documents, with a pen drawing of a gibbet with two posts and two ladders between which hangs a dangling form: *Gaetano Fanton visentin d'anni 30 in c° fù applicato per sentenza dell' Ec° Cons° di X per il fatto delli sbirri di Padova. S. Marco.* Appended to the sentences handed down on September 23 was the draft of an inscription for a *pietra d'infamia* to be walled into the house of Domenico dalle Acque, near the church of San Clemente in the Piazza dei Signori of Padua. The erection of this stone was ordered in another decree of September 27.

The macaronic language of our poem is constructed on a base of pure Venetian dialect, for the easier understanding of which we append a selected lexicon, stressing the several words of interest to Venetian lexicography itself. The university origin of the poem

serves to re-emphasize, as regards the history of macaronic literature, the close affiliation of this type of satire with student life, where pedantry was an oppressive fact of daily existence, and the satire of pedantry a spontaneous art form. That this particular occasion should have inspired such a poem seems comprehensible only on the assumption that the macaronic language would definitely stamp it as an expression of university opinion. For esthetically the macaronic spirit is inharmonious with the writer's dominant mood. Rage at the police, pathos at the fate of the victims are both approached; but the macaronic verse gives the tone now of the mock heroic now of the simple play on words—a tone that is one of levity and banter. The passages which at all succeed in surmounting this fundamental dissidence are the ones describing the invectives of the mob against the imprisoned *sbirri*, where the shift of interest allows the rise of a humor of pure alloy. It is a sorry humor at best perhaps. For the trouble with the obscenity of the older literature is not that it lacks the essence of fun, but that it is usually a trifle stupid. But let us still join Stendhal in mourning the loss of that gaiety of the eighteenth century of which only one aspect was vulgarity. There is still some philosophy left in the man who in the presence of tragedy takes up a macaronic pen and — *grandam mandat corezzam*.

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STRAGES INNOCENTIUM

(In occasione di schioppettate fatte dalli zaffi di Padova contro li scolari de quali ne furono uccisi tre. Febbraro, 1723)

Oh Padua infelix! quo tanto crimine scelus?
 Feristi superos, ut nos sbiragia mazzet?
 Tu, que Turcorum livorem gnente spaventas,
 Et quod⁹ sub Venetis quietissima subdita vivis
 5 Ac divi Marci stendardi pectore portas,
 Es¹⁰ infamorum sbirorum facta strapazzum?
 Tempus erat noctis quo trista patulia caminat,
 Dum retroactis pochis scolaribus unus
 Zafforum pistollas abstulit illis.

⁹ *Quod* can stand, though I should suggest correction to *que*.

¹⁰ MS. *et*.

- 10 Scholares certe nullam fecere bravuram;
Sed tamquam teneri de caponara pollastri
(Smerdulla nulla fuit) cuncti tacuere d'accordum.
Postea cum Phoebus carro montavit ab alto
Et sbrattata fuit tota offuscatio celi,
- 15 Atque mattina suas fecerat matura facendas,
Et iam post prandium bevendi¹¹ advenerit ora,
Sindicus ecce venit paucis sociatus amicis
In piazza solito Dominorum nomine dicta,
Et sine suspectis intravit forte bottegam
- 20 Dominici, qui vendit aquas. Hinc inde caffetum
Rosolinumque bibens ciera cortesius aperta
Denarios squaquarare suis gaudebat amicis.
Ecce quod accedit sbirorum trista canaia
Sindico, et improprias illi dicendo parolas,
- 25 Protinus alzata bocca pistonis in altum
Impia plumbatas sboravit canna balottas,
Destenditque virum toto coramine sbuso.
Tunc pro rectoris miserando funere viso
Gridabant alij scholares:—Parcite amici!
- 30 Parcite schiopazis! Nobis concedite vitam!—
Atque fazzolettos stabant menando per auram.
Mostrabant blancas banderas undique; at illi
Truffones sbirri, briccones buzadazi,
Pessima et infamis fottuorum raza becorum,
- 35 Bestemiando deum celum sanctamque Mariam,
Ceperunt foras multas dare schioppettadazas.
Ut cum sussurum strepitumque recorder, adessum
Propter spaventum braghessis fazzo triacam.
Scholares fuggere viam: quis currere scalis,
- 40 Currere per cameras, quis sotto currere lecto
Ceperat; at sbiri cum multis archibusatis
De miseris illis magnum fecere macellum,
Ad tombam miserum Contem mittendo Cogolum.
Mors erat ante oculos—en disperata iuventus
- 45 Sbalzat tota foras iam de balconibus altis:
Precipitare duos scholares cernis abassum;
Unus illorum sibi rupit forte culatam

¹¹ I am not certain of having deciphered this word correctly.

- In medio cascando viam.¹² Tunc orrida stragges
 Mortis visa fuit: cum de balcone gridantem
 50 Don don martello don don campana sonetur,
 Archibusata foris de mundo substulit Nonum.
 Quis furor, o sbiri, que tanta licentia schioppi
 De gallantomenis tantum comittere sprezzum?
 Illius giorni clades quis funere tanto
 55 Esplicet aut lacrimis poterit sborare dolorem?
 Non ego plus parlo, nam tota piazza reclamationat
 —Boggia, salta foras! Impicca furca briccones!
 Impicca tristos! Impicca corda ribaldos!
 Numquam temporibus visa est tanta buzara nostris!—
 60 Scolares, ahi miserande straggis avanzum
 Post casum facti, magnum fecere ricorsum,
 Naufragij tabulas portando et undique rottas
 Principis ante pedes; et libertate petita
 Parlandi, in terram positis zenochibus inde
 65 Talia dixerunt:—Oh Serenissime Princeps,
 Intravenutum fuit unum grande malanum!
 Nos sumus imbelles scolares. Natio nostra
 Tota sub augusto Veneto manet ista comando,
 Obsequiosa tamen sed sfortunata iuventus.
 70 Nam postquam sbirri nostros odere sodales,
 Postquam nos tulimus dira de gente strapazzos,
 Postquam nos omnes iam perdonavimus istis,
 Postquam nos pacem vitamque petivimus illis,
 Postquam plus dedimus pro vita in munere soldos,
 75 Gens inimica dei—zafforum dira canaia—
 Quinque cameratas crudeli funere nostros
 Dissipavit jeri cause ratione sine ulla.
 Sindicus et noster ruptas in ventre budellas
 Spantazzatus habet mediis ut bestia stradis.
 80 Aere voltatis iacet alter ubique ballottis:
 Ille tirat susum, iacet alter semicopatium.
 Iamque Cogolus habet vicine rantega mortis.
 Barbara Tesifones maledictum gomitāt ignem.
 Oh dolor, urbs Padue pro nobis tota piangit.
 85 Lectores lacrimant, lacrimant pariterque fidelli.
 Universa ruit gens; de cantonibus urlat

¹² *In medio viam*: "in mezzo la via."

- Ecce moribundus, serratis undique portis,
 Bos totus: vacuas implet mugitibus auras.
 Eccelsi patres, terre pelagique patrones,
 90 Iustitiam petimus: tristos punite! Nec ultra!—
 Publica majestas, sentito namque fracasso,
 Consolare suos statuit pietosa fioles.
 Avogadorem spedivit protinus unum
 Grandem cavallerum veniat qui mittere pacem;
 95 Qui veniat subito grandem medicare magagnam
 Processumque cito faciat formare gaiardum.
 Ipse ego vidi illum cum magno currere squarzo
 Millibus armatis nec non cum mille carrozzis
 Inter equipaggios varios entrare per urbem.
 100 Per christum! Grandam faciebat corde pauram.
 Mitte, balorda, tuos, o gens paduana, timores;
 Queso, mitte viam! Noli trepidare d'avanzum.
 Ecce paradisi nobis venit angelus unus,¹⁸
 Justitie drettam qui portat vere balanzam;
 105 Qui proprio lagrimas sugabit tempore nostras;
 Qui nos sbirorum de schiavitudine guardat.
 Ille reparator Patavine est angelus urbis.
 Iamque per impleta popolazzo grande platea
 Rumor avanzabat, nec erat speranza quietis.
 110 Vocibus innumeris urbs universa criabat.
 Quacumque aspiceres per avantum perque dadriam,
 Undique pistollas pistones undique cargos
 Ac bombarderos vidisses undique in armis,
 Guardares foras mille arma cagantia lamas.
 115 Postea de veneto iam zonto iudice celo,
 Protinus assumptis totisque hinc inde baiardis,
 Ecce ritirata sbiragia tota d'accordum
 In propiis fuerat se nascondendo tuguriis.
 At princeps bramans illam sbrigare brigadam,
 120 Iusserat ut quisquam vadat se reddere vinctum
 Justitie ferris. At illa canaia diabli,
 Pulveris a schioppo sibi munitione parata,
 Principis excelsum nolens obedire comandum,
 Contra sovranum crestas alzare volebat,
 125 Tentando et proprio comittere principi guerram.

¹⁸ Playing on name of Anzolo Foscari, *avogador* and *consigliere*, born in 1679 and married in 1701 to Lucrezia Baraban (see Tassini, *l. c.*).

- Oh sbirri merde, bulli de furca battocchi,
 Razzaque de muli, nati de stercore porchi,
 De puttanarum grandarum ventre cagati!
 Vos ferre alzatam vultis cum principe cretam!
- 130 Da mihi, musa, tuum solamen dulce tuamque
 Venam sporze mihi, nam grandam mando corezzam!
 Arma virosque cano qui iam prigione serati
 Postquam fecerunt diversas buzerarias,
 Mostravere culum calatis turpiter alis.
- 135 Avogadoris nam maiestate copati,
 Postea binorum zornorum denique cursum,
 Quod fuga non illis, sed spes erat una crepandi,
 Deposito schioppo et aliis buzerantibus armis,
 Principis illius se rendidere comandis.
- 140 Inde quietatus cessavit in urbe sussurus,
 Et vantum tulit alta quies; ac tempore in uno
 Iustitia et pax se se basavere d'accordum.
 Ista senatoris fuit ingens gloria tanti,
 Languida qui assiduus nunquam sua membra repossat,
 Nocte dieque vigil grandem portando fatigam.
- 145 Astrea intantum solium formaverat altum
 Indignata reis. Ideo de crimine causas
 Scire volens illos fecit menare ribaldos.
 Doctus Apollo, comes Parnasi, marchio Pindi,
 Musarum chiaverinus, honos et gloria vatum,
- 150 Tu mihi confuso per poccum porrige aiutum,
 Dummodo iuditij fas est mihi scribere zornum.
 Ecce bariselus conducitur ante tribunal
 Paxbona (sic vulgum proprio cognomine dicit).
 Qualis erat vista non possum scribere tantum:
- 155 Armis sformitus¹⁴ non plus erat ille fogorum;
 Non plus grandezzam iam portans ante patronam;
 Non plus portabat schiopazos ante ganassam.
 Sed circumcinctus manibus pedibusque catenis,
 Ille caminibat furborum more latronum.
- 160 Oh quanti, oh quanti strada hinc et inde zirabant,
 Illos guardando velluti spettacoli sbiros,
 Gridando—Impica, impica de calce barones—.
 Postea Martialis venit, non ille poeta,
 Sed qui sbirorum fuerat capotruppa suorum.

¹⁴ Fornitus?

- 165 Turbidus andabat ferratis ille manetis,
Istorum cordis ut bestia granda ligatus,
Cum curiosorum magna post terga caterva.
Quisquis ibi aspiceret balconibus atque terrestribus
Milliones homines curiosamente videret,
170 Milliones donnas magna cum voce ciantes,
Milliones pueros per stratas undique euntes.
Hic ait:—Oh tristi briccones! Furca, dov'estu?—
Lector, sum straccus: non possum mittere stampe
Horrendum¹⁵ totum qui fitur in urbe fracassum,
175 Quando foras veniunt alii velut agmina sbiri,
Ut se constimant comissaque crimina sborent.
Quot gentes, quot testas cernis, quot popolazzum
Respicias intorum stradas? Ego resto balordus
Quomodo produxit tantam natura canaiam.
180 Sed magis ac semper mihi plus maraveia crescit
Grandia cum sento petegolecia plebis
Que ruit involtam varias sparlando parolas.
Quellus ait:—Spero piantatas cernere furcas!—
Hic ait:—A maggio, si Battestinus adesset!—
185 Suggestit alter:—Ego nunc essem boia libenter!—
—Furca—ait ille alter—sbirris non sufficit una!—
Ille—Capuriones, inquit,—iugulare bisognat!—
Is repetit:—Totos opus est strozzare ribaldos!—
Omnia non seguito caso stomacatus amaro;
190 Nec cogioneram plus ultra, candide lector:
Stago seccare tibi. Mihi dicere sufficit istud:
Quod si non fitur de tristis grande macellum,
Hec gens infamis totam male buzerat urbem.

FINE

GLOSSARY¹⁶

archibusatis 41: *archibugiate*.

baiardis (assumptis) 116: *reggimento civile* from *balia* (?)

balottas 26, balottis 80: *palle* (cf. Folengo).

barisellus 152: *bargello*.

¹⁵ MS. *horrendam*.

¹⁶ Specially interesting words are printed in blackfaced type. I omit such commoner Venetian spellings as *sonto*, *sorno* (*giunto*, *giorno*), *sbiragia* (*sbiroglia*), etc.

- basavere 142: *baciare*.
 battocchi (de furca) 126: Ven. locution = *scampaforche*.
 Bos 88: University of Padua.
 braghessis 38: *brache*, Ven. *braghesse*.
 bulli 126: *bravi*, Ven. *bulo*.
 buzara 59: *canagliata*, trivial Ven. *buzera*.
 buzaradazi 33: *mascalzone*, Ven. *buzaradazzo*.
 buzerarias 133: *canagliata*, old Ven. *buzeraria*.
 buzerat 193, buzerantibus 138: *minchionare*, from Ven. *buzerar*.
 caffetum 20: *caffè*.
 cagantia (lamas) 114: *cacare* = *mostrare di sotto*.
 capotruppa 164: *caporione*.
 capuriones 187: (in bad sense) *bravo*, *sgherro*.
 cargos 112: *carico*, Ven. *cargo*.
 caponara 11: *capponiera*, Ven. *caponera*.
 cogioneram 190: fut. of *coglionare*, Ven. *cogionar*.
 constimant 176: *confessare*, from Ven. *stima* "declaration."
 copati 135: *accoppiati*, Ven. *copar*.
 coramine 27: *viscere*; Folengo has *corammo*.
 corezzam 131: *coreggia*.
 chieverinus (Musarum) 149: trivial epithet of Apollo.
 drettam 104: *retta*, Ven. *dretto*.
 dadriam 111: *di dietro*, Ven. *da drio*.
 estu 172: *sei tu*.
 fioles 92: *figliuolo*, Ven. *fioli*, *fioi*.
 fogorum (arma) 155: *armi da fuoco*.
 formare solium 145: *seder in tribunale*.
 fottuorum 34: *fottuti*, Ven. *fotuo*.
 ganassam 157: *ganascia*. *Portare ante g.* in the act of aiming.
 gomitat 83: *vomitare*, Ven. *gomitar*.
 intravenutum fuit 66: the tense is curious.
 involtam 182: *intorno*.
 maggio (a maggio) 184: *buono*. The old It. locution *andare a maggio* seems to have escaped lexicographers. I don't know who Battestinus is.
 manetis 165: *manette*.
 mazzet 2: *ammazzare*.
 pistonis 25, 112: *archibugio di lunga canna*.

popolazzum 177: *plebaglia*, Ven. *popolazzo*.

rantega 82: *rantolo*, Ven. *rantego*.

rendidere 139: *rendettero*, *resero*.

sborare 55, sboravit 26, sborent 176: Folengo glosses humorously: *melius quam manifestare*; also *gettar fuori con forza*. Trivial Ven. *sborar*.

sbrigare (brigadam) 119: obvious word play here; *spacciare*.

sbuso 27: Ven. for *bucato*, *forato*.

schiopazis 30, 157: *schioppo* with Ven. augmentative *-azzo*.

schioppetadazas 36: *archibugiata*, *schioppetata* with Ven. augmentative.

semicopatium 81: *mezzo accoppato*; see *copatum*.

smerdulla (nulla fuit) 12: Folengo has *smerdolare*, "*idest purgare*"; here however in the pure Venetian sense of *ismerdare* "*bruttare di merda*," the prefix having no privative force. Trans. "There was no trouble."

spantazzatus 79: *sparto*; Ven. has *spantegar* (cf. also Folengo). Derivative of *spandere*.

spaventas 3: intransitive, in the old It. sense.

sporze 131: *porgi*, Ven. *sporzer*.

squaquarare 22: trivial Ven. for *cacare*; *spendere*.

squarzo 97: Ven. for *sfarzo*, *pompa*.

stago 191: a rare construction: *cessare*.

sugabit 105: *asciugare*, Ven. *sugar*.

terrestris 168: *terrazza*.

tirat susum 81: Ven. locution for *piagnucolare*.

triacam 38: this particular extension of meaning is new to me. It is a pity that Boerio was such an insufferable Puritan in his dictionary.

truffones 33: old It. *truffone*, Ven. *trufon*.

DANTE AND THE FRENCH INFLUENCE ON THE MARQUÉS DE SANTILLANA

IN a study that we recently made of the relations of some French poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the Marqués de Santillana,¹ we came to the conclusion that, in spite of a certain French atmosphere which pervades many of the Spanish compositions, the amount of *positive* evidence of influence was surprisingly small. We attributed this to the increasing popularity in Spain of the great Italian masters and particularly to Santillana's profound admiration for Dante. We noted also that Mr. F. B. Luquiens had found the same dearth of evidence where influence should, perhaps, have been even more strongly felt, viz., in the case of the *Roman de la Rose* and of the Cancionero poetry.² A new champion has now come forward, Mr. C. R. Post, who in an interesting volume³ seeks to establish the continuity of the development of Spanish allegory and its dependence upon French rather than Italian models.

"Gallic influence," he says (chap. III, p. 19), "combines itself inextricably with the native elements and becomes an inseparable part of the fabric. It is the woof woven across the indigenous warp." This expresses very felicitously the opinion that we ourselves had come to, that the French elements in Spanish literature were so completely absorbed as to make their exact identification impossible in most cases. It is, indeed, this very opinion which leads us to challenge any attempt to magnify the influence of French literature, after it had practically ceased to be an active force in Spain, by minimizing that of Dante. "Sanvisenti's belief in a preponderance of the Dantesque over the Gallic influence, is untenable," Mr. Post says (III, 19-20), "and Farinelli's stress upon northern sources is needed as a corrective." "Farinelli stresses more than any previous writer the French elements in Spanish allegory, yet

¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, VI, 60-86.

² *Rom. Forsch.*, vol. XX.

³ *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory*, Harvard Studies IV (1915).

fails to shake himself absolutely free of the time-hallowed tradition. . . . we must break completely with this long line of criticism" (IV, 28-29). We do not consider that the evidence Mr. Post has to offer is sufficiently conclusive to justify the taking of so radical a step, and we now propose to examine some of the older views in so far as they concern the Marqués de Santillana—the most important poet of the reign of John the Second—as well as Mr. Post's own reasons for wishing to displace them.

"In tutti tempi Dante parlerà a pochi eletti," Mr. Farinelli says,⁴ and one of the elect the Marqués undoubtedly was. Santillana's intense admiration for the Florentine is amply attested: "Fué muy gran Dantista," dice di lui il catalano Jaime Ferrer de Blanes" (p. 41). "I contemporanei lo sapevano intinto più che altri mai di scienza dantesca"; and Mr. Farinelli names some of these contemporaries: Gomez Manrique, Pulgar, Diego de Burgos. Speaking of Enrique de Villena's translation of the *Divine Comedy*, presented by him to Santillana, Farinelli says (pp. 39-40):

Eppure la sua versione . . . fu al marchese di Santillana, allor trentenne, di utile incitamento allo studio della *Commedia*, destò amore, ammirazione viva e sincera per l'altissimo poeta, apparsogli qual portento di senno e di dottrina, non inferiore alle glorie maggiori del Lazio e della Grecia. *Allegorie, sogni, visioni, trionfi, dialoghi morali, quanto egli scrive . . . tutto porta l'impronta della lettura di Dante.* . . . È un po' la veste esteriore del poema che lo colpisce e lo seduce, ed è quella ch'egli cerca di imitare, di adattare alle proprie concezioni. Ma Dante restò tra i suoi poeti e dottori favoriti, finchè visse.

After mentioning works of Dante found in the Marqués' library, Mr. Farinelli makes the statement:

"Le opere stesse del Santillana ci attestano come questi libri non poltrissero negli scaffali ma *fossero materia viva, fonte d'ispirazione*" (p. 42) . . . Si immaginerà anche lui, non una, ma più volte, un peregrinaggio a scopo morale . . . involgerà i concetti suoi nel comodissimo quadro della visione, del sogno; si smarrirà nella selva selvaggia . . . e ne uscirà dopo l'incontro coll'una, coll'altra delle fiere, e col provvidenziale soccorso di una guida, etc. (pp. 47-61).

⁴ "Dante in Ispagna," *Giorn. Stor.*, Suppl. 8 (1905).

The correctness and sanity of these views are well borne out by the evidence, as we shall show presently.

According to Mr. Schiff's scholarly volume, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*⁵—of which, strangely enough, there is no mention in Mr. Post's index—the Marqués possessed the following manuscripts of Dante's works:

1. The Divine Comedy in Italian.
2. The Convivio, Canzoniere, Canzoni della Vita Nuova.
3. The Divine Comedy, Italian and Castilian translation by don Enrique de Villena; Lo Credo, etc.
4. A Castilian translation of Pietro Alighieri's Commentary to the Divine Comedy.
5. A Castilian translation of Benvenuto da Imola's Latin Commentary to the Inferno.
6. A Castilian translation of Benvenuto da Imola's Latin Commentary to the Purgatorio.

Mr. Schiff's intimate acquaintance with Santillana's possible sources lends especial authority to the following excerpts from his introduction:

Enrique de Villena ouvrit au futur Marquis de Santillane la voie nouvelle de l'allégorie dantesque (pl. xxvii) . . . "Imperial a fait naître en lui le désir de connaître la *Divine Comédie* et c'est encore à Enrique de Villena que le Marquis s'adresse pour lui demander une version castillane du livre de Dante. Cette traduction littérale, écrite en marge d'un texte italien pour faciliter à Iñigo Lopez l'entendement de l'original, lui fut remise en 1427. Dès lors, il se détourna de la France et *l'imitation directe, indirecte ou voilée, souvent consciente et parfois aussi involontaire de Dante le tient et le garde sa vie durant*. Il s'attache à ce modèle parceque, confusément, il en a compris la grandeur, l'importance et la nouveauté (p. lxxiii) . . . Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza subit l'influence de Dante au point de lui emprunter même des choses qu'il aurait pu trouver ailleurs et qui sont de toutes les littératures médiévales. Les allégories du *Roman de la Rose*, les procédés du *Libro de Alexandre*, et sans doute aussi des autres œuvres de Berceo, Iñigo Lopez les avait remarqués, mais il a retrouvé ces vieilles choses rajeunies, modifiées, souvent transformées par le génie de Dante et il en a été comme hypnotisé (p. lxxvi) . . . *Il s'est imprégné de la Divine Comédie plus que de tout autre livre* . . . Sans qu'il y ait

⁵ Paris, 1905 (Bibl. Ecole Hautes Etudes).

piagiat dans des compositions telles que *El Infierno*; la *Coronación de Mossen Jordí*; la *Comedieta*, presque tout y est dantesque, l'atmosphère, le ton, l'attitude des personnages . . . etc. . . . Ses Sonetos . . . dérivent de la *Vie nouvelle* autant que des sonnets de Pétrarque, et c'est sans doute à Dante encore que le Marquis a emprunté la coutume des petits sommaires explicatifs, dont il fait précéder les dix-sept premiers sonnets (p. lxxvi).

Mr. Schiff then takes up the testimony of Santillana's contemporaries: Gomez Manrique's

Vos que emendays las obras del Dante
E otras mas altas sabeys componer

and Diego de Burgos, who makes Dante acknowledge that he is known only through the Marqués!

Que si tengo fama, si soy conocido,
Es por qu'el quiso mis obras mirar.

In view of this evidence which attests sufficiently, through the testimony of his contemporaries and of his library, the fact of Santillana's intellectual dependence upon Dante—a dependence that will be confirmed by the examination of the poems themselves—Mr. Post's opinion (p. 205-6) that "Several passages point to a greater interest in Petrarch and Boccaccio," seems peculiarly untenable; especially when not better supported than by this fact, that "he [Santillana] mentions Petrarch's visit to Robert of Naples and Boccaccio's praise of John of Cyprus, but has naught to say of the courts with which Dante had any connection. Petrarch he calls "poet laureate" and Boccaccio "excellent poet and distinguished orator," terms of honor that he does not accord to their more illustrious predecessor."—Is it not also begging the question, when trying to establish the theory of the dependence of Spanish Allegory upon French rather than Italian models, to state categorically (p. 30) that "The chief reason for the unimportance of Dantesque influence in Spain is that an allegorical tradition existed already, largely dependent upon France, and so securely founded that it could not be altered. (?) The *Divine Comedy* could not affect its structure organically but could only supply decorative elements."—Is not this the very point at issue? Most helpful likewise in support of the same theory is Mr. Post's interpretation of Santillana's state-

ment that he prefers the French to the Italians "*en el guardar del arte*," as meaning "*allegorical framework*" (p. 203). We refer again to Farinelli's assertion that the Marqués was often attracted by the *form* of the poem, which form he sought to imitate and adapt to his own conceptions; and to Schiff's declaration (p. 5) that Santillana, in his free use of Dantesque material, borrowed directly from the *Divine Comedy* even elements that belong to the common stock of medieval literatures but that were transformed by his genius. The reason for this is obvious: French literature, which for centuries had supplied spirit and substance to Spain, revealed in the fourteenth century, with a complicated system of metrics, a distressing lack of ideas. As we have already said, the old material had been completely assimilated and the contemporary literature had nothing to offer.

Mr. Post contends (p. 30-1) that "The difficulty of Dante's allegory discouraged real imitation; . . . they (the Spanish poets) perhaps found Dante's lyrics of the *dolce stil nuovo*, when not too obscure, at least too lofty and intangible in conception, and they were overawed by the *Divine Comedy*." The objection seems to arise from a confusion between form and spirit. Evidently, the inability to comprehend fully delicate conceptions or subtleties can be no check to concrete imitation; and may not that very loftiness have been rather a source of inspiration to a man of Santillana's intellect? Mr. Post, consequently, assumes a heavy burden of proof when, setting aside all this evidence, he seeks French prototypes for what Santillana had found—and in far more acceptable form—in Dante. The burden of proof becomes still heavier if the question be raised of the probability of the Marqués having even known these alleged prototypes. The importance of the *Prohemio* in showing Santillana's literary *acquaintance* and *preference* cannot be denied; we must assume that the French authors named in section XI are those that he knew best and admired the most. The evidence of his library, although incomplete, has also much positive value. When, therefore, we realize how very slight was the Marqués' indebtedness to his favorite French poets,⁶ we wonder how he could have borrowed from authors that he either did not know or did not deem worthy of mention!—Thus (p. 60), Mr. Post sees a precedent for

⁶ ROM. REV., VI, 60-86.

the *Defunción de Enrique de Villena*, in Watriquet de Couvin's *Dit du Connestable de France*; the *Coronación de Mossén Jordí* is "connected with the Court of Love" (p. 58) for no better reason than the existence of works such as the *Lay Amoureux* of Eustache Deschamps, the *Paradys d'Amours* and the *Joli Buisson de Jonece* of Jean Froissart, the anonymous *Echecs Amoureux*, and Jean de Condé's *Messe des Oisiaus*. No evidence is offered to justify this claim of influence, but curiously enough Mr. Post refutes it himself by suggesting (pp. 57-58) a far more likely source for the poem: the actual coronation of Ferdinand as King of Aragon and the pageantry connected therewith.

The importance in the development of Mr. Post's thesis of his discussion of Santillana's *Infierno de los Enamorados* (Chap. VII, "The Erotic Hell"), will justify a detailed study. "The French element is of much greater import than the Dantesque title and the general scheme at first sight would imply," he says; "the basic conception was derived, not from the *Infierno*, but from northern tradition" (p. 77). The grounds for this assertion are that, while "Dante's first *cantica* presents the suffering of every kind of evil-doer, certain French *dits* concern themselves, like the *Infierno de los Enamorados*, with the sufferings of lovers only, as a kind of antithesis to the delights of the Courts of Love. The germs of such compositions are to be discerned in the 'Deserts' of Love outlined by Eustache Deschamps." We have already pointed out the fallacy of such arguments, and need only recall, further, that Dante's first *cantica* contains the celebrated fifth canto, devoted to passion-swept lovers—a far more brilliant and likely model (Santillana's paraphrases of it we shall note presently) than Deschamps' *Lay du Desert d'Amours*.

Baudouin de Condé's *Prison d'Amours* is presented (p. 79) as another of the supposed prototypes of the *Infierno*, because

"Santillana's place of torment is also *en un castillo espantoso*, and he has been brought to the spot by the operation of Fortune. The analogy now becomes more exact. Both places are deadly dark; and the condemned men are wounded to the heart, in Baudouin by small serpents, in the Marquis by some unmentioned means."

The "more exact" analogy is, then, that in both poems a place of

punishment is dark and that unhappy lovers suffer from the heart! The one significant detail in the French poem, the "wounding of the heart by small serpents," is strangely lacking in the alleged imitation.

Mr. Post now discusses in detail a poem which he considers one of the chief sources of Santillana's *Infierno*: Achille Caulier's *Hospital d'Amours* (note, p. 299): "The Marquis ascribes it to Chartier, and, at any rate, the analogy to the *Infierno de los Enamorados* would be as great, no matter who was its composer" (p. 80). It presents "the significant coincidence of a work mentioned by Santillana in his *Proemio* and closely analogous to one of his own compositions." We shall attempt to refute this opinion by showing that, of the similarities adduced by Mr. Post as evidence of the correlation of the *Hospital d'Amours* with the *Infierno de los Enamorados*, there are none of determining character, none so striking as to necessitate the acceptance of one source to the exclusion of another. They are all to be found in the *Divine Comedy* as well, and the presence in the *Infierno* of other traits, unmistakably Dantesque, which do not occur in the *Hospital* argues strongly against a French origin.

We must regard as a basic error the statement on p. 203 of the chapter on the "Great Masters of the XVth Century": "From France, he (*the Marqués*) mentions the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, Pierre Michault, Oton de Granson and Alain Chartier, *all of whom he imitated*." We have already referred, at the beginning of this paper, to the practically negative results of Mr. Luquiens' study of the influence of the *Roman de la Rose*, and to our own meager finding of a few traces of Machaut's influence, fewer yet of Chartier's and almost none of Granson and Caulier. Mr. Post adds: "Of the works of Alain Chartier that he names, two, the *Livre des Quatre Dames* and the *Hospital d'Amours*, are particularly important in the formation of Santillana's methods." He presents his case as follows (pp. 80 ss.) (we add incidental comments, in italics):

"In both, (the *Infierno de los Enamorados* and the *Hospital d'Amours*) the author finds himself astray in a gruesome waste [*a not unusual medieval setting*] from which the Spaniard is taken by Hippolytus (*who serves as guide*) to behold the hell of Love and

the Frenchman the pleasanter hospital of Love [*We note as a fundamental difference, the absence of any guide: the Frenchman strays off and is not conducted*], in the midst of which, however, there is a region corresponding to the Spanish *Infierno*. The preliminary valley in the French, moreover, itself resembling somewhat an amorous hell and especially the already mentioned Deserts of Despair—exhibits some analogies to Santillana. It is full of loving suicides: those who, like Phyllis, have hanged themselves, swing from trees; beneath, in streams of water are drowned unfortunates, among whom, of course, he discovers Hero and Leander; at another side appear the bloody swords of those who, with Pyramus and Thisbe, have stabbed themselves; and lastly those who, like Dido, have burned themselves and are consumed by a great fire. All these ancient worthies are seen by Santillana [*as well as numerous other worthies, traditional examples of unfortunate lovers, all likewise mentioned by Dante*]. After the Frenchman has been cured at the hospital, he chances upon the cemetery of Love, where he beholds the graves of Tristan and Lancelot, of *maint Roy, maint Duc, aussi maint Conte*. . . . *Cheualiers, Clercz, et Escuyers*, and especially of Alain Chartier. He then strays into a hideous valley and encounters the corpses of false lovers—*tous ceulx qu'amours excommunie*—where the verbal parallelism is so marked as to suggest a direct imitation. He mentions by name the bodies of Jason, Demophon, Aeneas, Narcissus, Chartier's mistress, "La Belle Dame Sans Mercy" and Briseis. In the *Hospital d'Amours*, then, the reference by name to so many renowned lovers, seen in the Valley of Despair, the cemetery, and the ditch of the excommunicate, affords the last step of transition to Santillana's poem."

We do not accept the *Hospital d'Amours* as an important source of the *Infierno de los Enamorados*, because, as stated above, of (a) the inconclusive nature of the similarities presented, and (b) the existence of a more satisfactory prototype. These similarities become indeed fairly insignificant when considered with proper perspective.

The introduction of the *Hospital* is characteristically French: The poet is one of a noble company celebrating the New Year with songs and dances. He seeks out his lady, makes bold to declare his love, and, after having received "En petit de motz grant refuz," departs in despair. All night gloomy thoughts occupy his mind, and he becomes as one rapt in a vision.—Thus far, not the slightest analogy with Santillana, who with this excellent French model

at hand, deliberately chooses an Italian setting!—Day dreaming, the poet finds himself walking on a thorny road called “Trop dure response,” which he is unable to leave, though suffering greatly.—Here, the Marqués neglects the opportunity to imitate the allegory of his alleged prototype, preferring to have the poet transported by Fortune.—Further on, down a vale, the unhappy lover discovers a great desert, “Montjoye de doulours”; the earth is wet with tears; from every tree swing the corpses of suicides, among them Philix who hanged herself because of Demophon’s faithlessness. . . . The first trace of similarity with the *Infierno de los Enamorados* now appears.

This poem is composed of sixty-eight stanzas; in the *fifty-third* Santillana, enumerating sufferers seen in a place of torment, mentions “Fylis e Demoffon,” among many others not found in the *Hospital*! What might be a determining trait, the hanging from trees, is absent. The “similarity” thus amounts to the obvious mention of a proverbially unfortunate lover! We note a reference to Dante himself in stanza 55.—Under trees, the French poet sees rivers and ditches filled up completely with the bodies of drowned lovers; Hero and Leander, naturally, are included—Santillana mentions them also, in stanza 54, but in a different situation. The fount of Narcissus likewise was near. It was he who died because of “Equo.” The poet notices swords rusty with human blood, one used by Piramus and Thisbe among them. There was also a huge fire, with burnt human logs.

Of the lovers enumerated, Aeneas, Dido, Piramus, Thisbe occur in the *Infierno*, characterized, however, not by any of the striking details found in the French poem, but by the *Dantesque* trait of being consumed by a flame which issues from their wounded breast.

This desert was strange indeed, and contrary to nature. There, it rained only tears, the wind was of sighs and the thunder of loud cries. Such is the place the despairing poet sees, and where he might wish to dwell, were it not that *Esperance* and *Sapience* come to his aid. After a revulsion of feeling, he finds himself transported to “ung saint lieu,” the *Hospital d’Amours*. This is described allegorically and at some length. After being cured, the poet comes upon the “cimitiere d’Amours,” where repose true and loyal lovers; epitaphs reveal their names—Tristan, Lancelot du Lac, Alain Chartier. He passes out by a postern gate and enters a sad

vale, with a horrible abyss containing the corpses, unburied and rotting in wind and rain, of *false* lovers, "Tous ceulx qu'Amours excommunie," "where," remarks Mr. Post, "the verbal parallelism is so marked as to suggest a direct imitation." The only parallelism we find is that the two authors, having occasion to refer to unfortunate lovers, agree in the naming of a few of the best known classical examples. The determining traits, striking descriptions, are quite unlike. The two poems are structurally different. The *Hospital d'Amours* is composed of: (1) an introduction telling of the poet's rebuff by his lady; (2) the despair resulting: thoughts of suicide allegorically represented; (3) the rescue by Hope and Wisdom and restoration to sanity through the ministration of various allegorical personages, Espoir, Courtoisie, Pitié, etc., doctor and nurses of the Hospital of Love; (4) completion of the cure by a visit to the cemetery of true lovers, in contrast to that of false lovers. The relapse which the poet suffers serves merely to introduce a long dissertation on the woes of lovers by the "Dieu d'Amours," ending in a final cure. No such scheme can be traced in the *Infierno de los Enamorados*, where the *guide* plays an important part and where all sufferers from love are included in *one* category—in contrast to the French poem, which separates the faithful from the false and classifies the lovers according to the mode of their death. We find, therefore, nothing to indicate that the *Hospital* was "particularly important in the formation of Santillana's methods."

The influence of the *Divine Comedy* on the *Infierno de los Enamorados* begins with the title. Stanza I shows the poet transported by Fortune to a dense forest, upon a mountain—Dante's "*selva oscura*," "*al piè d'un colle*." Stanza III speaks of the "*selvaje peligroso*"—the "*selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte*" of the *Divine Comedy*. Stanza VI mentions the wild beasts encountered: lions, serpents, tigers, dragons—corresponding to (*Inferno* I) "*la lonza, il leone, la lupa*." Stanza VIII contains the simile, "Come nave combatida / De los adversarios vientos," which reflects *Purgatorio*, XXXII, 116, "Come nave in fortuna, / Vinta dall' onda," and also, perhaps, *Inferno*, V, 29-30, "come fa mar per tempesta, / Se da contrari venti è combattuto."⁶ The simile in Stanza IX,"

⁶ A. Farinelli, *op. cit.*, 54-6: "Nessuno de' critici ricorda come il marchese fosse particolarmente colpito dalle similitudini di Dante . . . e tentasse di ripro-

"É como el falcon, que mira
 La tierra mas despoblada
 É la fambre alli lo tira
 Por façer cierta volada,"

reproduces *Purg.*, XIX, 64:

Quale il falcon, che prima al pié si mira,
 Indi si volge al grido, e si protende
 Per lo disio del pasto che la il tira;

in stanza XII the poet sees "andar por el bosque / Un puerco, que se ladrava." This animal is described further; in stanza XVI his eyes seemed to shoot burning rays, "É fuertamente turbava / Á quien menos lo temía." Dante's *lupa* produces a similar effect, cf. *Inf.*, I, 52-3, "Questa mi porse tanto di gravezza / Con la paura che uscia di sua vista." While under the stress of the great fear caused by the beast, the poet sees approaching a person who proves to be *Ypólito*, his future guide (stanza XIX). Dante likewise meets Virgil under much the same circumstances (*Inf.*, I, 61). The sequence of imitation is now interrupted by a detailed description of the stranger's beauty (st. XX), his apparel (XXI), his dog (XXII), his hunting (XXIII-XXVI). As they meet, the stranger salutes and greets the poet, who courteously replies: "De la que vos amades / Vos dé Dios, si desseades / Plaçer é buen gualardon." *Ypólito* answers (XXVII) that he does not care for Love, and in explanation tells his story (XXXI-XXXIV). He then asks the poet who he is and whence and why he came to that spot where are found those who "Por castidat padesçieron" (XXXVI). The poet is subject to Venus and was transported hither by Fortune, that he may see "Que amar es desesperança" (XXXVIII) (a purpose which is quite the reverse from that of the *Hospital*), but this will prove useless, for he is wholly given to Love. *Ypólito* invites him (XL) to come and see; cf. *Inf.*, I, 112, where Virgil offers to guide Dante. Several Dantesque touches follow. The two start—the poet somewhat timidly—on (XLII) "El camino peligroso / Por un valle como bruno / Espesso mucho e fragoso," and they arrive at

durne alcune ne' versi. . . . Il canto di' Francesca gli offre il paragone delle colombe . . . nelle *Canonización de Vicente Ferrer* lo riproduce, mutando le colombe in aquile. (Obras 307) . . ."

"un castillo espantoso," surrounded by a ditch of fire, which emits a concealing screen of smoke. Ypólito reassures the poet by telling him that the flame cannot harm him (XLIV-XLVI)

. . . "Quel fermoso infante
me dixo: mirad seguro;
ca non es flama quemante."

Just as Virgil encourages Dante, *Inf.*, VIII, 108:

E quel signor, che li m'avea menato,
Mi disse: "Non temer; che" . . .

This is one of many similar traits occurring in the *Divine Comedy*, but the direct inspiration for the passage evidently comes from the *Purgatorio*, XXVII, 16-45. Ypólito continues (XLVI):

"É toda vil covardía
Conviene que desechemos
É yo seré vuestra guía
Fasta tanta que lleguemos
Al logar, do, fallarémos
La desconsolada gente . . . ,

paraphrasing *Inferno*, 14:

Qui sì convien lasciare ogni sospetto
Ogni vilita convien che qui sia morta
Noi siam venuto al luogo ov' io t'ho detto
Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose

"La desconsolada gente" is reminiscent of *Inf.*, III, 3, la perduta gente" of the inscription over the entrance to the *Inferno* (III, 1-9), and the idea is developed in the next stanza (XLVII) where the poet also sees an inscription carved over the door. Ypólito again encourages his timid charge with the assurance that the punishment is not applicable to the body (XLIX) (*Purg.*, XXVII). The next stanza (L) contains a simile:

E bien como el que por yerro
De crimen es condepnado.
A muerte . . .

which Mr. Farinelli (p. 56) derives from *Purgatorio*, XX, 128:

" . . . onde mi prese un gelo / Qual prender suol colui che a morte vada." The two now enter the "triste logar eterno," and, after an invocation, the poet enumerates at length the victims of Love who dwell there (LIII–LVI), mentioning over thirty. This completeness, as we have already said, negatives any claim of similarity based on the evidence of names. No one writing on unfortunate lovers could well avoid those on the Marqués' list. Stanza LV contains a reference to Francesca, "la donna di Ravenna / De quien fabló el Florentino"; cf. *Inf.*, V, 97–99. On the left breast of each sufferer was a wound from which issued a consuming flame; *Inf.*, XVI, 10, of the *Divine Comedy* mentions flames issuing from wounded limbs. In *Purg.*, XXV, 136–9, the lustful are tormented by fire—The poet notices two, especially, who speak his own language, and he addresses them (LIX) "¡ O animas affanadas / Yo les dixe, que en España / Nasçistes, si non m'engaña La fabla, ó fuestes criadas!" So, Dante (*Inf.*, V, 80) exclaims "*O anime affanate*," and in *Inf.*, X, 25–6, he is recognized as a Tuscan by his speech. Cases of recognition are numerous in the *Divine Comedy*: *Inf.*, VI, 34, *Ciacco*; *Purg.*, VI, 72, Virgil speaks and is recognized as a fellow countryman by Sordello; *Purg.*, XXIII, 43, Dante recognizes Forese by his voice. Stanza LXII contains a paraphrase of *Inferno*, V, 121–3, "*Nessun maggior dolore . . .*

La mayor cuyta que aver
Puede ningun amador
Es membrarse del placer
En el tiempo del dolor;

and the next stanza (LXIII) continues on the same theme. One of the spirits now tells his name, Maçias, and sends the message to the world of the living that he was condemned for love. (LXIV):

"si fuers
al tu siglo transportado,
Digas que fuy condepnado . . ."

The instance of the poet being charged to deliver a message upon his return to the world occurs frequently in the *Divine Comedy*: etc. The poet answers Maçias (LXV):

"Tan espantable
Es el fecho abhominable,
Maçias, que me recuentas,
que tus esquivas tormentas
me façen llaga incurable,"

following the lines of *Inferno*, V, 116.

"Francesca, i tuoi martiri
A lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio "

as well as *Inf.*, VI, 58,

"Ciacco, il tuo affanno
Mi pesa sì, che a lagrimar m'invita.

The result of this investigation shows that the *Infierno de los Enamorados* is Dantesque (1) in title; (2) in general conception: the poet being taken by a guide to visit a place of torment especially reserved for lovers: Dante conducted by Virgil through the circle of *lussuria*; (3) in development, as evidenced by the fact that out of a total of 68 stanzas, 20 at least contain unmistakable imitations of the *Divine Comedy*. Mr. Post, however, disregards this evidence and concludes that "since these slight pilferings are inorganic, the form of the Erotic Hell lies under no debt whatsoever to the *Divine Comedy*" (p. 84). He prefers Petrarch and Boccaccio as models for Santillana (p. 81): "Fundamentally, indeed, the *Infierno* is more nearly related to the works of Boccaccio and Petrarch than to the *Divine Comedy*." Comparing the *Infierno* with the *Corbaccio*, he finds (p. 82) that "the details are significantly parallel. Each (poet) loses his way in a dire valley (*una montaña espessa?*) and is encountered by frightful beasts . . . the beasts in the Italian are transformed mortals . . . Boccaccio cannot advance for fear of the monsters . . . In both compositions lovers suffer (!): in the Spanish, from burning wounds; in the Italian, by metamorphosis into beasts. . . ." We fail to comprehend why Santillana—with his intense admiration for Dante—should have drawn from the *Corbaccio* traits originating in the *Divine Comedy*. The similarity between "burning wounds" and "metamorphosis into beasts," is not perfectly clear; nor the reason why certain details "are significantly

parallel" in one case (*Corbaccio, Inferno*) and only "slight pilferings" in another (*Divine Comedy, Inferno*). As for the similes in the *Infierno de los Enamorados*, the fact that three out of the eight are wholly Dantesque (stanzas VII, IX, L) and that a fourth stanza (XVI) contains Dantesque traits, should be sufficient refutation of the statement (p. 212) that "the marked increase in rhetorical adornment, producing eight distinct and elaborate similes in contrast to one in the *Sueño*, is to be traced as much to Petrarch, Boccaccio and the Classics as to Dante."

Mr. Post follows the same method in discussing the other works of the Marqués. In the *Sueño*, he sees, quite correctly, a paramount French influence, but refuses to recognize in Thiresías the guide, a descendant of Dante's Cato (*Purgatorio*). The framework of the *Triunphete de amor*" (209) he derives from the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus; from the poem of Peire Guilhem; from Eustache Deschamps' *Lay Amoureux*, leaving out of consideration the question of Santillana's acquaintance with these authors. He (p. 211) finds it "unnecessary to derive so famous a figure as *Galeot* from the Divine Comedy," with utter disregard of the Marqués' well known fondness for the passage where this character occurs. The "*Querella de Amor*" (214) is "compiled of Spanish extracts"—with a probable French introduction, we believe. (Cf. *Romanic Review*, VI, 1915; 72-4). The discussion of the "*Visión*" seeks to disprove the accepted theory⁸—which connects it with Dante's canzone, "*Tre Donne intorno al cor mi son venute*." (216): "The existence of Villasandino's poem makes derivation from Dante unnecessary," Mr. Post says, emphasizing again the question of *necessity* instead of that of *probability*; and he seems to forget that the matter at issue is chiefly the *setting* of the poem, when he adds that Villasandino "would probably have indulged in verbal reminiscences," had he imitated Dante. The mention of Froissart's *Prison Amoureuse* and Pierre Michaut's *Doctrinal de Cour*, composed after Santillana's death, does not appear to have any direct bearing on

⁸ Farinelli, *op. cit.*, 48-9: "L'Allegoria della bellissima e nobilissima canzone: 'Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute' già imitata in Ispagna, cred' io, da Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino in un suo allegorico 'desir' del 1407, ispira l'allegoria delle tre donne della *Visión*, simboleggianti le tre virtù: Firmeça Castidat, Lealtat." Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant.*, V, CXXXIV-V.

the discussion of the sources of the "*Visión*." Scarcely more convincing is the attempt to connect that poem with Alain Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*: "Alain Chartier, finding four ladies engaged in a rivalry as to who is the greatest sufferer from the respective misfortunes of their lovers at the battle of Agincourt, is unable to decide among them, and turns over the question to his mistress." The two works are fundamentally different: Alain Chartier's *Livre* is a love *debate* and not an allegory; the actors are real and living persons and not representations of virtues; there are four of them, not three; they are not near a fount nor weeping; but walking, lost in thought, when the poet meets them; finally, they are not referred to the poet's lady, so that they may "fallar Reposa e buen gasajado," but in order to obtain a decision on the question of their debate. Mr. Post nevertheless prefers this poem to Dante's *canzone*, as a prototype to the *Visión*, because of "important points of divergence" between the two latter:—"Italian *Drittura* and *Larghezza* bear no similarity to Spanish *Firmeza* and *Lealtat*"; true, but the two poems have in common, at least, that the ladies are three and represent allegorical characters.—Nor do we see any less divergence between these same *Firmeza*, *Lealtat* and *Castidat* and *Foy*, *Charité* and *Esperance*, of Chartier's *Consolation*, which Mr. Post accepts readily as a prototype. "With these analogues in mind," he adds, "it is impossible to believe in Dantesque derivation."—Is it not rather impossible not to believe in it? The statement (p. 218) that the exquisiteness of the *canzone*, Dante's picturesqueness of expression were "far removed from Santillana's reach" may be true; but imitation is not contingent on perfect appreciation, and we must distinguish between setting, structure, matter, and spirit.

The *Comedieta de Ponça*, we noted in a previous study, (*Romanic Review*, VI, p. 84) contains traces of Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames*, but too few to justify the acceptance of the French poem as its "fundamental source" (p. 223). The chief similarity is that, in both, a poet meets four ladies who converse with him. The way of meeting, the description of the ladies, the subject of conversation are entirely different. This slight resemblance occurs in a poem of 120 stanzas, which contains also reminiscences of Boethius, Dante and Machaut.

This study confirms the theory of the preponderance of the Dantesque over the Gallic influence, in Santillana's works. Much credit is due Mr. Post for emphasizing the French element, too long neglected. He errs, however, in exaggerating its importance in comparison with the Italian; for, where the two strains seem to run parallel and to offer a possible choice, the direct evidence points unmistakably to a Dantesque source.

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ROLAND 3220, 3220a

IN the inventory of the squadrons composing the grand army of Baligant, the first, says the poet of the *Roland*,—

La premiere est de cels de Butentrot,
Dont Judas fud qui dé traît a tort.

(verses 3220, 3220a)

The variants are noted in Stengel:¹ for Butentrot, Butintros V⁴, Boteroz CV⁷, Butancor PT, Val-Potentrot dR, van Botzenroit dK. For 3220a, which is lacking in OT, Dun Çudeo fo que deo traî a tors V⁴; qi fel estoit et oz (orz) Qi deu vendi mot fu muzarz et soz CV⁷; Judas i fu qui fist iceuls guier Qui traî deu ce ne pot il noier P.

About these two lines a great deal of discussion has centred. Their importance is fully recognized, but their interpretation is still far from agreed upon. In the first place, they have been adduced by many as evidence for determining the date of the *Roland*. The name Butentrot, it is argued, could not have been known to the poet until after the First Crusade, and therefore the *Roland* as we have it postdates the probable time of the first crusaders' return from the East, i. e., about 1098. This point is, I believe, very doubtful; but I do not purpose to discuss it at length. It is important to remember that not all the places cited by the poet in this Baligant episode are historical. Nearly forty peoples are named, about a third of which have been identified. Others are, so to say, in process of identification. But some are purely imaginary (as perhaps *Malpruse*) and some appear to be denominatives derived from characteristics of the tribes (as *Bruns*,). The whole passage (which has been suspected as not belonging to the original *Roland*) is a color passage; and if the poet includes Butentrot in his list it does not mean that he necessarily had a clear notion of where it was. He indicates the vastness of Baligant's army by having it composed of contingents from all the known heathen world. To this idea of vastness he adds the romantic note of strangeness. Very many of

¹ E. Stengel, *Das Altfranz. Rolandslied*, Leipzig, 1900.

the bona fide names must have been unfamiliar to all of his audience except the learned, and he was by no means bound to careful accuracy. The only requirement was that the names should *sound* foreign. Of course there had been travel between the East and West before the crusades, and the poet might have heard vaguely of Butentrot as a pagan city or locality. When he was counting over the companies of Baligant's host he recalled this name of Butentrot and used it.—On other grounds there is every reason to believe that the *Roland* as it stands now was *not* written before the first crusade; and so, when we discuss the identity of Butentrot, we are justified in assuming that the poet had some knowledge of the crusade. But the possibility, even though it does not amount to a probability, that the poet may have known, distinctly or vaguely, of a Butentrot before the first crusade is sufficient to refute those who use this name as proof that the *Roland* is later than 1095.²

Identification of Butentrot. Our first problem is the identification of Butentrot; and we shall be able to proceed more clearly if for the present we consider verse 3220 alone. Two places have been suggested, one in Cappadocia (which for convenience I shall refer to as Bc), the other in Epirus (which I shall call Be). Be is a city on the shore of the Adriatic just opposite the island of Corfù. In classical times it was called Buthroton or Buthrotum; the modern name is Butrinto, vulg. *Βούζιντρο*. In inscriptions the name appears as Butharoto, Boutrutos, Bouthrotos, Bothrentos, Bothrontos, Bothrenton, Bothrotos, Bouthrotos. Boëmund landed there in 1081. In 1153 it was mentioned by Edrisi as a populous trading town.³

Bc is generally identified with the Pylæ Ciliciæ, east of Eregli, the ancient Heraclea; it is the Couglac of the Armenians, the Cogulat or Cojulacium of the maps of the Rouperian princes, the Kulek-Boghaz of the Turks.⁴ For the history of this pass, see *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, I, pp. xx ff., where abundant citations are made, especially of the early writers. Bc is mentioned by Tudebodus, IV, ii, as Brotrenthrot or Botenthrot;⁵ by Raoul de Caen in his *Gesta Tancredi*, cap. xxxiv, as Butroti or

² This argument is practically that of Gautier in his later editions.

³ Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Buthroton*.

⁴ Cf. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien*, sect. V.

⁵ *Historiens Occidentaux*, III, 130.

Buteoti;⁶ by Guibert de Nogent in his *Gesta Dei per Francos*, XIII, as Botemthroth or Botentroh;⁷ by Baudy in his *Historia Jerosolimitana* as Botrentoh;⁸ and by Albert d'Aix, *Historiae Liber III*, cap. V, as Buotentrot.⁹ Guibert seems to indicate that Butentrot is the local vernacular name. The Byzantine name for the pass was taken from the ancient city of Podandos, about a day's march northwest of the Pylæ Ciliciæ proper.¹⁰ The passage in Albert is as follows:

"Duce vero sic gravi vulnere impedito, exercitu lentiori gressu subsequente, Tancredus, qui præcesserat et regiam viam tenebat versus maritima, prior Baldewino fratre Ducis, per valles [FG vallem] Buotentrot [B Butentrot, C Buotentrot, D Buotrenton, FG Buentren-ton] superatis rupibus, per portam quæ vocatur Judas, [FG dicitur Juda] ad civitatem quæ dicitur Tharsis, vulgari nomine Tursolt, descendit, quam etiam Turci, primates Solimanni, subjugatam cum turribus suis retinebant."

In his edition of Albert called *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum* (Helmstadt, 1584) Reineck has the following note on *Juda*: "Forsan Iulia: nam Tarsenses in honorem Iulij Caesaris urbem suam Iulopolim appellasse, Dion scriptum reliquit lib. 47" (p. 46).

Michel, in the glossary of his edition of the *Roland* (1837), proposed to identify Butentrot with Be. The same view was taken by Génin in 1850.¹¹ Gautier, in his quarto edition (1872), says that *perhaps* Butintrot is the city in Epirus. Müller's third edition (1878) declared for Bc (though he mentioned the *castellum desertum* of Brompton);¹² and Gautier in his seventh (1880) and subsequent

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 630.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 164.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 342.

¹⁰ Cf. *Hist. Occ.*, III, 630, note d, and *Doc. Armén.*, I, p. xxii, p. 30, note 5, p. 649, note 1. See also P. Meyer in *Romania*, 7 (1878), 435-7. Further variant spellings of Butentrot, showing that the name was unfamiliar, are given in the Index of vol. IV of the *Hist. Occ.*

¹¹ *La chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1850. Génin, by understanding "dont" of 3220a as "of whom," made a curious blunder. The later redactors of the poem, rajeunisseurs, he says, "font figurer parmi les Albanais Judas Iscariote; ils transforment ce Judas en un capitaine sarrasin, contemporain de Charlemagne, et, de peur qu'on ne s'y trompe, ils ont bien soin d'expliquer que c'est le même qui vendit Notre Sauveur." The mythopœic instinct, as one may see here, has not yet vanished from the human mind.

¹² See below, especially note 18.

editions, and since then practically all commentators, have adopted the identification with Bc. So far as the location of the two places is concerned there appears to be no antecedent probability on either side. If we assume the verse to have been written before the first crusade, we may suppose the name was made familiar by the troops of Robert Guiscard, who took Buthrotum in 1084; or by some early pilgrim to the Holy Land who passed through the Pylæ Ciliciæ.¹³ If, on the other hand, the verse was written after 1098, we may recall as testimony for Be that the company of Raymond of Toulouse followed the shore of the Adriatic through Dalmatia and Epirus, and joined the others (except Godfrey, who went through Bulgaria) in Macedonia; and for Bc not only the mention of Butentrot by the Latin historians of the crusade, but also the mention of it by 'Richard the Pilgrim' in the 12th century *Chanson d'Antioche*.¹⁴ But although both Be and Bc were known in the West when the *Roland* was composed, still in view of the facts that the form of the name in the *Roland* is closer to the forms of Bc than of Be, and that Bc would be better known because most of the crusaders passed through the Pylæ Ciliciæ and only a small number through Be, it is far more likely that the poet had Bc in mind when he wrote verse 3220. There is, moreover, a further point in favor of Bc which seems to have been overlooked. In the *Ruolandes Liet*, written between 1130 and 1140,¹⁵ Conrad wrote for Butentrot *Val-Potentrot*; whence it is clear that to him Butentrot was a valley, and therefore Bc, which is regularly called *vallis* by the Latin historians, and not Be, which lies on the bay of Butrinto.

We may therefore say with practical certainty that the Butentrot of *Roland* 3220 was Bc—the ancient Podandos, al-Bodhandon, in Cappadocia.

Verse 3220a. Verse 3220a introduces two new problems, the interrelationship of the early redactions of the *Roland*, and the association of Bc with Judas Iscariot. This verse appears in V⁴CV⁷P, but is lacking in OT. T is a very late MS. and may be left out of consideration here. O, written in the third quarter of the 12th cen-

¹³ There is, however, no proof that the early route went through the Pylæ Ciliciæ except an Itinerarium of A.D. 333.

¹⁴ Ed. P. Paris, Paris, 1848, vol. I, p. 166, v. 244.

¹⁵ Karl Bartsch, *Das Rolandslied*, Leipzig, 1874, p. xii. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III, 191.

tury, has been regarded by all editors as the most valuable text of the poem; but on the relative importance of the other MSS. scholars are by no means agreed. Of course this line is only one of a great many elements to be weighed in determining the relations of the early redactions, but its absence from O and its appearance in V⁴ and the rimed versions must be acknowledged to support the stemmas of Fassbender and Müller (in which the source of V⁴ is also the source of the rimed redactions), as against those of Gautier and Förster (in which V⁴ and O have a common parent derived directly from the archetype or original).¹⁶ One may say, whichever division of MSS. one prefers, that 3220a did exist in the original, and was omitted from O either by accident or for some reason unknown; but it is more natural to suppose it was not in the original, and that it was added sometime early in the 13th century. In behalf of this view two points may be urged, apart from the question of stemmas: first that all the MSS. which contain 3220a were written in the 13th century, and second that our only two versions of the *Roland* which antedate the 13th century (O and dR) do not contain it. Its absence from dR is, I think, very significant; for Conrad replaces the enthusiasm of the original for la douce France with a deeply religious spirit, and it is very improbable that if he had found a mention of Judas who betrayed our Lord in his Old French text he would have omitted it from his translation.

Moreover, 3220a gives Bc as the birthplace or home of Judas. Now the association of Judas and a valley of Cappadocia is *a priori* unlikely, and outside of the *Roland* it is recorded only in the passage already quoted: "per portam quæ vocatur Judas," from the history of Albert d' Aix, written in the second quarter of the 12th century. In the Introduction of the *Documents Arméniens* (p. xx, n. 4) the Pylæ Ciliciæ is called the "porta Judæ des historiens latins des croisades"; but I cannot find a reference to Judas in any of these historians except Albert. In the vernacular B is mentioned

¹⁶ For Fassbender cf. Franz Scholle, *Der Stammbaum der altfranzösischen und altnordischen Überlieferungen des Rolandslieds*, Berlin, 1889. For Gautier, cf. 7th edition, 1880, p. 405. For Müller and Förster, cf. *Z. f. rom. Philol.*, 2 (1878), 163-4. Stengel, moreover, groups O and V⁴ together, and believes "dass n, w, h und d von O, V⁴ und der Reimredaktion selbständige Archetypen des Originals voraussetzen." (Vollmöller's *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der rom. Philol.*, 11 (1907), I, 202.)

twice; first in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and second in *Aliscans*.¹⁷ The author of the *Chanson* had been present on the first crusade, but made no reference to Judas in connexion with Bc. The B in *Aliscans* is doubtful. As it stands it may mean either Be or Bc, but the variants of the MSS. are considerable, and we must see in the reference only additional evidence of the confusion of the name (perhaps a contamination with the *Roland*) and note that there is no suggestion of Judas.

Judas and Be. The tradition that Buthrotum was the home of Judas can be traced back to the 12th century. The first mention of it I have found is in the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, formerly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough. Philip II of France, on his way home from the East in 1191, visited the island of Cuverfu (Corfù). "Et antequam perventum fuerit ex toto ad exitum illius insulæ, invenitur ex parte Romanicæ castellum desertum quod dicitur Butentrost secus littus maris, in quo Judas proditor natus fuit."¹⁸ Gratiano Giorgi suggests that the origin of this tradition is to be found in the name, *Σκαριά*, of a place or district (*χωρίον*) in Corfù, whose inhabitants are called *Σκαριώται* and believe themselves descendants of the arch-traitor.¹⁹ It is possible, moreover, that the name *Σκαριά* itself arose from the identification by the ancients of Corfù with the Homeric Land of the Phæacians, *Σχερίη*. But however the tradition may have originated, it took firm hold on the popular mind, and has maintained itself down to the present. Besides its preservation in the English Latin chroniclers of the 12th to the 14th centuries, it appears in a humanistic version of the usual mediæval *vita Judæ proditoris* found in two MSS. of the 13th century and one of the

¹⁷ Ed. Wienbeck, Hartnacke, Rasch, Halle, 1903, v. 5783. Michel, in his glossary, referred to this verse in MS. 6985 of Guillaume d'Orange.

¹⁸ Rolls edition, London, 1867, II, 204-5. This passage was copied by Roger of Hoveden, Rolls edition, III, 165; and by John of Brompton, ed. Roger Twysden, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, London, 1652, vol. I, col. 1219.

¹⁹ ΓΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΖΩΡΖΗΣ Διθέτης Λευκάδος. ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΙΑ τοῦ καθ. Καρόλου Χοφφ, μετεξεχθεῖσα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Α. Ῥωμανοῦ. "Ὁ μῦθος οὗτος . . . προήλθε βεβαίως ἐκ τῆς ὀνομασίας τοῦ Κερκυραϊκοῦ χωρίου Σκαριά, οὗτινος οἱ κάτοικοι, Σκαριώται καλούμενοι, ἀποήτως δοξάζουσιν εἶσθαι, ὡς ἠκούσαμεν, βεβαίως ἕνεκα τῆς ὁμωνυμίας, ὅτι τῶν ἐαυτῶν συγχωρικῶν ἀπῆρξεν εἰς ὃν περίφημος ἐκεῖνος προδότης," p. 120, n. 2 (end). How ancient the name *Σκαριά* is Giorgi does not say, but since he refers to Roger of Hoveden as recording the tradition, he implies that it is as old as the 12th century.

14th.²⁰ The *cistella* in which Judas was set adrift, “actus . . . tot fluctibus fertur unius diei et noctis spacio, ab Ioppa civitate Galilee transvectus per tot maria usque ad horam Illirici maris usque Bitradum et ad introitum pervenit, ad hanc famosam alitricem Jude traditoris.” This Bitradum (spelt in the MSS. Bithor, Bithroci) is certainly Be. While none of the other versions of the Judas legend connects Buthrotum with Judas, this one does so in no uncertain manner, not only making it the place where Judas was rescued from exposure on the sea (in the other versions the island of “Scarioth”) but adding the supererogatory *famosa alitrix Jude traditoris*, which implies that when the author wrote, sometime early in the 13th century, Be had a well known and established reputation as the childhood home of the false apostle.

Moreover, Pietro della Valle, in a letter of August 23, 1614,²¹ records a similar tradition.

“Per curiosità, mi fù mostrato anche vn’ huomo, che i paesani affermano esser del sangue di Giuda traditore; se ben’ egli lo nega, e deue hauer ragione: e mi diceuano, che dentro all’ isola [Corfù] si vede ancora la villa, e la casa di Giuda, che adesso è posseduta da costui: cose tutte fauolose; man non sò per quel cagione, di fama inueterata in quella terra: perche mi ricordo, che vn seruidor vecchio di casa mia, che hauendo militato nell’ armata nauale al tempo di Pio Quinto [1556–72], era stato con quella occasione in Corfù, mi contaua pur d’ hauere iui vdito, trouarsi colà gente della stirpe di Giuda & anche la casa di lui.”

Finally, this tradition reappears in the fifth section, ‘Ischariots Haus,’ of Heinrich Zschokke’s *Der Creole*. Zschokke says in a prefatory letter, dated Aarau, 1829, that he based the incidents of his story on notes and anecdotes which he had from a certain Heinrich Stauffacher, who was in Corfù in 1808. Two of a party of travellers set out to view the island on foot, and in an olive grove meet an old beggar who points out to them Judas’s house. The Englishman, Sir Down, looks astonished and says, “Was that noble

²⁰ The thirteenth century MSS. are British Museum, Additional 15404, and Reims 1275. The fourteenth century MS. is Douai 847. This version was published from the Reims MS. by Professor E. K. Rand in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, Boston, 1913, pp. 308–12. See also my article on *The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot* in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, Sept., 1916.

²¹ *Viaggi*, Seconda Impressione, Roma, 1662, vol. I, p. 4.

fellow, then, a countryman of yours? And did he live here before or after he hanged himself?"—"Nobody knows," replied the credulous beggar, "but that is his house, and whenever anyone carries a stone away, it always comes back to its place."²²

Judas and Bc: origin of the error. How, we may ask, did the association of Judas and Bc, which is recorded only in Albert d'Aix and *Roland* 3220a, come about? How else than from a confusion of Be (with which as early as the 12th century Judas was traditionally associated) and Bc (with which and Judas there is no reason for supposing the slightest connexion)? Albert d'Aix had never been to the Holy Land. He says on several occasions that he got his information largely from letters sent home by crusaders, and from oral tales and reports of those who had returned. He seems to have eschewed documentary information when it was accessible. Moreover, his sense of chronology is deficient, and his narrative, though often adorned with circumstantial details, is generally naïve and frequently inexact. In a word he has none of the characteristics of a scientific historian.²³ Nothing is more likely than that, in one of the lapses from accuracy to which he was accustomed, he should confuse the Butentrot, Butintros, Buotrenton, Butroti, etc., in Cappadocia with the Bothrentos, Butharoto, Bouthrotos, etc., in Epirus, and attribute to the former Judas's known association with the latter. Perhaps, in fact, the only B that Albert knew about was Be.²⁴

Or, on the other hand, since some of the crusaders knew of both Bc and Be and on their return would have reported tales or anecdotes of both, the traditional connexion of Judas and Buthrotum in Epirus may well have brought about a transference of the tradition to the *other* Buthrotum, i. e., Bc, even before the time Albert wrote; and thus the confusion may have been his only by adoption. But whether the association of Judas and Bc originated with Albert d'Aix, as we may reasonably suppose in view of what we know of his mental habits, or did not, we may be certain that it rests on a confusion of

²² Creizenach, *PBB* II, 2, p. 196, n. 1, referred to the work of Giorgi, who mentioned Roger of Hoveden, John of Brompton, Pietro della Valle, and Zschokke.

²³ Cf. *Hist. Occ.*, IV, p. xxiii.

²⁴ It should be observed that this error of which we accuse Albert d'Aix is not so great nor so serious as that which we must lay at the door of a modern, scholarly commentator. See note 11.

Bc with Be. The well established Corfiote tradition springing probably from the similarity of *Σκαπύ* (and *Σχεπλή*?) with the Biblical Iscariot was early connected with Be on the mainland just opposite the island, probably by someone who thought Be was situated on the island. To this initial confusion was added, still in the 12th century, either by Albert or his source, the association of Judas and Bc.

Conclusion. Now, as for the explanation of verses 3220 and 3220a of the *Roland*, we reach the following conclusions. Butentrot in 3220 is certainly Bc. If 3220a belongs to the original text (though for some reason omitted by O), the association of Judas and Bc is based on a knowledge of Albert d'Aix, or on his traditional source. If, on the other hand, as seems more likely, since it is not in any 12th century version and is in all the 13th century redactions, 3220a is a 13th century addition to the *Roland*, then we may conclude *either* that the early 13th century redactor who added this line was acquainted with Albert (or his source); *or*—as is equally plausible—that this redactor, being aware of the association of Judas and Be, and perhaps not knowing Bc at all, took the B of 3220 for Be. In this last event the “*porta quæ vocatur Judas*” is an isolated phenomenon, and having no support but Albert is the more likely to be his own error; or we may adopt the emendation of Reineck.

Tavernier, who is concerned mainly to show that the *Roland* was written after the first crusade, poses three questions relative to these verses.²⁵ (1) Did the poet and Albert have the same geographical reminiscence independently, from some oral source? (2) Is 3220a a proof that the poet had Albert before him? (3) Is 3220a a proof that V⁴CV⁷P do not represent the original text of the poem? To the first question he answers: possible but hardly probable. To the second: that there are other grounds for believing the contrary. To the third: that it would break with the critical tradition which the editions of Gautier and Stengel seem to have established. To the first question we must reverse Tavernier's answer; for unless it can be shown clearly by other instances that the *Roland* poet was acquainted with Albert's work, it is more probable that he drew on one of the many oral sources open to both him and Albert than on Albert alone. The problem is one of balancing probabilities; but the im-

²⁵ Wilhelm Tavernier, *Zur Vorgeschichte der altfranzösischen Rolandslieder*, Berlin, 1903, note 324, pp. 164 ff.

portant point is that the poet *could* have known of Butentrot without Albert. On the second question I am strongly inclined to agree with Tavernier; for it is quite as natural to suppose that the redactor who added 3220a made the same error as Albert independently, as that he copied from Albert; and it is even more natural to suppose that he understood Butentrot as Be and thus inserted the line: "This was the home of Judas, who shamefully betrayed God." To Tavernier's third question and his answer we may reply not only that 3220a alone obviously proves nothing for the interrelationship of the redactions, but also that the critical tradition of Gautier and Stengel is by no means established. All the evidence we possess goes to show that 3220a is probably a 13th century addition to the original text; and if *that* is true, it counts as one factor to be considered in deducing the stemma, and only one. But as such it is an interesting and important corroboration of M. Bédier's belief in the value of O as against V⁴ and the rimed redactions.²⁸

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²⁸ *Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1912, III, 461 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE BOOKS OF REFERENCE OF AN ADVERSARY OF MAROT

DURING the controversy between Clément Marot and François Sagon,¹ Marot published only two poems in his own defense—the well-known *Valet de Marot contre Sagon*,² and a *rondeau* which runs:

Qu'on maine aux champs ce coquardeau,
Lequel gaste (quant il compose)
Raison, mesure, et texte, et glose,
Soit en balade, ou en rondeau:
Il n'a cervelle ne cerveau,
C'est pourquoy si hault crier ose:
Qu'on maine aux champs ce coquardeau.

S'il veult rien faire de nouveau,
Qu'il œuvre hardiment en prose
(J'entends s'il y sçait quelque chose),
Car en ryme ce n'est qu'ung veau
Qu'on maine aux champs.³

This *rondeau* was directed against the anonymous author of the obscene *Grande généalogie de Frippelippes, composée par ung jeune poète champestre*,⁴ one of the many poems written in reply to the *Valet de Marot contre Sagon*.

Despite the mediocrity of the *Grande généalogie* as a whole, it contains in a few interesting lines a brief catalogue of authors and books popular during the early Renaissance in France. In an effort

¹ Cf. E. Voizard, *De Disputatione inter Marotum et Sagontum*, 1885; Paul Bonnefon, *Le Différend de Marot et de Sagon*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, pp. 103 and 259.

² *Les Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Guiffrey edition, III, 565.

³ *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Lenglet Dufresnoy edition, IV, 444.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 424. M. Bonnefon conjectures that either Charles Huet or Mathieu de Vaucelles wrote the *Grande généalogie*.

to belittle Marot, the *jeune poète champêtre* says that he has never heard of Frippelippes before, and that, wishing to learn something about Frippelippes' ancestry, he has consulted a number of books:

Donc me suys mis à révoluer mes livres,
 Lesquelz ne sont de science délivres :
 J'ay regardé cayers et grandz volumes,
 Et du depuis certes nous ne voulusmes,
 Mon clerc et moy, cesser de fueilleter
 Pour regarder qui voulut alaicter,
 Dont descendit et d'où print origine
 Ledit Frippet, bon souillart de cuisine.
 Je vy premier les livres de latin,
 Comme la Bible, après saint Augustin,
 Puis saint Jherosme, aussi Bonaventure,
 Et saint Gregoire auquel bonne adventure
 Dieu envoya : mais de tous ces gens-là
 Aucun d'iceulx ung seul mot n'en parla.
 Je veiz après Tite Live et Plutarque,
 Les Triumpes maistre François Petrarque,⁶
 Tucides, de Vincent les histoires,⁷
 Et de Guaguin,⁸ qui sont assez notoires,
 De Josephus, d'Anthoine Sabellique,⁹
 Et de Cesar en sa guerre gallique :
 Je vy Justin, Lucan, Pline, Suetonne,
 Qui n'ont escript de Frippet, dont m'estonne :
 Mais quant je vins à voir Perseforest
 Alors je mys ma plumette en arrest,
 Car j'en trouvay la source primitive :
 Incontinent ma plume fut active
 D'escripre tout. Puis Huon de Bordeaux
 Me recompta d'aulcun de ses hardeaux :
 Après rencontre, ainsi que m'esbattoys,

⁶ Petrarch's *Trionfi* was translated into French as early as 1514 by Georges de La Forge.

⁷ Vincent de Beauvais (born about 1190, died about 1264), author of the encyclopaedic *Speculum majus*.

⁸ Robert Gaguin (1433-1501), author of *De Origine et Gestis Francorum Compendium*.

⁹ Marcantonio Coccio, called Sabellicus (1436-1506), a learned Italian, author, among other works, of a history of Venice and of a general history from the creation of the world down.

Merlin, Giglan, et Gyron le courtoys,⁹
Pentagruel,¹⁰ Esopet,¹¹ Mandeville¹²

This list of authors and works gives a good idea of the kind of literature that appealed to the public of the time. In 1537, the date of the poem, the chief tendencies of the Renaissance had not yet become so clearly defined that readers were willing to sacrifice the writings of the Middle Ages for the more progressive writings of the new era; hence the curious mingling, by the young campestral poet, of works that hark back to the past with works that point to the future. The list comprises: Greek and Roman writers, mainly historians; the Bible; patristic literature; a mediaeval encyclopaedia; mediaeval compendiums of history; marvelous travels; fables; a *chanson de geste*; romances of adventure; an allegorical conception of human life; Italian humanism; and the many-sided work of Maître Alcofribas Nasier. It is clear that the author of the *Grande généalogie*, like Vincent de Beauvais, was a devourer of books, *librorum helluo*.

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⁹ The romances, *Perceforest*, *Merlin*, etc., and the epic, *Huon de Bordeaux*, were extremely popular in France in the sixteenth century. Compare the list of heroes of romances given by Rabelais in *Pantagruel*, ii, 30; also the list in the *ballade* accompanying the *Légende joyeuse Maître Pierre Faifou*, published in 1532.

¹⁰ One of the earliest references to *Pantagruel*, which was probably first printed at the end of 1532.

¹¹ *Esopet* or *Isopet*, the name of various mediaeval collections of fables, the most famous of which is that of Marie de France.

¹² *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, of the fourteenth century. It will be observed that information relating to Frippelippes' forbears is found only in works the reliability of which is questionable.

A PROGNOSTICATION BY NOSTRADAMUS IN AN UN-
PUBLISHED LETTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY¹

THIS letter, written when Richelieu was striving "to ruin the Huguenot party," contains, in addition to an inedited prognostication by Nostradamus, references to the siege of La Rochelle and to the lawless conditions existing in Paris. The author, Justinien Croppet, was, at the time the letter was written, "écuyer, seigneur d'Irigny, conseiller du Roi, maître des ports, ponts et passages du gouvernement de Lyonnais." In 1656 he was "échevin" of the city of Lyons. The letter, addressed to Monsieur de Pomay, "conseiller du Roi et trésorier général de ses finances à Lyon," follows:

Monsieur,

Le peu de nouvelles que nous recevons de la cour faict que je ne vous escriis pas ainsi que j'avois commencé. Je vous envoye ce qui est imprimé de la descente de l'armée navalle;² par la lecture vous jugerez ce qu'il en peut estre et que vous en croirez.

Le bruit a couru hyer soir que le Roy estoit dedans La Rochelle,³ mais ce matin ceste nouvelle n'a pas continué. J'estime qu'elle estoit sur l'espérance et sur la conjecture que l'on print certaine d'une pro-

¹ Municipal Archives of Lyons, register AA-97.

² At the end of 1627, fleets of France, England, and Spain were before La Rochelle. Croppet is probably referring to the troops sent by Louis XIII to drive the English under the Duke of Buckingham from the Ile de Ré (November, 1627).

³ Louis XIII arrived at La Rochelle on October 10, 1627, and remained there until February 4, 1628. The Huguenots in La Rochelle did not capitulate until October 28, 1628.

⁴ Michel de Notredame, called Nostradamus (1503-1566), was born at Saint-Remy, in Provence. His fame rests upon his *Centuries*, enigmatic prophecies in rimed quatrains, the first series of which was published at Lyons in 1555. Catherine de' Medici, who had a fondness for charlatans, called him to court, and honored him in many ways. A typical example of the "centuries" follows:

Le gros airain, qui les heures ordonne,
Sur le trépas du tyran cassera;
Pleurs, plaintes et cris, eaux, glace, pain ne donne,
V. S. C., paix, l'armée passera.

This quatrain, say the commentators of Nostradamus, refers to the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. "Le gros airain" is the bell of Saint-Germain l'Auxer-

nostication ou centurie qu'on dit estre de Nostradamus,⁴ qui est en ces quatre vers :

L'an tournoyant trois fois sept et puis six
(qui est 1627),⁵
L'un des Capetz baisera la pucelle
(aprochera La Rochelle, dicte pucelle ains
qu'elle ne peut estre prise) ;
Encor au bout se réduira la belle
A son nepveu marqué de sept et six
(qui est XIII, Louis XIII).

Ce pendant que l'on faict la guerre delà, l'on tue les conseillers à Paris. Avant hyer le sieur Saverise, conseiller au Parlement, marié à la fille du président Lotin, et luy parent du comte de Saint-Pault, ayant joué l'aprèsdinée chez le sieur Florette avec d'autres conseillers et le sieur Moranger, fust ramené par l'un des sieurs dans un carrosse jusques à sa porte où, ayant mis pied à terre et heurtant, pria ces messieurs de s'en aller. En mesme instant un homme à cheval sur un meschant cliquet luy a donné un coup de pistolet dans l'estomac du gros d'une pome d'où il est mort à l'heure mesme. L'on ne sçait qui a faict le coup. Tous les jours on rompt, on pend force voleurs, et si on ne peut mettre ordre aux volleries qui se font toutes les nuits. Avec tout cela le mal ne diminue point, et le temps le fera plus tost augmenter que diminuer. Voilà ce que je puis vous escrire pour le présent et vous assurer que je suis

Vostre très humble serviteur,
CROPPET.

A Paris, ce 17 décembre 1627.

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rois; "le trépas du tyran" is the death of Coligny; "Pleurs, plaintes et cris" are self-explanatory; "eaux, glace," recall the severe winter and "pain ne donne" the famine that followed the massacre; "V. S. C." means "vieux sang coulera"; "l'armée passera" predicts the passing of the Spanish army.

⁵ The words in parentheses are Croppet's comments on Nostradamus's prophecy.

ASSUMIR OR *Á* SUMIR IN BERCEO'S *SACRIFICIO*, QUATRAIN 285?

IN the editions of Sánchez and Janer of Spanish poetry anterior to the fifteenth century, lines *cd* of quatrain 285 read as follows:

Todos avian el cuerpo de Christo rescebir,
Esto cada dia lo aviam *assumir*.

Lanchetas, in his *Gramática y Vocabulario de las Obras de Berceo*, states that *assumir* is equivalent in meaning to *sumir* or *rescebir*.

I wish to suggest the reading *á sumir* for *assumir* in this passage.

I. The only known manuscript of the *Sacrificio de la Missa* ends at stanza 250. Our verses come from Sánchez, who took them from a manuscript now unavailable. But by studying the stanzas preceding, which appear in a paleographic edition by Antonio Solalinde, Madrid, 1913, we deduce that the manuscript form *assumir* could represent *á sumir* as well as the compound *assumir*.

(1) We find frequent combination of the preposition *á* with the word following: *atodos*, *apocco*, *arezar*, *aessos*. Thus the scribe would write *asumir* for *a sumir*.

(2) An intervocalic *s* was commonly written *ss*: *pessar*, *possada*, *essa*, *assi*. Hence *á sumir* might well appear as *assumir* in the manuscript, and be retained in this form by editors. We find no other examples of this phenomenon in the *Sacrificio*, but in the *Poema del Cid*, verses 2691 and 2694, we have *assinestro* for *a siniestro*, and in 1522 *essus* for *e sus*. Frequent occurrence of the doubling of the *s* of *se* in enclitic position is to be noted: *tórnasse*, *apartávasse*, *celébrasse*, *fincasse*.

II. Two other passages in the *Sacrificio* show *sumir* in the meaning required by our citation (I know of no occurrence of *assumir* as a simple verb anywhere in Berceo):

E ganaron la missa toda astal *somir*, *Sac.*, 51.
Desque la paz es tomada et el cuerpo *sumido*,
Torna *a* *qu* pueblo el preste revestido, *Sac.*, 292.

III. The dictionaries give ample support for the use of *sumir* in connection with the celebration of the mass. No dictionary available mentions *assumir* as a possible equivalent.

The Royal Academy's *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* of 1739 says of *sumir*:

en el sentido recto, que es tomar, no tiene uso en nuestra lengua sino es hablando del Sacrificio de la Missa que suele decirse *sumir* el sanguis por tomarle o consumir.

The *Diccionario de Terreros*, Madrid, 1793, says *sumir* is used when "hablando del sanguis de la Eucaristía." Gaspar y Roig and Salvá give the same evidence as the Academy's dictionary. The Spanish-English dictionaries also note this special use of *sumir*, e. g., those of Thomas Conolly, Neuman and Barretti, Velásquez, etc.

IV. The fact that *aver* was used with pure infinitive object in line *c* evidently made the editors feel that there was no need of the preposition *á* in line *d* in the same locution. Yet in contemporary use *á* was omitted on an average only once out of every 21 occurrences of *aver* with dependent infinitive. That is to say, summing up the evidence of the *Cid*, of all of Berceo's poems, and of the *Libro de Alixandre*, I find 420 cases of *á* used against 21 of *á* omitted. The preposition accordingly was at this time felt as a part of the locution. It could be omitted, however, if the omission was found to be necessary in order to satisfy the metrical requirements of a given verse (which in the "cuaderna vía" consisted of two hemistichs, each with the sixth syllable accented, with or without one or two unaccented syllables following). If thus omitted the case may be regarded as a survival of the earlier use, which in another form gave the Romance future.

Absorption of the preposition *á* by a final *-a* preceding, or by an initial *a-* following, has been suggested as an explanation of the occasional omission of the preposition. This principle, however, could have operated in only half of the total number of omissions. In the 21 cases where *á* is omitted in the poems cited above, there are 11 cases where absorption might have occurred, leaving 10 cases unexplained. Of the 11 cases of possible absorption, there are 4 in which there may be confusion of a simple verb and of a compound one with initial *a*—such as the case under immediate discussion.

Against the principle of absorption, we find that progressive or regressive hiatus with *á* is permitted in about 45 cases with *aver*. It seems evident that the poet felt no great aversion to hiatus with *á* in this locution.

I conclude, therefore, that though the preposition *á* was at this time felt as part of the *aver* construction, it could be omitted in accordance with the earlier use if such omission was necessary for the metrical correctness of a given verse, that hiatus with *á* cannot be considered as the determining principle in the omission of the preposition in the *aver* locution, and finally that *assumir* should be read *á sumir* in the lines of Berceo cited above.

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ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF OLD SPANISH Ç AND FINAL Z

MODERN Ladino makes no distinction between ç and s, both of which are transcribed by a ץ (samech) and z and intervocalic s, both rendered by a ז (zain). Wherefore it is quite impossible to draw any conclusions for the O. Spanish pronunciation of ç and z, on the basis of their modern Ladino spellings and pronunciations. We possess, however, some valuable collections of Hebrew texts, belonging to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, as well as some Ladino-Spanish texts¹ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that have a positive value for the student of O. Spanish phonology. The Hebrew texts are mostly of a legal character, and contain many Spanish proper nouns. Since these proper nouns occur very often, transcribed by means of the same Hebrew letters, it is legitimate to assume that these transcriptions are fundamentally phonetic, and represent the real Spanish pronunciation of the time. The Ladino-Spanish texts not only abound in proper nouns, but contain also several Hebrew prayers transcribed with Latin characters.²

Cuervo in his *Antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas*, discussing the value of the Judaeo-Spanish testimony for the study of the O. Spanish pronunciation of ç and z, says: "La transcripción Castellana de los nombres hebreos es menos concluyente, acaso porque se seguía un sistema más general no ideado especialmente para

¹ Under Ladino-Spanish texts, I understand Judaeo-Spanish works in Latin characters.

² Following are the texts that I used for this article:

J. Loeb, *Liste nominative des juifs de Barcelone en 1392*, *Revue des études juives*, vol. 4, pp. 52 ff.

J. Loeb, *Actes de ventes hébreux*, *ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 111 ff.

F. Fita, *Juderia de Segovia, Documentos inéditos, 1389*, *Boll. de la Real academia de Historia*, vols. 9 and 10.

Documents sur les juifs catalans aux XI, XII, XIII siècles, *Revue des études juives*, vols. LXVIII-II.

Orden de los cinco Tahanet, Venice, 1623.

Orden de los oraciones cotidianas, Amsterdam, 1719.

³ *Revue Hispanique*, vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

el Castellano. Así en la biblia de Ferrara (1553) la צ (tsade) y la ז (zain) se representan ambas con z: zeboath, zion zizith, (num. 15, 38-9) baal-zebul, zebulum, zilpha, zerubabel, pero ם (samech) está siempre transcrita con s: seba, sabta, sedom. En el "Orden de los oraciones de mes con los ayunos del solo y congregacion y pascuas (Amsterdam, 5397-1637) se lee ceboath, cyon, cicith." Now, if Cuervo's statement, as to the transcription of the Hebrew ז (zain) and צ (tsade) in Spanish, is correct, his conclusions or deductions are not quite so. For, if the Jews transcribed their ז (zain) and צ (tsade) by a z that was for the plain reason that z had both values in Spanish itself. The very fact that צבאור, for instance, was transcribed now as ceboath, now as zeboath proves it, namely, that ç and z in certain positions, in the initial, in this case, had the same value. Furthermore, if z was used for both ז (zain) and צ (tsade) because z had both values, ç was never used for ז (zain*) which proves that ç never had the voiced dz value. So that, the Hebrew transcriptions referred to by Cuervo are by no means "menos concluyente," but are, on the contrary, important and instructive. The importance of these transcriptions increases when added to the Hebrew transcriptions of Spanish words:⁵ the testimony becomes almost conclusive.

Following are two lists of words, I, Hebrew words transcribed with Spanish characters, II, Spanish words transcribed with Hebrew characters.

I

(Hebrew words, Spanish characters)

צִיּוֹן, zion, cion, tsion.

צִיצִית, zizith, cicith, tsitsith.

הָאָרֶץ, aarez, harez.

וְנַעֲרָצָה, venariçah. (Note that in the intervocalic position ç not z is used.)

צָדִיק, zadic, tsadic, sadic. (In 18 century texts, when ç was in process of becoming a pure sibilant.)

*I, at least, could not find it so transcribed.

⁵ Cuervo did not concern himself with the study of mediaeval Hebrew documents composed in Spain.

צבאות, zeboath, ceboath, zeuoth.

בעאת, veçoth, vezoth.

ארצם, arssejem.

מצבר, meçaveja, messaveja.*

יוסף, Iuçef.

יצחק, çag, zag. (That çag is for יצחק can be seen from the following signature in a document of 13.13: Yo don çag, fijo de don todros, and in Hebrew,

יצחק בר טודרוס)

צורף, çoref.

הצדקה, açadaka.

צלפה, zilpha.

פרץ, Perez.

II

(Spanish words, Hebrew characters)

סיד, Cid.

ברצלנה, Barcelona.

גודריץ, Gutierrez.

גונצליץ, González.

פרננדיץ, Fernandez.

פילם, Peloz.

מוניאץ מוניאם, Munioz.

סירץ, terz. (Une close par laquelle un débiteur insolvable s'engageait à accepter la peine de la prison. Revue des études juives, vol. X, pp. 111. ff.)

פלנציה, Palencia.

קורטים, Cortez.

גונצלים, González.

פונץ, Ponce.

* The very frequent use of j, along with h and g, for Hebrew ח (chet), strong aspirate, is curious, because it shows that at the end of the seventeenth century the modern Castilian j had already taken the place of the old Spanish palatal ñ. The Jews of Amsterdam kept in close relations with Spain and evidently noticed this phonological change.

דולסא, Dolça.

פֶּרנאנרִיץ, Fernandez.

גֶּרָאסִיאַן, Gracian.

HEBREW (ZAIN) TRANSCRIBED BY Z AND DZ.

עֶזְרָח, Azdra, adzra.

אֶלִיעֶזֶר, A latzar, aladzar.

בֶּרֶזֶל, Bardzlay, Barzalay.

מֶזֻזוֹת, mezuzoth.

זֶרֻבָּבֶל, Zerubabel.⁷

As they stand, these lists prove first, that the Hebrew ד and ז⁸ sounded somewhat like ts; second, that they were transcribed in Spanish now by ç now by z. This fact accounts more for the O. Spanish pronunciation of ç and z, than the vague statements of the grammarians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *util y breve institution*, for instance, compares the ç sound to that of s and z.

"Pronunciase pues ç con una cerilla debaxo puncto, o, medio circulo, mas asperamente que la s, y mas delicadamente que si fuese z. Christobal de Casas, differentiating the c(a, o, u) from the c(e, i, y) says: La c con la a, o, u, suena como en Toscano; mas con la e, i, suena como allà la z con qualquier vocal, o como la t con la i sucediendole vocal."⁹

More important are, however, the facts that the Hebrew documents rarely use a ך for the transcription of an initial or final z, and that the Ladino-Spanish texts use indifferently, in the initial and final positions, ç and z to render the Hebrew ז. These transcriptions prove definitely that, in the initial and final positions, z and ç sounded alike, and were pronounced somewhat like ts; and that in the intervocalic position z was pronounced differently from ç.

⁷ The list of words could be increased; I picked out the most characteristic ones, and, in general, those that occur most often in our transcriptions.

⁸ There was much written on the pronunciation of the Hebrew ד in the middle ages. One thing is pretty clear: it was not a pure sibilant in Spain. Whenever the Jews had to transcribe a pure s sound they used the ש, Castilla, קשטיליא. Moreover, if both sounds, ç and s occurred in one word, ד and ש were used respectively, sencillo, שנסיליו, relaciones, רילאסיאנש.

⁹ *Revue Hispanique*, vol. II, pp. 20 ff.

Professor J. D. M. Ford was already aware of these phonological phenomena, though he stated them with some hesitation. "It is possible," he said, in his *Old Spanish Sibilants*,¹⁰ "to go yet a step further and say that not only was *z* employed as a graphic substitute for *ç*, i. e., with the value *ts*, at the end of a syllable if a consonant followed, and at the end of a word, but that even the *z* which by virtue of its origin should be voiced became voiceless at the end of a word, while it remained voiced in plurals, derivatives, and other forms in which it was medial. According to all appearances, Old Spanish seems to have unvoiced consonant sounds in the final positions. . . . The final *z* should have meant the *ts* sound, and appears to have occasionally had this voiceless value indicated by such spellings as *faz*,^o *diz*, *plaz*, mentioned by Baist (*Ztsch. f. Rom. Philol.*, VII, 170). . . . Proof well nigh conclusive is furnished by the rhyme test applied to the verses of Berceo and of the Libro de Alexandre. . . . Both the universally admitted works of Berceo and the Alexandre are careful to keep the various sibilants apart in their rhymes, yet here, seemingly, *z* = *dz* is rhymed with *z* = *ts*. . . . It is, therefore, anything but certain that Horning's theory of a voiceless pronunciation for final *z* (*Lat. c.*, pp. 95 ff.) can be dismissed as untenable." I quoted the whole passage because the facts referred to by Professor Ford, are, in my opinion, conclusive; added to the Ladino testimony they are final.

Meyer-Lübke, overestimating, the value of the Poema de José, is reluctant to admit it and rejects Horning's theory: "On peut rejeter directement l'hypothèse que Horning, *Lat. c.* présente avec hésitation, à savoir que *z* est devenu sourd en a. espagnol" (M. Lübke, *Gr.* I, pp. 509). Meyer-Lübke is evidently of the opinion that *z* did not unvoice in old Spanish, even when it was final. The unvoicing and even dropping of final consonants, in syntactical combinations, for instance, is a general Romance phenomenon. Why we should not admit it in the case of Old Spanish is a mystery. It is incumbent on Meyer-Lübke alone to solve it.

The Judaeo-Spanish testimony for the pronunciation of O. Spanish intervocalic *z* is almost valueless. I say almost, because the Hebrew transcription of the intervocalic *z* is always ם; we cannot tell, however, how that ם was pronounced. Chances are that it was

¹⁰ *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. VII, 1900, pp. 96 ff.

pronounced dz since the Spanish equivalent, in transcriptions, is sometimes dz עזרה Azdra, אליעזר, Alatzar, ברזל Bardzlay, etc. The examples are, however, very scarce and do not, therefore, admit any definite conclusions.¹¹

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¹¹ The modern Ladino spelling and pronunciation of final z as z (the English letter) is due to spelling influences. The second generation of the expelled Jews taught to pronounce the ז as z, in Hebrew words, kept the same pronunciation of ז in Spanish words.

A SPANISH "PATIENT PERSECUTED WIFE" TALE OF 1329

IN the eager search for sources and analogues to Boccaccio's tenth tale of the tenth day, there is hardly a tale containing a suggestion of the "Patient or Persecuted Woman" motif that has not been mentioned in this connection. Saints Agnes,¹ Genevieve² and Uliva;³ the ballads of "The Not-Browne Mayd,"⁴ "Fair Annie,"⁵ "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter,"⁶ and "Child Water,"⁷ the "Lai del Fraisne,"⁸ "Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia";⁹ the Oriental tale of "Sakuntala";¹⁰ "Galienne,"¹¹ "Sybille,"¹² "Berthe"¹³ and "Flamenca"¹⁴ have all been appealed to. Savorini¹⁵ and Patrucco¹⁶ have unsuccessfully sought for historical sources. R. Koehler¹⁷ has shown interesting parallels in Russian, Tyrolese, Icelandic and Danish folk tales. The general opinion concerning the source of Griselda is fairly divided between: 1, that the exact origin is to be attributed to some traditional source¹⁸ existing in Boccaccio's time, plus some historical occurrence;¹⁹ and 2, that the Griselda

¹ Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du Théâtre en France; Les Mystères*, Vol. I, p. 185, and Vol. 2, p. 245.

² A. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazione*, Vol. III, p. 236 ff.

³ A. D'Ancona, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Percy's Reliques*, London, 1868, Vol. III, p. 421.

⁵ A. C. Lee, *The Decameron, Sources and Analogues*, pp. 348-356.

⁶ Biedermann, *Koch's Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literatur*, Vol. II, p. 3.

⁷ *Percy's Reliques*, Wheatley edition, London, 1878, Vol. III, p. 59.

⁸ X. Wannenmacher, *Die Griseldissage auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, p. 29.

⁹ E. Manni, *Giornale Storico*, Vol. XI, 1888, pp. 263-5.

¹⁰ A. de Gubernatis, *Verhandlungen des Dreizehnten Internationalen Oriental Kongress*, Hamburg, 1902, pp. 21-24.

¹¹ G. Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, pp. 388-394.

¹² E. Manni, *op. cit.*

¹³ H. Groenveld, *Die älteste Bearbeitung der Griseldissaga in Frankreich*.

¹⁴ A. Wesselovsky, *Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Savorini, *La Leggenda di Griselda, Rivista Abruzzese*, 1901.

¹⁶ C. E. Patrucco, *La Storia nella Leggenda di Griselda*, 1901.

¹⁷ R. Koehler, R. Gosche's *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, 1870, Vol. I, pp. 409-427.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Grober, A. C. Lee, Bishop Percy, Duran, Clauston, et al.

¹⁹ Cf. Petrucco, Savorini et al.

story appears for the first time in Boccaccio.²⁰ If we accept the first view, it may be possible to consider our Spanish tale of 1329,²¹ the second half of exemplum XXVII of the *Conde Lucanor*, as an offshoot of a like source.²²

This tale has, because of its ending, been compared to other "Shrew" tales,²³ but certainly Doña Vascuñana is no shrew. Puibusque,²⁴ Puymaigre²⁵ and Knust²⁶ have all ventured information concerning the identity of Don Alvarfañez, indicating a possible historical connection; but, as yet, I have seen no attempt to place this tale in the category of the patient or persecuted wife. It, as are all tales of this cycle, is a reactionary story, and is told as a counterpart to a narrative concerning a contrary, shrewish woman.

The exemplum is given as advice to two young nobles. One of them can not get along with his wife; the other enjoys life with his, to such an extent that he is unable to give any of his time to more important affairs. To teach moderation and the proper sort of treatment for such women, Juan Manuel tells two stories. The first one is that of the wife of the Emperor Fradrique, who finally poisons herself by using an ointment her husband has told her not to touch.

It is the second one that concerns us. It is the tale of Don Alvarfañez and his faithful wife Doña Vascuñana. Don Alvarfañez goes to Pero Ançurez and asks for the hand of one of his *three* daughters in marriage. He begins with the eldest and tells her of the awful things she may expect from him after marriage.²⁷

²⁰ Cf. R. Schuster, *Griseldis in der Französischen Literatur*, H. Groenveld (*op. cit.*) et al.

²¹ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld edition, pp. 116-131.

²² Landau's reference to the twelfth century commentary on the fourth book of Moses (Landau: *Quellen des Decameron*) should also be mentioned. I should like to call attention to all of note (E), p. 661, Vol. I, of the 1720 edition of the *Dictionnaire* of Pierre Bayle. Cf. also Prof. G. L. Kittredge, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, Vol. VIII, p. 241, n. 4.

²³ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld (*op. cit.*), p. 358. This goes back to Ticknor's parallel to Petrucchio's speech. It is certainly not in point here and can have no connection with the general tenor of our tale.

²⁴ A. de Puibusque, *Le Conte Lucanor*, note, pp. 337 and 338.

²⁵ Le Comte de Puymaigre, *Les Vieux Auteurs Castellans*, Vol. 2, p. 219.

²⁶ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld (*op. cit.*), pp. 356 and 357.

²⁷ This is not altogether unlike the situation in the first part of the *Not-Browne Mayd*.

We cite:²⁸

"Et don Alvarhanez apartose con la fija mayor et dixol' que, si a ella ploguiese, que queria casar con ella, pero ante que fablase mas en el pleito, quel' queria contar algo de su fazienda, [e] que sopiese lo primero que el non era muy mancebo et que por las muchas feridas que oviera en las lides [en] que se acertara quel' enflaqueciera tanto la cabeça que por poco vino que bibiese, quel' fazie perder luego el entendimiento, et de que estava fuera de su seso, que se asannava tan fuerte que non catava lo que dizia et que a las vegadas fria a los omes [en] tal guisa que se rrepentia mucho despues que tornava a su entendimiento, et aun quando se echava a dormir desque yazia en la cama, que fazia muchas cosas, que non enpeceria nin migaja, si mas linpias fuesen. Et destas cosas le dizo tantas que toda muger qu'el entendimiento non oviese muy maduro, se podria tener del por non muy bien casada."

The eldest prefers death to marriage with such a man. The second daughter refuses. Doña Vascuñana, the *youngest*, gives the following reply to Don Alvarfañez:²⁹

"Que gradescia mucho a Dios que don Alvarhanez queria casar con ella, et en lo quel' dizia quel' fazia mal il vino, que si por aventura alguna vez le cunpliese por alguna cosa de estar apartado de las gentes por aquello quel' dizia o por al, que ella lo encubriria mejor que ninguna otra persona del mundo et a lo que dizia que el era viejo que quanto por esto non partiria ella el casamiento, que cunpliale a ella del casamiento el bien et la onrra que avia de ser casado con don Alvarhanez, et de lo que dizia que era muy sannudo et que fria a las gentes, que quanto por esto non fazia fuerça, ca nunca ella le faria por que la firiese, et si lo fiziese que lo sabia muy bien sofrir."

They marry and are so content with one another that Alvarfañez has no time for anything else. A nephew, who has been in the house of the king, comes to visit, and tries to persuade Alvarfañez of his folly. The nephew tells him:³⁰ "que non fallava tacha quel' poner sinon que fazia mucho por su muger et la apoderava mucho en toda

²⁸ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 120, line 19, p. 121, line 10. (All citations from the *Conde Lucanor* are taken from this edition, which I have tried to reproduce in all its inconsistency.)

²⁹ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld (*op. cit.*), p. 122, lines 2-13.

³⁰ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld (*op. cit.*), p. 124, lines 3-5.

su fazienda." Alvarfañez, however, immediately shows cause for his affection. Husband, wife and nephew go for a walk. The wife believes everything the husband says. For her, mares are cows, cows mares, and brooks run up hill, simply because her husband's word is sufficient to put any fact beyond question. She is so very certain that she even convinces the nephew. He finally admits that his uncle has had good cause for his devotion to this woman, faithful, simple, and blind.

To connect such a tale with the Griselda story seems a long step, and in taking it we must realize that Juan Manuel takes his material from all sorts of sources; but, probably through hearsay, and not by reading of the documents. His personality, in the handling of many common motifs, is most clearly shown in his attitude toward woman. In spite of previous qualifications, she is always treated most chivalrously by him. It is inconceivable to think of his submitting any of his female characters to the treatment Boccaccio allows Gualtieri to mete out to Griselda. All Spanish women—with but one exception—are good, whenever they appear in the *Conde Lucanor*. The only case of brutal treatment of a woman is that given the *falsa beguina*, and she is a witch. Doña Vascuñana is a Spanish woman. She must be, to make it possible for the author to give his story its moral significance. As such, her trials—and there are *two* severe ones—are not going to be of such a nature that her rehabilitation is going to be unreasonable. With this in mind, it does not seem impossible that Doña Vascuñana is Juan Manuel's version of a story that may be connected with the parent stock of the Griselda type. She is given in marriage to a man who subjects her to two severe trials. She marries him of her own free will, as Griselda does Gualtieri; successfully passes the tests that will put all future question of her fidelity out of the way;³¹ and then resumes her happy life with her satisfied husband.

Mr. Schuster³² points out that what distinguishes Griselda from the innumerable medieval types of patience and conjugal fidelity is the fact that her submission is voluntary and devoted. In Griselda,

³¹ Cf. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, 1911, Vol. 2, p. 147.

³² R. Schuster (*op. cit.*), p. 1. This is from St. Marc Girardin, *Cours de Littérature Dramatique*, Vol. IV, p. 335.

the woman has changed slavery into obedience, and that is her supreme merit. This might well apply to Doña Vascuñana.

Although Doña Vascuñana seems to be of noble birth, Juan Manuel implies that such devotion has been known even in the case of the marriage of a woman of unquestionably inferior rank.³³

"Et tengo que, si un moro de allende el mar esto fiziese quel' devia yo mucho amar et preciar et fazer mucho por el su consejo et de mas seyendo [yo] casado con ella et seyendo ella tal et de tal linage de que me tengo por muy bien casado."

It is interesting to note certain likenesses between this and the folk tales cited by R. Koehler. The name of the heroine (Griselda) is found only in the Tyrolese and Icelandic tales. Vascuñana is the youngest of three daughters, as is the heroine of the Tyrolese tale. This divergence from Boccaccio he explains away as:³⁴ "echt märchenhaft, denn die Märchen lieben es, dass ihre Helden oder Heldinnen das jüngste von drei Geschwistern sind." The premarital threat of the king in the Russian tale:³⁵ "'Du, aber, schöne Jungfrau, wirst du mich nehmen?'—'Ja,' spricht sie.—'Ich heirate dich, aber nur unter der Bedingung, dass du mir nur mit keinem Wort in die Quere kommst; wenn du mir aber nur mit einem Wort widersprichst, so ist mein Schwert da, und der Kopf fliegt dir von den Schultern!'" may well be compared to that of Alvarfañez and of the Knyght of Westmarlande in the "Not-Browne Mayd." Neither of these details is to be found in the Decameron, and in none of the märchen do we find Griselda's modesty wounded by being turned away from the palace clad only in a shirt.

Wannenmacher³⁶ notes that the first appearance of Griselda in Spain is in the third chapter of "Castigos y dotrinas que un sabio dava a su hija." In this version Griselda is "hija de un vasallo," a *cavallero*, whose name is not mentioned. Wannenmacher accounts for Griselda's noble station as follows:³⁷ "Der Spanier hat dadurch offenbar dem Geschmack seiner Landsleute ein Opfer bringen wollen." Is it not possible that Juan Manuel had brought this same

³³ Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld (*op. cit.*), p. 129, lines 6-10.

³⁴ R. Koehler (*op. cit.*), p. 424.

³⁵ R. Koehler (*op. cit.*), p. 418.

³⁶ X. Wannenmacher (*op. cit.*), p. 40. Cf. also Menendez y Pelayo: *Orígenes de la Novela*, Vol. II, p. 3.

³⁷ X. Wannenmacher (*op. cit.*), p. 42.

"Opfer dem Geschmack" of his "Hofleute" at least a century earlier?⁸⁸

⁸⁸ I do not know that I should go so far as to state that *Dofia Vasconiana* is Juan Manuel's version of the *Griselda* story; but I wonder if perhaps the tale may not well have been based on tradition of some sort, that could well be considered foundation material for such a story, when handled by an author not quite so delicate in his consideration of woman.

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NOTES AND NEWS

We note with pleasure the promotion to a full professorship in Romance languages, at Cornell, of our Co-Editor, Dr. George L. Hamilton.

At New York University, Dr. H. C. Heaton has been promoted to an assistant professorship of Romance languages, and Mr. H. C. Ollinger, A.M., has been made Instructor.

Dr. Ralph E. House of the University of Chicago has been advanced to an assistant professorship in Romance languages.

Dr. Alma de L. Le Duc, of Smith College, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Barnard College.

Dr. R. E. Rockwood and Mr. Gerald T. Wilkinson have been appointed Instructors in Romance languages at Columbia College.

Dr. Joseph Seronde, Assistant Professor of Romance languages at the University of Pennsylvania, will, in addition to his work at Philadelphia, succeed Professor Spiers at Haverford College.

Dr. A. H. Corley, of Yale University, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish in the College.

Miss Helen I. Williams, of Smith College, has been promoted to an assistant professorship in Romance languages.

It is interesting to note the appointment, at Brown University, of Mr. E. E. Vann, late of Leland Stanford, to a lectureship in Latin American history. He will also offer courses in Spanish and Portuguese.

Columbia University has been most fortunate in securing for next year Gustave Lanson, of the University of Paris, as Professor of French literature, and Federico de Onís, of the University of Oviedo, as Professor of Spanish literature.

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STANZA-LINKING IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE

THIS paper and that which follows it are intended to supply a preliminary survey of the neglected subject of enchaining or stanza-linking in Middle English poetry. In Latin this device was called *concatenatio* and *anadiplosis*. In French and Provençal various terms were employed, most of which were likewise applied to the linking of lines within stanzas: *vers entrelacéz*, *rime enchayenné*, *rime concaténée*, *rims serpentins*. It exists in German where it is called *Reimverkettung*. In Irish it has been called *fidrad freccomail* and *conachlann*, and in Welsh, *adgymmeriad*. No single term has established itself in English. Madden used the word "serpentine." Amours called it "iteration." The terms "enchaining" and "stanza-linking" have more commonly been employed.

The following papers which attempt for the first time to outline the main facts about stanza-linking have doubtless some of the defects of work in a new field but it is hoped that they may be of interest to Romance and Celtic specialists, as well as to students of mediaeval Latin and English verse. They suggest a novel idea of the possible influence of mediaeval Welsh verse.

A. C. L. B.

I

Only two or three scholars have given the matter of stanza-linking in "Sir Perceval of Galles" particular study. The first discussion was by Koelbing in 1882. After calling attention to frequent repetitions of thought,¹ sometimes verbal, which serve to

¹ *Tristan-Sage*, vol. II, "Sir Tristrem," p. lxxxiv.

bind together the stanzas of "Sir Tristrem," he went on to classify the linking according to rather unimportant variations, e. g., direct and indirect discourse, in the repeated verse. Koelbing regarded linking as effected by repetition of thought, and considered repetition in language to be an accidental thing. This point of view led him to neglect many cases of linking by word echo, and to declare that the romance of "Sir Degrevant" had no linking. It is easy to show that "Sir Degrevant" has stanza-linking,² although not in so marked a form as "Sir Perceval."

Concerning "Sir Perceval" Koelbing wrote as follows:³

"Man sieht daraus, dass das, was im Sir Tristrem blos in bescheidenen anfängen sichtbar wird, hier [in 'Sir Perceval'] sich zu einem, dem dichter vollauf bewussten, mittel poetischer technik umgestaltet hat. Aehnliches findet sich in dem vi. vii. und viii. gedichte des Laurence Minot, sowie in der Antours of Arther. Mit recht betont Brandl a. a. o. p. 47 f., dass das eine besondere eigenthümlichkeit nordenglischer gedichte sei."

The reference is to Brandl's discussion of stanza-linking in "Thomas of Erceldoune," in his edition of that romance. Brandl wrote:⁴

"solche 'serpentinaen' (vgl. F. Madden zu Sir Gaw. p. 328) scheinen besonders nördlichen dichtern eigen gewesen zu sein; sie finden sich hie und da in der altsch. proph.⁵ (iv. f., xiv. f., xxiii. f., xxxii. f., xxxvi. f., xlv. f.), regelmässig in Perceval, Aunt. Arth. und in drei balladen von L. Minot. die form stammt wahrscheinlich aus mlat. dichtungen, vgl. *Song on the Scottish wars* aus der zeit Eduard's I. bei Wright, *Pol. Songs* 1839 p. 166 f."

Brandl followed Madden⁶ in calling the stanza-links "serpentinaen," also in believing that the device of stanza-linking was borrowed from mediaeval Latin verse.

Ellinger in 1889⁷ made the most careful study of the metrical

² See p. 255 below.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

⁴ Brandl, *Thomas of Erceldoune*, Berlin, 1880, p. 47.

⁵ Brandl means by this, "A Ballad on the Scottish Wars," a rhymed poem, with alliteration, in a northern dialect, printed in Ritson, *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, I, No. 8, from a MS. of the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁶ *Syr Gawayne*, p. 328 (1839).

⁷ *Ueber die sprachlichen und metrischen Eigenthümlichkeiten in S. P.*, p. 31 f.

peculiarities of "Sir Perceval" yet attempted, and called attention to the apparent failure of all linking devices at certain points.

Osgood in his edition of "The Pearl," 1906, supposed that the linking of "Sir Perceval" was of the same kind as the linking of "The Pearl".⁸

"This [linking] device, probably of popular origin, is familiar to readers of mediaeval Romance lyrics. In English, *concatenatio* is a peculiarity of Northern verse. It occurs almost as a rule in poems employing the strophe of *The Pearl*."

But the linking of "The Pearl" is really quite different from that of "Sir Perceval," and may be based on different models.⁹

The latest discussion of the linking in "Sir Perceval" is by Campion and Holthausen, in their edition of the romance, and their analysis is about the same as Ellinger's:¹⁰

"Je zwei Strophen sind meist durch mehr oder weniger genaue Wiederholung der letzten Zeile im Anfang der nächsten Strophe verbunden (sog. *concatenatio*, vgl. Kölbing, *Sir Tristrem*, p. lxxxiv.). Zuweilen wird jedoch nur der Reim wieder aufgenommen, vgl. Str. 13. f., 41. f., 44. f., 51. f., etc. Verbindung fehlt z. B. zwischen Str. 10 u. 11, 15-17, 18-20, 23-27, 28-29, 31-34 etc."

Briefly, the study of the linking device up to this time has led to the following conclusions:

1. Most stanzas in "Sir Perceval" are linked together by the repetition of one or more words.
2. Sometimes repetition of thought suffices, without any verbal repetition.
3. At some points linking altogether fails.
4. A similar linking device occurs in "Sir Tristrem," "The AunTERS of Arthur," "Thomas of Erceldoune," "A Ballad of the Scottish Wars," three poems of Minot, a political song of the time of Edward I, "The Pearl," and certain mediaeval Romance lyrics.
5. The source of stanza-linking is probably to be found in Romance or Latin poetry.
6. In English, stanza-linking occurs chiefly in Northern Poetry.

⁸ P. XLV, note 2.

⁹ See p. 264 below.

¹⁰ Ed. 1913, p. xi.

II

Linking in "Sir Perceval"¹¹ is usually described as the repetition in whole or in part of the last verse of one stanza as the first verse of the next. Rarely is a verse repeated word for word.¹² More often words are added to fill out the regular metre of the first verse of a stanza, as in stanzas 17-18:

Juste to þe chynn.

His hode was *juste to his chyn*,

Sometimes, as in stanzas 5-6, the phrasing is changed. According to a second method the only link is one important word, thus: stanzas 6-7:

If þat he were *leveande*.

Now þan are þay *leveande* bathe;

Two thirds of the 143 stanzas of "Sir Perceval" are linked in these two ways, 74 by the repetition of a whole verse or of a phrase, 23 by the repetition of a single word, 97 in all.¹³

¹¹ Quotations are from Campion and Holthausen's edition above referred to. Halliwell's edition in "The Thornton Romances," *Camden Society*, vol. 30, has the same numbering.

¹² There are three examples of this: stanzas 3-4, 9-10, 29-30. Luick says of such places (*Anglia*, XII, 441): "Wenn daher gelegentlich der schlussvers der strophe zu lang ist für das ausmass eines zweiten halbverses, aber wörtlich übereinstimmt mit dem anfangsverse der nächsten strophe, so haben wir gewiss fehler des schreibers vor uns, der bereits die folgende Zeile im auge hatte."

¹³ Linking by repetition of a verse or phrase occurs in stanzas:

1- 6	29-31	57-58	83- 86	107-110	136-138
7-10	34-36	59-60	87- 90	111-113	
11-13	39-40	61-62	91- 92	114-117	
14-15	45-46	64-65	94- 96	118-120	
17-18	47-49	66-68	98- 99	122-123	
21-23	51-52	70-73	100-102	124-126	
27-28	55-56	76-81	104-106	129-135	

Linking by repetition of a single important word occurs in stanzas:

6- 7	41-42	62-63	103-104	123-124
13-14	44-45	69-70	106-107	126-127
20-21	46-47	73-74	117-118	135-136
36-37	52-53	75-76	120-121	
38-39	60-61	90-91	121-122	

The italicized figures denote that linking by an important word is enforced by the repetition of one or more minor words.



The present discussion is chiefly concerned with the forty-four¹⁴ cases where normal linking by the repetition of a word or words from the last verse of one stanza into the first verse of the next fails. In the discussion attention will be focused upon echoes of language, and not primarily as Koelbing did upon echoes of thought.

A third method of linking, which has not been heretofore specifically noticed,¹⁵ is that effected by the use of related words such as different inflectional forms of the same verb and different words compounded with the same syllable. One example of this method will suffice: stanzas 81-82:¹⁶

And þay ne wolde noghte late me go:
þaire *lyfes* there refte I.

He sayd: 'Belyfe þay solde aby!'
And Lufamour, þat lele lady.

A fourth method of linking, which has also not hitherto been noticed, is that which may be concerned with the last two verses of one stanza and the first two of the next. Such linking is not between adjacent verses, but it should be observed that it is in every case between adjacent sentences. Sixteen examples of this linking between sentences appear in "Sir Perceval."¹⁷ of which one may be quoted as an illustration:

Stanzas 26-27:

"*Moder*, as ȝe bidd me,
"Righte so schall I."

All þat nyste, till it was day,
The childe by þe *modir* lay,'

¹⁴ Deducting the cases of stanzas 42a and 97, which are imperfect at the beginning in the MS.

¹⁵ Ellinger includes some cases in his list of examples of normal linking, but he calls no specific attention to the possibility of linking by cognate words. Nor do Campion and Holthausen refer to the matter.

¹⁶ Linking of this sort occurs in nine stanzas: 37-8, 58-9, 65-6, 74-5, 81-2, 110-111, 113-4, 138-9, 140-141. Italicized figures denote that linking by related words is enforced by the repetition of a minor word.

¹⁷ Before stanzas 16, 24, 25, 27, 32, 34, 44, 50, 69, 87, 93, 98, 103, 128, 129, 142.

In one case only does this kind of linking extend over more than four verses:

Stanzas 97-98:

'*paire metis* was redy,
And *perto* went *pay* in hy,
The kyng and *pe* lady
And knyghtis also.

Wele welcomed scho *pe* geste
With riche *metis* of *pe* beste,'

Koelbing included some of this kind of linking in his examples of linking by thought in "Sir Tristrem," but he did not notice the verbal repetition. Neither Ellinger nor Holthausen understood this kind of linking because it is present in cases which they cited as examples of failure to link.¹⁸

One hundred and twenty-two cases of undoubted linking have been enumerated. In the twenty-one cases which are left, linking seems at first glance to fail. But a more searching examination discloses in eight of these cases, the repetition of a comparatively unimportant word, which may have been felt as a link. Four of these cases are instances of linking between adjacent verses: 16-17 "he"; 42-3 "hym"; 99-100 "he"; 142-3 "in." The last is a particularly strong instance because the link word is repeated in a way to suggest that its use as such was intended:

Stanzas 142-3:

'And made *pe* lady *in* to ga
In graye and *in* grene.
Than sir Percevell *in* hy.'

The remaining cases, which belong to type 4, where the repetition is between adjacent sentences, not verses, are: 25-6 "*pou*";

¹⁸ This fourth type of linking enforces the first or second type in stanzas 20-1, 44-5, 45-6, 60-1, 62-3, 135-6. It enforces the third type, namely linking by related words, in stanzas 37-8. On the other hand the fourth type is often itself reinforced by other methods: (1) by the repetition of another important word within the four verses: stanzas 31-2, 128-9; (2) by the repetition of a less important word: stanzas 68-9, 86-7; (3) by the repetition of a minor word within the last and first verses: stanzas 23-4, 49-50.

40-1 "hym"; 63-4 "he"; 139-40 "he." The only case where the linking extends over more than four verses is in stanzas 25-6:

" Luke, þou be of mesure
 " Bothe in haulle and in boure,
 " And fonde to be fre!"

 Than saide þe lady so brighte:
 " There þou meteste with a knyghte,"

On later pages some evidence will be given that the authors of English linked poems may have been aware of a rule which permitted linking to be neglected at the beginning of any stanza, the first verse of which contained a proper name. Such a rule would account for the absence of linking in seven stanzas: 11, 20, 33, 51, 54, 57, 94.¹⁹

Stanzas 28-29, although without verbal linking, are surely linked by thought. It is impossible for any stanza to have dropped out between them:

Stanzas 28-9:

" Halfe, þat I here see,
 " Styll šall it ly."

 The corne he pertis *in two*,
 Gaffe his mere þe tone of þoo,'

Three stanzas remain, in which no linking and no explanation for failure of linking are discoverable: 19, 55, 83. The MS of S.P. lacks a few verses before stanzas 42a and 97.

When several MSS. of a romance are accessible it is usual to find on comparing the copies ample evidence of alterations in phraseology due to careless copying or to oral transmission. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that if more than one MS. of S.P. existed, it might appear that the romance was originally linked throughout, and

¹⁹ Eleven linked stanzas also contain a proper name in the first verse: 41, 47, 59, 70, 71, 90, 103, 110, 111, 133, 143. This makes a total of eighteen stanzas from the one hundred and forty-three in the romance, or an average of one in eight, which begin with a verse containing a proper name. The ten unlinked stanzas (11, 19, 20, 33, 51, 54, 55, 57, 73, 94) might by chance include two or three which began with a proper name. That they include not two or three, but seven, is some evidence for the validity of the rule set forth above.

that the defects and weak linkings just studied were due to lapses of memory rather than to the omission of stanzas. It would of course be wrong, without more evidence, to ascribe these failures of linking to the author of the romance.

Hitherto it has been sometimes supposed that the failures to link in S.P. mark places where stanzas have been omitted, and that to these *lacunae* is due the abrupt character of the narrative which is occasionally difficult to follow.

Against this view it may be urged that S.P. is not more abrupt or difficult to follow than several other romances, notably "Sir Tristrem." Perhaps the bold transitions of these narrative poems were made perfectly clear to the auditors of that day by the gestures and intonations of the reciting gleeman.

Our study has demonstrated that linking is neither lacking nor at all ambiguous except at twenty-one places. Any *lacunae* must exist at these places. It is possible still further to reduce the number of points at which *lacunae* could exist.

Continuity of thought, as has been shown, would permit no gap before stanza 29. The same test makes it almost or quite impossible for *lacunae* to exist before stanzas 19, 20, 33, 41, 42a, 43, 57, and 83. It is necessary therefore for whoever would suppose that our MS. contains a defective story, to fit in at the following places, 11, 17, 26, 51, 54, 55, 64, 94, 97, 100, 140, 143, the incidents which he believes to be omitted. Whoever tries, will find it awkward to do this—to fit in a mention of the grail, for example, at stanzas 54 or 55. A safer theory would be to suppose that we have the poem about as it was composed by the unknown Englishman who put it into its linked stanza form. The material which this author used may, of course, have been defective.

STANZA-LINKING IN "SIR PERCEVAL"

1. By repetition of a whole verse, or of several words.....	74	
2. By repetition of a single important word	23	
3. By related words	9	
4. Of sentences by repetitions within the last three verses of one stanza and the first two of the next	16	
Total cases of unmistakable linking		122
5. By a pronoun or preposition	8	
6. Unlinked, stanza begins with proper name	7	
7. Linked by the thought	1	

8. Unlinked	3	
9. MS. defective	2	
		21
		—
		143
Total number of stanzas		144

III

An examination of all known English metrical romances shows that only five²⁰ beside S.P. employ the linking device: namely, "The AunTERS of Arthur," "Sir Degrevant," "The Avowyng of Arthur," "Sir Tristrem," and "Thomas of Erceldoune."

Madden, Brandl and Koelbing, as has been seen, call attention to the device in "The AunTERS." F. J. Amours²¹ made a somewhat detailed study of it, but he, like students of S.P., overlooked the less apparent cases of linking. The stanzaic structure of this romance is much more complicated²² than in S.P. but enchaining seems to observe the same rules as in the former poem.

The study of enchaining²³ in "The AunTERS" is especially significant because we have four²⁴ complete, or nearly complete, MSS. of the romance. These MSS. differ considerably with respect to enchaining. Stanzas which are unlinked in one are often linked in another, and *vice versa*. A comparison of the MSS. enables one to

²⁰ But see below, p. 255, footnote 28.

²¹ *Scottish Alliterative Poems, S. T. S. 27*, (1897), p. lxxxv: "Iteration is another feature in the formation of the stanza that deserves notice. The name has been given to the repetition of the leading word or expression of a line in the next one, so as to link two parts of a stanza, or two stanzas together. This useful mnemonic contrivance, borrowed from French poets, occurs here and there in staves of all kinds, but is chiefly affected by alliterative poets."

²² Robson in his edition of "The AunTERS," *Camden Soc.* (1842), p. xx, describes its stanza as follows: "(It) consists of eight alliterative verses, usually with four alliterative syllables in each, with four alternate rhymes; the ninth verse is of a similar description, and with three verses of six syllables, each rhyming together, and another of five syllables rhyming with the ninth—forms the wheel."

²³ Since Miss Medary did not have access to the Lambeth copy, it has been necessary for me to rewrite this section of her paper. I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for reminding me of the existence of the Lambeth MS., "Bibl. 491" (see Herrig's *Archiv*, 86, 383), and to Harvard College Library for lending me a photograph of it.

A. C. L. B.

²⁴ The Ireland MS. printed by Robson; the Douce, and the Thornton printed by Amours; and the Lambeth, referred to above.

restore linking except at two places. The results are as follows: Type 1, Linking by repetition of several words or of an entire verse, existed in 27 cases,²⁵ out of a possible 54. Type 2, Linking by one word, may be restored in 18 cases. Type 3, Linking by a related word, existed in five cases. Type 4, Linking of adjacent sentences, (not adjacent verses) in one case, stanzas 46-47:

"Gaynor *gret* for her sake
Wiþ her grey eyen.

Thus *grette* dame Gaynor þat *grete* grefe was to sene."
Lambeth (Ireland and Thornton very nearly agree).

One case of linking by word-echo, that is by repetition of less than a whole word, existed, stanzas 45-46:

"þe brede of ane *hare*.

Hardely þene þes haþelise one helmes þey hewe."
Douce (Ireland and Thornton nearly agree).

Two stanzas, 50 and 55, remain, which are unlinked at the beginning in all four MSS. These could be explained by the rule about proper names. Stanza 50 contains in all MSS. in its first verse, two proper names:

"Then spak Galron to Gawayn þe good." Lambeth.

Stanza 55 contains in all MSS. one proper name:

"Gaynor gart wightly write in to þe weste." Lambeth.

It seems an entirely reasonable conclusion that "The AunTERS" was the work of a skilled craftsman, doubtless the man who com-

²⁵ Letters attached to the stanza numbers herewith are the initials of the MSS. in which the linking is found. No letters are attached when the recorded linking appears in all four MSS. No account is taken of the fact that stanzas linked according to Type 1 in one MS. are sometimes linked by Types 2 or 3 in another. Type 1 is found before stanzas: 2(IDT), 3, 4, 6(I), 7(TL), 8 (IDT), 9, 10, 11(IDL), 13(DTL), 15(ID), 17(DL), 18, 20(IDL), 21, 23(IT), 24, 26(ID), 35, 36(IL), 38(IDL), 40(DTL), 42(ID), 43(L), 44(I), 45(IL), 51.

Type 2 before: 5(DTL), 12, 14(L), 16(DTL), 19, 22, 25, 27, 30(IDT), 31, 33, 34, 37(DTL), 39(DTL), 41(D), 48(IDL), 53(L), 54(DTL).

Type 3 before: 28, 29, 32(DL), 49(T), 52(L).

bined into one romance, the two incidents of the ghost and the combat, and that he linked the stanzas throughout, except perhaps before 50 and 55, where the occurrence of proper names gave him poetic license.

Attention should also be called to linking within the stanzas of "The AunTERS." In most stanzas the eighth verse links with the ninth,²⁶ and all four varieties of linking described above appear. A comparison of the four MSS. enables us to restore this internal linking in all except the following twelve stanzas: 1, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 37, 38, 40, 48, 50, 52.

In two of these cases, 29 and 40, alliteration perhaps operated as a link:

Stanza 29, 8. "*Hur* kerchefes were curiouse, with many a *p*rroud *p*rene
Ireland 9. "*Hur* enparel was a-*p*raysut with *p*rinces of myste."

Stanza 40, 8. "That grevut Syr Gauan ever tille his *d*ethe *d*ay.
Ireland 9. "The *d*yntus of that *d*usty were *d*outeouse be-*d*ene."

What I have called enchaining by verbal echo has never before been pointed out in English. A study of the MSS. of "The AunTERS" reveals enough examples to put beyond doubt that this kind of linking was recognized by the gleemen who transmitted the romance. In the following case, for instance, one MS. exhibits linking by echo, whereas the other MSS. show a closer linking: stanzas 1-2:

<i>Lambeth</i>	<i>Ireland</i>
Gawayn <i>gay</i> nest on grene Dame Guunore he ledis.	Syr Gawan, graythist on grene, <i>Dame Gayn</i> ore he ledus.
In a gliteryng gyte þat glennth so <i>gay</i> .	Thenne Syr Gawan the gode, <i>Dame Gayn</i> our he ledus.

In one case the Douce and Lambeth MSS. agree on linking by echo whereas the Ireland shows linking by a pronoun, stanzas 31-32:

²⁶ Cf. *Amours*, p. lxxxvi.

<i>Douce</i>	<i>Lambeth</i>
Sas he never <i>are</i> ,	Saw he nevere <i>are</i>
Arthur asked one histe, herand hem alle.	Arthour askyd in hight, herying hem alle.

Ireland
 Seshe *he* neuyr *are*.
 Then the king carput *him* tille, on hereand
 hom alle.

In another place all four MSS. agree in a kind of linking by echo, stanzas 27-28:

<i>Ireland</i>	<i>Lambeth</i>
For the <i>mon</i> -hed	ffor thy <i>man</i> hede
Monli in his <i>mantille</i> he sate atte his mete.	Manly in his <i>mantel</i> he sittis at his mete.

The following should also be compared:

<i>Douce</i>	(Stanzas 40-41)	<i>Ireland</i>
The canel bone also		His canel-bone allsoe
And <i>clef</i> his shelde shene.		And clevet his schild clene.
He <i>clef</i> þorghē þe cantelle þat covered þe kniste.		He kervet of the cantel, that covurt the knyste.
<i>Ireland</i>	(Stanzas 48-49)	<i>Douce</i>
That is so dilfully dyste		That is so delfulle diste
And hit were thi <i>wille</i> .		If hit be thi wille.
Thenne <i>wilfulle</i> Waynour to the king wente.		Wisly dame Waynour to the king wente.

The cases in the right-hand column above are best explained by supposing that a gleeman's poor memory has allowed an original link-word to disappear, but has retained some of the adjacent alliterating words. In this way linking by alliteration might arise. Once introduced, linking by alliteration may have been practiced occa-

sionally by composers of romances perhaps as a kind of poetic license.

"Golagrus and Gawain" is composed in the same stanza as "The AunTERS," and might be expected to show the same linking. Madden, *l. c.*, classed the two poems together in this respect. Amours²⁷ said there was no trace of linking in "Golagrus." As a matter of fact linking appears so rarely as to seem accidental, and in the present study, therefore, "Golagrus and Gawain" is disregarded.²⁸

Linking in "Sir Degrevant"²⁹ is of interest because the stanzaic structure of this romance is identical with that of S.P. Koelbing mentioned this but said that S.D. showed no linking.³⁰ It does indeed show little of the normal type of linking. But there is enough to make certain that the singer was attempting the device, and perhaps because of lack of skill deviated into looser methods of linking, or failed entirely.

The first method of linking occurs in four places,³¹ and the second in six.³² The third type of linking occurs seven times.³³ The fourth type namely by means of a word within five adjoining verses occurs eighteen times.³⁴ There thus remain 83 places in which none of these types of linking is apparent. The rule about proper names would explain only fifteen³⁵ of these, and linking by

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

²⁸ "Golagrus" has none of the normal linking by the repetition of a whole verse, or even of a phrase, and there are only three cases (stanzas 2-3, 8-9, 74-5) of linking by a single important word.

"Libeaus Desconus," according to Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus* (1890), p. xlv, contains three cases of linking in 186 stanzas. In seven cases, he says, successive stanzas begin with the same words, a peculiarity which he does not regard as accidental.

²⁹ Ed. Halliwell, "The Thornton Romances," 1844.

³⁰ *Tristan-Sage*, II, lxxxiv.

³¹ 29-30, 47-8, 50-1, 96-7.

³² 40-2, 67-8, 74-5, 79-80, 109-110.

³³ 3-5, 6-8, 15-6, 20-1, 39-40.

³⁴ 9-10, 17-18, 30-1, 32-3, 42-3, 43-4, 51-2, 60-2, 63-4 (64-5 in Lincoln MS. only), 66-7, 89-90, 100-1, 105-6, 110-1, 112-3, 114-5.

³⁵ 1-2, 13-14, 16-7, 18-9, 19-20, 23-4, 31-2, 34-5, 36-7, 38-9, 45-6, 58-9, 70-1, 73-4, 102-3. Seven linked stanzas also begin with a proper name: 21, 22, 43, 70, 84, 101, 111.

alliteration but seventeen³⁶ more. There thus remain in any case 51 places in which no linking device is apparent.

The "Avowynge of Arthur"³⁷ contains no great amount of close linking although like S.D. it is written in the same sixteen-line stanza as S.P. There are two cases³⁸ of linking of the first type in which almost the whole verse is repeated. There are nine cases³⁹ of linking by a single important word, two of which (11-2, 21-2) are obvious enough to show that the singer was linking purposely. Of linking by related words seven examples occur.⁴⁰ Of linking by verbal repetition within four verses there are fourteen examples,⁴¹ the first of which by its iteration of thought is enough to make it evident that this is intentional verbal linking:

Stanzas 27-8:

"And thi wenche *lost* with-alle,
Mi trauthe I thè pliste!"

Quod Kay, "Thi leue hasse thou *loste*,
For alle thi brag or thi boste.

Of the rather doubtful linking by alliteration there are thirteen examples.⁴² Six stanzas begin with a proper name and show no linking.⁴³ Twelve stanzas⁴⁴ are linked at the beginning by a repetition of the word "kyng." Eight places⁴⁵ seem to be entirely unlinked.

The linking in "Sir Tristrem"⁴⁶ has already been examined in some detail by Koelbing. He has, however, based his classification largely upon iteration of thought and has included within it such

³⁶ 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 14-5, 21-2, 24-5, 44-5, 56-7, 69-70, 78-9, 80-1, 83-5, 90-1, 94-5, 101-2, 111-2.

³⁷ Ed. Robson, C. S., 1842.

³⁸ 15-6, 34-5.

³⁹ 4-5, 11-2, 20-2, 31-3, 41-2, 46-7, 70-1.

⁴⁰ 6-7, 10-11, 14-15, 27-8, 39-40, 62-4.

⁴¹ 2-3, 16-17, 18-9, 23-5, 29-30, 35-6, 44-5, 55-7, 58-60, 65-6, 67-8.

⁴² 1-2, 5-6, 7-10, 13-4, 42-3, 45-6, 48-9, 61-2, 64-5, 68-70.

⁴³ 19-20, 22-3, 25-7, 28-9, 57-8. (It should be noted as bearing on the validity of the rule that where a stanza begins with a proper name linking may be omitted, that four linked stanzas, 9, 21, 22, 35, begin with a proper name.)

⁴⁴ 12-3, 17-8, 33-4, 37-8, 43-4, 49-55, 71-2.

⁴⁵ 3-4, 30-1, 36-7, 38-9, 40-1, 47-8, 60-1, 66-7.

⁴⁶ Ed. Koelbing.

iteration whether occurring at the beginning, middle or end of successive stanzas.⁴⁷ This suggests at once that the device in S.T. is somewhat different from that with which we are familiar in S.P. The repetition is more of the spasmodic, irregular kind to be found in the ballads, yet it differs from the latter in appearing to be a conscious literary device. The system, if, with its variety, it may be so called, includes linking of the same kind as in S.P. It has, therefore, seemed desirable to classify this romance in the same way as the others, although such a classification will exclude some of the types described by Koelbing.

"Sir Tristrem" has five⁴⁸ examples of the first type of linking, and forty-four⁴⁹ of the second. Of the third type, namely linking by cognate words, it has nine⁵⁰ cases. The fourth type of linking, namely by word or words within five adjoining verses, is more common in S.T. than any other. Sometimes the verbal repetition involves repetition of thought as in stanzas 31-2. Sometimes no repetition of thought is involved as in stanzas 17-8. 101⁵¹ examples of this fourth type of linking occur. If as Koelbing suggested we have in S.T. the beginnings of what has become in S.P. a "fully conscious poetic technique," these numerous cases of remote linking may show the importance of the twenty cases of this kind of linking which I have pointed out in S.P. "Sir Tristrem" shows eighteen⁵² cases of the rather doubtful linking by alliteration. Seven⁵³ places may be linked by rhyme. In one place, stanzas 12-13, the

⁴⁷ Koelbing, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxii ff.

⁴⁸ 172-3, 176-7, 222-3, 225-6, 293-4.

⁴⁹ 1-2, 7-8, 9-10, 14-15, 38-40, 44-6, 48-9, 53-4, 55-7, 73-4, 80-1, 88-9, 100-1, 113-14, 115-7, 119-20, 125-6, 130-2, 134-5, 143-5, 155-7, 171-2, 177-8, 179-80, 200-1, 220-2, 232-4, 236-7, 239-40, 242-3, 261-2, 263-4, 270-1, 275-6, 283-4.

⁵⁰ 10-11, 63-4, 74-5, 78-9, 82-3, 96-7, 139-41, 158-9.

⁵¹ 4-6, 17-8, 19-21, 26-7, 30-2, 34-6, 37-8, 52-3, 54-5, 57-8, 59-60, 61-2, 65-6, 67-9, 76-8, 83-5, 87-8, 91-2, 94-5, 97-100, 101-6, 108-9, 111-3, 114-5, 117-8, 123-4, 127-8, 129-30, 132-3, 135-6, 137-9, 145-8, 149-50, 162-4, 165-6, 168-70, 175-6, 190-1, 192-200, 201-3, 206-7, 208-9, 211-2, 213-4, 217-9, 220-1, 223-5, 231-2, 240-2, 243-5, 250-2, 253-5, 262-3, 266-7, 268-9, 271-3, 276-7, 278-9, 286-8, 289-90, 292-3, 294-6, 300-3.

⁵² 2-4, 27-8, 41-2, 49-50, 64-5, 66-7, 85-6, 89-90, 95-6, 120-1, 137-8, 174-5, 235-6, 260-1, 265-6, 274-5, 277-8.

⁵³ 4-5, 33-4, 106-8, 110-11, 166-7, 170-1.

MS. is defective. 118 places are thus left where no linking is discernible.

Linking in "Thomas of Erceldoune,"⁵⁴ like that in S.T. presents a somewhat different problem from that in S.P. The system whatever it is, however, includes the devices used in S.P., and may therefore be profitably examined from the same standpoint as the others. "Thomas of Erceldoune" shows three examples⁵⁵ of the first type of linking, thirty-seven of the second, eleven of the third, and thirty-six of the fourth. This would leave fifty-eight failures to link. Brandl has listed⁵⁶ seventy-four cases of linking by rhyme most of which are linked also in other ways enumerated above. This linking by rhyme will account for 27 cases out of the fifty-eight which are said to be un-linked, and will reduce the number of entirely un-linked stanzas to thirty-one.

The following table shows the facts about linking in the six romances already discussed. It has seemed best to tabulate all cases of linking, since to set up a distinction between important and un-

LINKING IN SIX ROMANCES

	S. P.	Aunters of Arthur				Reconstruc- tion	S. D.	Avow'g	S. T.	T. of L.
		Irel'd	Douce	Thor'n	Lamb.					
1. By several words	74	22	20	15	16	27	4	2	5	3
2. By one word.....	27	14	21	19	24	18	6	9	44	37
3. By cognate word.....	9	7	3	4	3	5	7	7	9	11
4. By a word in adjacent sentences.....	20	2	1	0	2	1	18	14	101	36
Percentage of above linking.....	.91	.83	...	...	...	.94	.30	.45	.52	.60
5. Unlkd, stz. begins with proper name.....	7	...	...	...	...	2	15	6	...	...
6. Unlkd, stzs. begin with the word "kyng".....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...
7. Unlkd, except by rhyme.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	27
8. Unlkd, except by word-echo.....	...	1	2	0	1	1	...	...	...	...
9. Unlkd, except by alliteration.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	13	18	...
10. Unlkd, without apparent reason.....	4	5	7	7	7	0	51	8	118	31
11. MS. defective.....	2	3	0	9	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total.....	143	54	54	54	54	54	118	71	303	145
Total no. stzs.....	144	55	55	55	55	55	119	72	304	146

important words would introduce an arbitrary element varying with the observer. Only a small percentage of the linking tabulated is

⁵⁴ Ed. Brandl.

⁵⁵ II, 9-10, 33-4, 38-9.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

by unimportant words. All the romances are treated from the same standpoint.⁵⁷

IV

There remain to be considered a number of shorter poems, some of which have already been mentioned by those who have discussed stanza-linking.

Robson⁵⁸ calls attention to "The Song of the Husbandman"⁵⁹ which "has a structure similar to" "The AunTERS":

"The stanza is alliterative; the first eight verses with four alternate rhymes, are followed by a quatrain in the same meter; and the iteration at the beginning of the quatrain and the commencement of the stanza exactly resembles that of the Anturs."

The linking in the "Song of the Husbandman" shows examples of most of the types which we have found in S.P.: (1) Linking by the repetition of the larger part of a verse, stanzas 2, 4-5. (2) Linking by repetition of one word, 1-2, 2-3. (3) Linking by related words, 5-6. (4) No examples. (9) No examples of alliteration alone, but alliteration enforces the linking in stanzas, 1-2, 2-3, 5, 5-6, 6. Linking fails altogether in stanzas 3, 3-4, 4.

No one, I think, has hitherto noticed that a number of the Eng-

⁵⁷ It appears that in every romance, methods of linking vary from the most elaborate to the most trivial. The evidence of the four MSS. of the "AunTERS" shows that this romance was once linked throughout, but that oral transmission has obliterated some of the linking words. The gleeman was more likely to alter the linking words than he was to forget stanzas altogether. It seems fair to conclude also that S.P. was once linked throughout. Even our one MS. shows but four failures to link in 143 cases, and in one of these close linking in thought is apparent. "The Avowynge," too, may have been originally linked throughout, although by looser methods than the two romances just named. "Sir Degrevant," which shows distinct linking in less than a third of its stanzas, and the other two romances, "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune," belong in a different category. In them linking was only an occasional artifice.

A. C. L. B.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xxi.

⁵⁹ Wright, *Political Songs of England*, p. 149; Bøddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253*, "PL. II." Since these shorter poems are not comparable in length to S.P. I shall not attempt to tabulate the amount of linking either as a whole or according to different types. I shall study them, however, from the same standpoint as the romances, and where possible cite examples of the different types of linking which I have pointed out in S.P.

lish lyrics in this same MS.⁶⁰ show the same kind of linking. GL. I, WL. I, WL. IV, WL. VI, WL. VII, GL. III, all have linking to a greater or less degree and show the various types which have been noted in S.P.: (1) GL. I, 1-2. (2) GL. I, 2-3. (3) WL. VI, 1-2, 3-4. (4) WL. IV, 2-3. (9) Linking by alliteration, GL. III, 1-2:

per me calleþ me fule flet,
ant waynoun! wayteglede.

Whil ich wes in wille and wolde
In uch about among þe bolde.

Other examples of apparent linking by alliteration are: GL. II, 1-2, 2-3, 4-5; GL. III, 3-4; WL. VI, 4-5; VII, 7-8, 8-9; VIII, 1-3; X, *passim*.

Discussion of this political song naturally recalls the "Song on the Scottish Wars,"⁶¹ mentioned by Brandl⁶² in support of his theory that stanza-linking had its origin in Middle Latin poems. This long Latin poem in alliterative quatrains rhyming a. a. a. a. is assuredly an interesting counterpart of the English songs. It shows types 1, 2, 3, and 9 and in several cases linking fails. The first and part of the second stanza are here given to show the alliteration and the normal linking:

Ludere volentibus ludens paro lyram;
De mundi malitea rem demonstro miram;
Nil quod nocet referam, rem gestam requiram;
Scribo novam satyram, sed sic ne seminet iram.

Ira movet militum mentes modernorum.⁶³

Linking of type (1), as well as of type (2) occurs, but less frequently. Type (3) is very common; in fact almost all the linking would strictly belong in this class since, because of the nature of

⁶⁰ Harleian 2253. I use Bøddeker's marks.

⁶¹ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶³ This poem was written soon after 1298, perhaps at Alnwick. Its artificial character may be understood from the fact that the fourth line of each quatrain is a hexameter (sometimes a pentameter) taken from some Latin poet then popular. In the MS. the source of these lines is written in the margin, e. g., 4 "Morus," 8 "Cato," 12 "Cato," etc.

Latin syntax, a word is rarely repeated in exactly the same form. Type (4) does not occur by itself but in at least one case (verses 68-9) it is used to enforce type (2). Linking by alliteration (9) seems to appear at verses 112-3, 184-5, 264-5. This last case will serve for illustration:

Si vitam inspicias hominum sidereus (?) mores.
Quasi sus insurgeret leonis virtuti.

Linking fails altogether between stanzas 2-3, and verses 136-7, 252-3.

It is interesting to note that three other Latin poems in the same stanza in Wright's collection "Song on the Times," p. 14; "Song Against Scholastic Studies," p. 206; and "The Battle of Bannockburn," p. 262; show no traces of linking, and are only slightly alliterative.

This Latin poem has been discussed for the light it may throw on the system of linking in the English poems. In the case of this one poem it seems at least as probable that the Latin is an imitation of the English as that the Latin forms the model.

Linking in the poems of Laurence Minot has been frequently noted.⁶⁴ Koelbing says that the device is apparent in songs VI, VII and VIII. Brandl speaks of "three ballads of Minot," and Madden refers in a general way to the "songs of Minot." The device is not confined to "three" of the songs but is apparent in I, II, V, IX, X and XI, beside those mentioned by Koelbing. As in the lyrics described above, the stanzaic structure varies, and there is both stanza-linking (I, VI, VII, VIII); and internal linking (II, V, IX, X and XI). On the whole the system is not only very perfectly carried out, but most of the linking is of type (1). Frequently the last word of one stanza recurs as the first of the next.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that even in these songs, which on the whole use the device so consistently and show

⁶⁴ Ten Brink, *History of English Literature* (Eng. trans.), I, 323-4. "Minot was fond of increasing the technical difficulties of his task. He was wont, in almost all his strophic poems, to unite the end of a stanza more closely with the beginning of a refrain or of a following stanza by the repetition of a word or idea. This was unknown neither to the Provençal art-poesy, nor to the lyric of western England." My references are to Hall's *Edition of Minot*, Ox. 1897.

so many cases of types (1) and (2) there appear also types (3) and (9). Examples of type (1) are: I, 1-2, VI, 2-4, VII, 13-4; of type (2): I, 2-3, *et passim*, VII, 10-11; of type (3): VII, 5-6, 7-8; of type (4) no examples; of type (9) linking by alliteration VI, 1-2:

Bot þou be war, I wene.

When all yowre wele es went.

Linking fails in VII, 9-10.

Amours⁶⁵ calls attention to three Scottish alliterative poems in the same stanza as "The Anturs" and as "Golagrus," which show traces of linking. "The Buke of the Howlat," as Amours says, shows no attempt at internal linking, but is consistent in its linking of stanzas as far as stanza 23. Before this, linking fails only at 5-6. After stanza 23, fourteen cases of the first and second type of stanza-linking occur: 24-5, 26-7, 29-31, 37-8, 49-52, 56-8, 59-60, 61-2, 66-7, 73-4; and five cases of type 9, linking by alliteration: 31-2, 36-7, 38-9, 55-6, 64-5. In this latter part stanza-linking tends to run in groups, such as have been noticed in other poems which are not consistently linked. In "Rauf Coilsear," linking occurs somewhat more frequently than is indicated by Amours. The cases belonging to types (1) and (2) are: 3-4, 11-12, 39-40, 45-6, 60-1; to type (4), linking involving three verses and in a few cases five (the wheel): 4-6, 18-9, 22-3, 26-7, 29-30, 37-8, 41-2, 43-4, 67-8, 70-1; to type (9), the rather doubtful linking by alliteration: 24-6, 35-6, 49-51, 53-4, 55-6. In "The Pistell of Susan" are two examples of linking: 6-7, 20-1.

Amours also calls attention to stanza-linking in the York Mystery Play, no. xlvi., and remarks that the play has almost the same stanzaic structure as the Scottish alliterative poems.

The variety of meter and stanza in the York plays is generally recognized. Miss L. Toulmin Smith has described in some detail the metres of the plays.⁶⁶ Her description shows that plays xl. and

⁶⁵ S.T.S., 27, p. lxxxvi.

⁶⁶ *York Mystery Plays*, pp. l-111, "The great variety of metre in the collection, totally unlike the regular verse in which the French mysteries are uniformly written, points to their native growth, and the improbability of their having been translated or introduced from France. . . . Here there are twenty-

xlvi. which have the most stanza-linking are also the most alliterative of the plays, and all the rest which have stanza-linking also show a good deal of alliteration. A study of the York Plays shows that others than those mentioned by Miss Smith exhibit linking although less consistently. A list of the cases of stanza-linking is given below.⁶⁷ About twenty of these cases belong to type (4), the rest chiefly to types (1) and (2). No attempt has been made to list the cases of type (9), linking by alliteration. This kind of linking seems to appear frequently, and often in juxtaposition to cases of undoubted linking so that it may have been felt as a real link. Typical instances of what appears to be linking by alliteration are given below.⁶⁸

For a number of reasons these plays have considerable significance for the study of stanza-linking. They are almost indubitably of native origin; some of them are unusually consistent in their use of linking; they show all the different types which have been pointed out in S.P.; linking occurs in various kinds of stanza, but always in connection with alliteration.

Stanza-linking is found to some extent in the popular ballads. Hart, in his *Ballad and Epic*,⁶⁹ has pointed out some instances in the Border Ballads. In only a few ballads does stanza-linking appear

two different forms of stanza. They are of two classes: (a) the alliterative, in which the metre is determined by accent or stress, not by the number of syllables or feet; (b) determinable by accent or feet, the lines having usually a fixed number of syllables; in this class the alliteration is nearly lost. Both kinds end in rime. Some of the stanzas are very complicated, chiefly in class (a). In xl and xlvi is that regular repetition (or iteration) of the last line of one stanza in the first line of the next, dear to the northern poets; and there is a partial but decided iteration of link-words in the same manner in Plays vi, xiv, xxxii, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii."

⁶⁷ vi, 18-9, 23-4; vii, 5-7; ix, 1-3, 4-5, 12-13, 20-1, 22-3; xiv, 4-5, 11-2, 16-7, 18-9, 20-1; xv, 1-2, 9-10, 11-4; xxxii, 17-21, 22-31, 34-5, 36-40; xxxiii, 2-3, 5-6, 7-8, 11-2, 31-2; xxxvi, 1-8, 18-20, 29-31; xxxvii, 9-10, 11-2, 17-9, 22-3, 28-9, 31-2; xxxviii, 4-5, 34-6, 41-2, 46-7, 56-7, 60-1, 66-8; xl, perfect linking throughout; xlii, 1-2, 4-5, 6-7, 13-4, 17-19, 27-8; xliv, 2-3, 4-5, 9-14; xlvi, 1-8, 10-13, 14-6, 17-20, 23-4.

⁶⁸ ix, 3-4, 21-2; xxxii, 21-2, 31-2; xxxvii, 16-7, 20-1.

⁶⁹ (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, xi, 67, "Repetition is less common than in the Simple Ballad, and what there is does not take the form of elaborate stanzaic groups, but consists, ordinarily, in the binding together of stanza and stanza by repeating, usually with a change in the rhyme word, the last two lines of the first in the first two of the second." [Note:] "As in *Dick o the Cow* (185, 8 and 9, 22 and 23, 26 and 27, 43 and 44)."

frequently enough to suggest a conscious desire to link: "Sir Andrew Barton"⁷⁰ in 82 stanzas shows 19 instances of linking, 9 of which belong to type (1); Ballad 175, "The Rising in the North" shows similar linking, e. g., 33-4, also considerable linking by rhyme alone. Below⁷¹ is given a brief statement of the linking in these ballads.

Stanza-linking in "The Pearl" is so familiar that it would need only a passing mention were it not that it presents some interesting variations from the type in S.P., and in the romances and poems so far studied. The linking devices of "The Pearl" have been carefully described by Osgood in his edition.⁷² A quotation of the closing verses of the last stanza of group I and the link of the first two stanzas of group II will illustrate the somewhat elaborate scheme:

I slode upon a slepyng-slaste——
On þat prec(i)os perle wythouten *spot*.

6.

Fro *spot* my spyryt þer sprang in space,
My body on balke þer bod in sweuen;

.

For wern neuer webbes þat wysez weuen
Of half so dere *adub*(be) mente.

7.

Dubbed wern alle þo downes sydes.

⁷⁰ Child's *Ballads*, no. 167a.

⁷¹ Types (1) and (2): 167a, 1-2, 11-2, 14-5, 17-8, 41-2, 44-5, 64-5, 66-7, 74-5, 175, 6-7, 16-7, 22-3, 32-4, 36-7, 39-40. 185, 3-4, 10-1, 22-3, 26-7, 37-8, 39-40. Type (3): 167a, 8-9. 175, 37-8. Type (4): 167a, 2-3, 9-10, 12-3, 15-6, 48-50, 58-9, 67-8, 76-7. 175, 8-9, 13-5. 185, 8-9, 12-3, 28-9, 43-4, 52-3, 55-7, 58-9.

⁷² P. xlv: "Each stanza is linked to the next by the recurrence of its last word in the first line following (*concatenatio*). Furthermore, the stanzas fall into twenty groups, each group consisting of five stanzas with a common refrain. Though this refrain is varied slightly between stanza and stanza within the group, the last word of it is always the same, which, of course, makes the "c"-rime throughout a group the same. The refrain and *concatenatio* thus produce an effect of both pause and continuity between stanzas, which is one of the most charming external traits of the poem. Somewhat the same effect is produced between group and group by the *concatenatio* which unites them, and by the change of refrain which distinguishes them."

"Withouten spot" is the refrain of group I and "spot" the linking word for every stanza. The same word links the two groups but at the end of the first stanza of group II a new refrain "adubbenment" is taken up, and this or some form of it becomes the linking word for every stanza in group II.

The word refrain suggests that this linking is somewhat different from that which we have been studying heretofore. In S.P. and the other poems each stanza had a new link, primarily for the useful purpose of aiding the memory; here the same link recurs for five stanzas forming also a refrain, and seems not so much useful as ornamental. The system of "The Pearl" is in some respects more elaborate than that of S.P., in some respects simpler. The repetition involves the refrain, but it is always only one word, never a full verse, or a phrase. The repeated word occurs always within the last verse of the one stanza and the first of the next, never within four instead of two adjoining verses. Linking by related words is not unknown (e. g., 37-8), but there seems to be no dependence on alliteration as a sole device. It is a significant comment on the failure of linking in S.P. that even in this highly artistic poem, linking fails twice.⁷³ "The Pearl" was probably written for readers, not for hearers like S.P. It seems to show an influence of Romance or Latin models, which is not clear in the poems we have been studying.

The combination of linking with a regular refrain which we have examined in "The Pearl" appears also in certain "shorter poems of the fourteenth century, chiefly religious," to which Osgood has called attention because they are written in the same twelve-line stanza as "The Pearl." Most of these show the refrain without linking, but some few take up the refrain at the beginning of the next stanza: E. E. T. S., XXIV: 12, 18; CXVII: 658, 672. The first is a typical example: each stanza ends with the verse, "So be my coumfort, crist *ihesus*," and the following stanza always begins with "*Ihesu*." In the song on p. 18 the second word instead of the last of the refrain is repeated.

⁷³ 51-2, 60-1. In the latter place linking fails according to the system of "The Pearl" because the refrain and linking word is "ryȝt," but there is some repetition, such as we might find in S.P. The linking word itself is taken up in verse 3 of the second stanza, but such linking is more remote than we dared to consider legitimate even in the less artistically perfect poems and romances. The second stanza also begins with a proper name.

Other examples of refrain and linking, not cited by Osgood because they appear in poems of different stanzaic structure, may be found in the same MSS. E. E. T. S., XV: 174; XXIV: 22, 88; CXVII: 493, 696, 699, 704. In the first of these the refrain, and consequently the linking word, is in Latin;⁷⁴

Or aungelis in hevyn towre!
Gaude, flore virginali!

Gaude, goddys spouse so deere!

In several of the other poems linking frequently fails. In the lyric XXIV, 22, the device is carried only through the first eight stanzas.

Before leaving the discussion of this type of linking which involves the refrain, it may be well to note that a similar device, one degree less elaborate, may be found in some of the poems of MS. Harleian 2253, mentioned above. GL. IV, VIII, and IX are distinguished by the fact that each stanza begins with the same word or words: "Sute iesu," "Jesu," "Moder," but there is no refrain at the end of the preceding stanza which serves as a link. It looks, however, as if the two devices had some relation to each other, in development.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Written by D. T. Mylle in 1508, according to E. E. T. S., XV, pp. xviii and 146.

⁷⁵ A study of the versification of these poems reveals evidence of a rule, although nobody has called attention to it before, that linking may be omitted whenever successive stanzas begin with the same word. For example, GL. IV, every stanza of which begins with the words: "Sute iesu," although it has some alliteration, shows no trace of linking. The same is true of GL. VIII, every stanza of which begins with "Jesu." The rule can be worked out best in GL. XVI. Stanza I begins with the word "God," and is linked at the end to stanza II. Stanzas II and III are unlinked, but stanza III begins with the word "God." Stanzas III and IV are linked. Stanzas IV and V are unlinked, but stanza V begins with the word "God." Stanzas V, VI and VII (the last) are linked. This poem has also the device of beginning and ending with exactly the same verse, "God, þat al þis myhtes may."

In GL. IX, so soon as the stanzas cease to begin with the word "modor," linking is introduced. See stanzas IX-X and X-XI. In WL. V the stanzas are tied together by the initial words "heo" or "hire," and in WL. IX by the word "wymmen," except where they are linked. This rule, which allows linking at the end of a stanza to be omitted when successive stanzas begin with the same word, appears to be observed at least occasionally in later English lyrics, and

V

Three of the romances which have been shown to have a great deal of stanza-linking, "The AunTERS," "The Avowynge," "Sir Degrevant," exhibit also the unusual peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same words.

The English metrical romances, which begin and end with exactly the same word or words are as follows:—

The AunTERS (Ed. Robson, the Lambeth, Douce and Thornton MSS. vary slightly).	In the tyme of Arther thys antur be-tydde, In the tyme of King Arthore This anter be-tidde.
The Avowynge (Ed. Robson).	He that made us on the mulde, That made us on the mulde.
Sir Degrevant (Ed. Halliwell).	Lord Gode in Trynité, Yeff home hevene ffor to se, That lovethe gamene and gle And gestys to ffeде.

(These four verses are repeated precisely at the end.)

Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyst. (Ed. Morris, E.E.T.S.)	Sipen þe sege & þe assaut wats sesed at Troye After þe segge & þe asaute wats sesed at Troye.
--	--

in the York Plays. For example, in York Plays, VI, stanzas 6, 7, and 11, begin with the word "Adam," and are not linked. As might be expected, linking sometimes occurs in plays of the other cycles, e. g., Towneley Plays, XIV.

This MS., Harleian 2253, was written in Herefordshire, about 1307 (Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc., IV, p. v; Bøddeker, *Altengl. Dicht.*, p. iii), but most of the poems give evidence of having been copied from more northern dialects, and are therefore older. Perhaps some of them date back to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Of the poems in Harleian 2253 the following are linked almost or quite completely in the "Sir Perceval" manner: PL. II, GL. I, WL. IV, VI. The two parts of the strophe are uniformly linked together, but not the separate strophes in WL. I. The following show considerable linking: WL. VII, GL. III, XVI. The following have a few linked strophes: WL. V, IX. One of the French poems in this MS. (Wright, p. 107) has its stanzas tied together by a recurrence of the word "pie" in the first line of each stanza. Neither linking nor alliteration appears.

VI

The new points which it is hoped that this paper may be thought to establish are as follows:

"Sir Perceval" is more completely linked than has heretofore been recognized. Any demonstration that the linking in S.P. is almost complete brings with it a certainty that our one MS. of the romance is very nearly free from gaps. That is to say, we have the story about as it was told by the poet who put it into its present linked stanzaic form. Of course, this nameless English poet may have omitted things that were in his original.

By comparison of the four MSS. of "The AunTERS" it has been shown that this romance was once linked throughout. The archetype, to which all of the MSS. go back, must have been the work of a skillful versifier and it is logical to suppose that this skilled craftsman was the man who combined the episodes of the appearance of the ghost and the combat of Gawain and Galeron which make up the romance of "The AunTERS of Arthur." These episodes then are not to be regarded as floating stories tacked together by a stupid compiler. Rather they were worked up into one poem by an unknown artist who bound all the stanzas of his romance together by intricate devices, and called attention to the unity of his narrative by repeating at the close two verses from the beginning as if to say "This is one work."

It has been pointed out that the system of linking in S.P. and the other poems is based on verbal repetition rather than on repeti-

Sir Triamour. (Ed. Halliwell, *Percy Soc.* 16.)

Heven blys that alle schalle wyne,
Schylde us from dedly synne,
And graunte us the blys of hevynne!
.
.
.
God bryng us to that blys
That evyr schalle laste without mys!
Amen! Amen! for charytee!

Child of Bristowe. (Ed. Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry of Eng.*)

He that made bothe helle and hevne
Man and woman in dayes vii
.
.
.
Now he that made bothe helle and hevne
And alle the worlde in dayes sevne
Graunte us alle his grace.

Also "Kyng Alisaunder" (Ed. Weber) shows traces of this same peculiarity.

tion of thought, that it very surely involves more than the final verse of one stanza and the first of the next, because sometimes adjacent sentences not adjacent verses are linked, and that it includes word-echo and perhaps alliteration. Certainly alliteration often enforces other types of linking.⁷⁷ Linking by word-echo, linking by repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive stanzas, and the omission of linking when a stanza begins with a proper name are other points which have been here for the first time indicated in English verse.

Stanza-linking belongs almost exclusively to northern poetry; it always occurs in connection with alliteration; it appears first in its fully developed form in popular songs of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and it may be differentiated from the linking of "The Pearl," which involves a refrain, and appears to be of a less popular origin. It seems to me that this points to a popular, native origin for stanza-linking in English rather than to a foreign and artistic one.

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⁷⁷ The evidence of the different MSS. of "The Auntes" tends to show that linking by alliteration alone formed no part of the original scheme, and appears only where the gleeman has forgotten an original word-echo. This suggests that linking by alliteration was at first adventitious and accidental. Still, Miss Medary seems to have shown that in some cases (e. g., the shorter poems) it may have been felt as a link.—A. C. L. B.

ON THE ORIGIN OF STANZA-LINKING IN ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE VERSE

I

IT has been pointed out by Miss Medary that, of all early English metrical romances, only six: "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," "The Avowynge," "Sir Degrevant," "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune," have linking between any large number of their stanzas. Miss Medary has noted that all six depend for their metrical effects largely upon alliteration, and were written in the north of England. She has concluded that stanza-linking is especially significant in the first four,¹ three of which: "The AunTERS," "The Avowynge," "Sir Degrevant," show the unusual peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same words. One should further observe that all four are Arthurian, and that "Sir Tristrem" and "Thomas of Erceldoune" deal with cognate material.

What is the origin of these complicated devices, of which stanza-linking is the chief? Schipper, in his *Englische Metrik*, I, 316 f., regards stanza-linking in English as borrowed from French or Provençal lyrics. He calls attention to the *coblas capfinidas* in Provençal, and points out that even the extreme kind of *concatenatio* in Provençal, according to which not merely stanzas but every line is linked together by repetition, has one imitation in English—the "Rhyme-beginning-Fragment," printed by Furnivall.² He thinks Romance influence distinctly traceable in the twelve-line strophe of "The Pearl."

That the "Pearl"-linking is borrowed from some Romance

¹ Three of these romances occur in the Thornton MS.: "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," and "Sir Degrevant" (also "Thomas of Erceldoune").

² Early English Poems and Lives of Saints, *Phil. Soc.*, 1862, p. 21.

"Loue hauib me brost in libir þošt.
þošt ic ab to blinne;
Blinne to þench hit is for nošt;
Nošt is loue of sinne.

Sinne me hauib in care ibrošt,
Brošt in mochil unwinne, etc."

model, appears plausible, but, as Miss Medary points out, it is different from the "Sir Perceval"-linking, and is closer to the refrain. Linking by refrain is common in French, in Provençal, and in Mediæval Latin, and its source demands no special inquiry here. Numerous examples of refrain are in all collections of Middle English lyrics.

Of course the authors of the linked English poems, in Harleian 2253, were familiar with Romance, as well as Latin poetry—indeed, French poems apparently composed in England, occur in the same MS. It can hardly be said, however, that the "Sir Perceval"-linking is modelled on any Romance *concatenatio*. Romance poems are rarely alliterative for one thing, and obviously the English linking by alliteration could hardly be borrowed from them. The English poems and romances are seldom the work of literary craftsmen, and the appeal is throughout to a popular uncritical audience. These are not conditions which favor the introduction of unfamiliar French verse forms.³ It may of course be that the English linking started from the Romance "rime concaténée," as a beginning,⁴ and

³ Cf. Miss Strong, "The Tail-Rhyme Strophe," *P. M. L. A.*, XXII, esp. p. 414.

⁴ Stanzas linked by rhyme without repetition of words occur frequently in Romance. They were called in Provence "coblas capfinidas," or "capcaudadas"; Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 79. Fifteenth century terms for this linking were: "rime enchayenne," "rime concaténée," "vers entrelacez," and "rims serpentins"; Mari, "Ritmo Latino e terminologia Ritmica medievale," *Studi di Fil. Rom.*, VIII, 83; L. E. Kastner, *Rev. des Lang. Rom.*, VII, 25 (1904). The practice existed also in Portuguese, Diez, *Ueber die erste Portugiesische Kunst und Hofpoesie*, p. 61; and in Spanish, Wolf, *Studien*, p. 116, note; 211, note; 261.

Stanzas linked by exact repetition of the final word at the beginning of the next stanza occur less frequently, and those linked by repetition of other than the rhyme word are rare. References to poems linked by verbal repetition in Old French, Italian, and Middle High German are collected by Mätzner, *Altfranzösischen Lieder*, p. 159 f. I have noted examples in Mahn, *Werke der Troubadours*, I, 67, IV, 6, 14, 56, 64, 66, 69, 76; Scheler, *Trouvères Belges*, II, 143. Alliteration as an ornament is not unknown in Provençal poetry ("repliatio multiplicada"). One poem of Guiraut Riquier (dated 1283) even combines with alliteration linking both by word and by alliteration, Mahn, IV, 53. Cf. also Peire d'Auvergne, ed. Zenker; and Scholz, "Die Allit. in der altprov. lyric," *Zt. f. rom. phil.*, XXXVII, 385. But these stray peculiarities seem to have nothing to do with English alliterative verse.

Professor F. M. Warren, to whom I am indebted for references, has studied parallelism in early French poetry in *Mod. Phil.*, III, 179 f. On *concatenatio* in English cf. Schipper, *Grundriss der Eng. Metrik*, p. 277; Kaluza, *Eng. Metrik*, p. 198.

developed independently as a popular form in England, but it would seem as if other forces were at work.

Sir Frederick Madden⁵ long ago suggested that English stanza-linking was modelled after the *concatenatio* of popular Latin poetry in the middle ages, and gave as an instance a Latin "Poem on the Scottish Wars from the time of Edward I," in Harleian 2253 (Ed. Wright, *Pol. Songs*, p. 166). But this Latin poem seems rather itself to be modelled on English usage.⁶ Other Latin poems⁷ in the same MS., composed in the same stanza,⁸ show no trace of *concatenatio*. I have not found any considerable body of Latin poetry which could have served as a model for the "Sir Perceval"-linking.⁹

⁵ *Syr Gawayne*, p. 328 (1839).

⁶ Such is Miss Medary's opinion, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, VII, p. 260-1. Cf. Ten Brink, *Gesch. d. Eng. Litt.*, I, 382 (speaking of the poems in Harleian 2253): "Dass ganze Formeln und Verse aus dem Volkslied in die Lieder der Kleriker übergegangen sind, ist nicht zu bezweifeln."

⁷ Another Latin poem, written near Durham in the thirteenth century, and printed by Hall as an appendix to his *Poems of Minot*, pp. 112-120, has alliteration and occasional stanza-linking. But it also seems a reflection of English usage.

⁸ Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 206, 262.

⁹ Professor Warren has quoted to me from a rhymed Latin letter of Baudri de Bourgeil (end of twelfth century) to Adela of Blois, which repeats the final hemistich of one couplet in the first hemistich of the next, but without alliteration. Faral, *Recherches sur les Sources Latines des Contes et Romans Courtois*, pp. 26 f., quotes a Latin poem of Primat (eleventh century) which combines *concatenatio* with some alliteration; also on page 23 a Latin poem, attributed either to Walter Map or to Gautier de Châtillon with elaborate *concatenatio*, cf. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, VI, 129, 229.

In my search for Latin poems with *concatenatio* I have examined (besides Hauréau, and Wright, *Pol. Songs*) the following: du Méril, *Poésies inédits du Moyen âge*; *Poésies Populaires Latines ant. au 12e siècle* (on repetition and stanza-linking cf. I, 150, note 1, *fin*. "Mihi est propositum," II, 206-7, shows linking between stanzas 1-2 and 2-3). Wright, *Latin Poems att. to W. Mapes*, 1841; *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century*, 2 vols., 1872; *Pol. Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 2 vols., 1859-61; Johannis de Garlandia, *De triumphis Ecclesiae*, 1856. Schmeller, *Carmina Burana*, 1904; Ch. de Smedt, *Gestes des évêques de Cambrai*, 1880; Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, 1838; Duemmler and Trabe, *Poetarum Lat. Medii Aevi*, 4 vols., in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 1880-1914; *Pol. Poems*, ed. Madden, *Archaeologia*, XXIX, 1892; ed. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1890; *Adam of St. Victor*, ed. Wrangham, 3 vols., 1881; Leyser, *Historia Poetarum*, 1721; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnici Medii Aevi*, in 53 vols., which include Daniel's *Thesaurus*. The only Latin poems with stanza-linking that I have found are the five following, all in the *Analecta*: IV, 94, "De Sancto Augustino," which consists of eight linked quatrains in a fifteenth

Stanza-linking in English may have started from some hint given by Latin usage, but it had an independent development. One is curious to know what other forces, if any, were at work.

II

It is a remarkable fact that stanza-linking in English, if it be indeed modelled on Romance or on Latin usage, always occurs in connection with alliteration. Romances and poems which depend for their effects upon rhyme and eschew alliteration, abound in Middle English, but not one of these, so far as I know, shows any stanza-linking. Nor do unalliterative poems exhibit the device of beginning and ending with the same word. Stanza-linking and beginning and ending with the same word are practices which were followed only in the West Midland and the North of England,¹⁰ in century MS.; XII, 216, "De S. Nicolao Tolentino," which consists of six linked quatrains in a fifteenth century MS.; XX, 228, "Conductus ad Poculum," which is in the Sens "Feast of Fools" and consists of ten linked quatrains in a thirteenth century MS.; and especially XXXII, 133, "Maria virgo virginum," which is in 46 linked quatrains, and XXXVI, 129-207, "Soliloquium sive Psalterium B. V. M.," which has 1401 linked quatrains. The last two are in the same fifteenth century MS., and by the same author. The MS. notes that this author was thought to be still living.

These poems show that stanza-linking was known in mediaeval Latin, so that influence from this verse on English romances is within the range of possibility. The long psalter of 1401 stanzas might possibly be regarded as a parallel to the rather long linked English romances.

But this psalter, like the other linked poems in Latin, makes no special use of alliteration. It is difficult to believe that these religious poems were models for northern English alliterative romances. We should have to assume that Latin poems of a more popular character having linked stanzas existed, and influenced English writers. And it is difficult to see why this Latin verse should have influenced alliterative verse only, and operated entirely in the north of England. The peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same word is not, to my knowledge, known in Latin verse.

¹⁰ MS. Harleian 2253 was written in Herefordshire, and the poems were composed in the West Midland, or even more northerly dialect, not in the South, as Bøddeker thought. See Schalter, "Ueber die Sprache und Metrik . . . der Lieder des MS. Harl. 2253," Herrig's *Archiv.*, 71, 153 f.; and Heider, *Untersuch. zur mittelengl. erotischen lyric*, 1250-1300, Halle diss., 1905. Bøddeker's PL. II is a possible exception, but cannot be proved to have been originally written in Kentish as Bøddeker supposed. "Sir Tristrem," "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," "Sir Degrevant," "The Avowynge," "Thomas of Erceldoune," "A Ballad on the Scottish Wars," "Minot's Poems," "The Book of the Howlat," "Rauf Coilsear," "Golagrus and Gawain," and the York Plays are of course all of the West Midland, or the "North Countree."

districts where, as is well known, alliterative verse flourished. Although this does not exclude a possible origin in Latin or French, it certainly makes against it.

No one seems to have suggested, in this connection, a possible influence of Irish and Welsh verse upon English alliterative poetry of the Welsh marches. To begin and end a poem with the same word was the rule in Irish,¹¹ and Irish poems of the early middle ages had not infrequently stanza-linking, both by alliteration and otherwise.

Stanza-linking, effected sometimes by repetition of a word, sometimes by syllable-echo, and sometimes by alliteration alone, was designated in Middle-Irish "*fidrad freccomail*." It is called by modern Irish scholars *conachlann*.¹² Stanza-linking was used particularly in longer poems, which thus form a parallel to the linking of the long English romances, "Sir Perceval," "The Aun-

¹¹ The habit of beginning and ending a poem with the same word or words is Celtic and cannot, so far as I know, be traced in early French or Latin poetry. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, III, 241, quotes from a MS. of the eighth century a Latin poem: "Brigit beatissimae," which ends with the word "beatissimae," but he adds that the poem is in an Irish hand, and by an Irish poet who wrote in Ireland. Mone says: "Diese Manier (of marking the end by repetition of the first word) wurde auch hie und da von teutschen Dichtern nachgeahnt," and gives as an example No. 642 of his collection, which is from a St. Gall MS. At St. Gall, of course, Irish influence may be suspected. The rule in Irish is as follows: "The concluding word of every poem must repeat either the whole or part of the first word (or first stressed word) of the poem," Kuno Meyer, *Primer of Irish Metrics*, 1909, p. 12. This same rule is widely observed in Welsh poetry of the twelfth and following centuries.

¹² Stokes, in his edition of *Félire Oengusso*, *Henry Bradshaw Soc.*, p. xlii, 1905, discusses this and gives some references. See also Douglas Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 414, note 1: *Story of Early Gaelic Lit.*, p. 157. Those not at home in Irish learning may be interested in some stanzas in which Dr. Hyde has translated and exactly imitated the metre of the *Oengus*:

"Bless O Christ my speaking
King of heavens seven
Strength and wealth and power
In this hour be *given*."

"*Given* O thou brightest,
Destined not to sever,
King of angels glorious
And victorious *ever*."

"*Ever* o'er us shining, etc."

ters," etc. The *Félire Oengusso*,¹³ which extends to 591 stanzas, is linked throughout, sometimes by repetition of a word or syllable, oftener by alliteration alone. So are ten poems¹⁴ which form an epilogue to the *Saltair na Rann*. Kuno Meyer has studied stanza-linking in an eleventh century Irish poem about Brendan,¹⁵ also in other Irish poems.¹⁶ More examples of linking by words or syllables may be observed in Irish poems in the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*.¹⁷

III

Of still greater interest in this connection is the extraordinary vogue of these devices of stanza-linking, which is called in Welsh *adgymeriad*,¹⁸ and of beginning and ending a poem with the same word, in Welsh poetry of the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries. Whoever turns over the pages of *Myvyrian Archaiology* containing poetry of this period, will be struck by the pre-

¹³ Stokes thinks that this dates from 800c (p. vii). Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, VI, 8.

¹⁴ Nos. 151-162, pp. 114-20 in the *Saltair na Rann*, ed. Stokes, 1883. It is to be noted also that every one of these poems begins and ends with the same word or words. Some of the other poems, e. g., nos. 1, 111, 112, are linked at least in part. The *Saltair na Rann* dates probably from the eleventh century, cf. p. i.

¹⁵ "Ein mittelirisches Gedicht auf Brendan den Meerfahrer," Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, XXV, 436 f. (1912).

¹⁶ "Ueber die älteste Irische Dichtung," Berlin *Abhandlungen*, phil.-hist. Classe, no. 6, p. 8 ff. (1913).

¹⁷ Ed. Stokes, 1890. The three following stanzas are quoted from p. 63:

"Aeinis Senan tes ind ailen || Arda Neimidh,
fria crabudh ceart, cidh nach commaith || ba feacht feidhil.

Feidhligius ann cethracha lá || la fir-Fiadhait
nogu táinic *Raphél aingel* || cruth adfiadhait.

Asrubart ris *Raphél aingeal* || ro ataire, (?)
ára tesséadh, taghram sonæ, || do Tuaim Aibhe."

Compare p. 103, and poems in the *Boroma*, from LL., a MS. of 1150, in O'Grady, *Sil. Gad.*, I, 364-6. (No attempt is made in the present paper to correct the texts as printed by the various editors.)

¹⁸ Stokes, *Fél. Oeng.*, p. xlii; Meyer, Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, XXV, p. 437, note 1. Loth, *La Métrique Galloise*, II, 276, calls stanza-linking "cyngog."

ponderance of linked stanzas¹⁹ and by the continual habit of beginning and ending with the same word. No such body of linked poetry has ever been pointed out, either in mediaeval French or in Latin.

Welsh poetry of this period conformed to very intricate laws of assonance and sound repetition, which are unknown to English but the general effect of Welsh poetry, with its constant repetition of consonants, as well as of vowels, may have sounded to a listening English gleeman not unlike his own alliterative verse. The reader will observe in the following stanzas, which are all quoted from the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, and date between 1200 and 1300, that alliteration is an ever-present feature. These stanzas, which are taken from poems that are linked throughout, exhibit in Welsh the various kinds of linking which have been pointed out by Miss Medary in the English alliterative romances.

The following stanzas from an elegy on the Welsh prince, Maredudd ab Owain, written by Y Prydydd Bychan (The Little Bard), 1210–1260, show type (1), linking by a phrase—*deu hanner* (divided into halves)—*Myv. Arch.*, 2d ed., 1870, p. 261 :

Oet tec rwyf rwysc oliffer
Oet cleu darpar clod dirper
Oet glew maredut oet gloewner esgud
Yn ysgwyd *deu hanner*.

Oet *deu hanner* ber bar gwythrut yn llaw
Gwr ual llew digythrut
Oet erwan gwaew preitwan prut
Aruoll mawrgoll maredut.

Stanzas from another poem (p. 260) by the same bard and addressed to the same prince, show type (2), linking by a single word :

Llaw ar bar anwar enwawc varedut
Dreic rwytuut rutuoawc
Kynnyt blas dy digassawc
Kynnwalch muner ner *nerthawc*.

¹⁹ Cf. Loth, *La Métrique Galloise*, II, 206, "Il y a cependant une particularité à relever dans ce poème (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 246) qui caractérise les compositions de ce type au treizième siècle : c'est la reprise du mot final de la strophe à l'initiale ou au moins au début de la strophe suivante, soit par une partie du mot, la première syllabe par exemple, soit par le mot entier."

Ym *neirhyawc* breinhyawc brenhin gwyr toruoet
 Teruysc lloegyr y gelwir
 Kymreisc wystlon a wystlir
 Kymry ae dyry roc dir.

Type (3), linking by a cognate word may be illustrated from an elegy on Blegywryd (p. 265) by the same bard, which is linked by different inflectional forms of the verb—*darbod*:

Marw blegywryt bla wrthot galon
 Wyf galar anoruot
 Aerwalch balch bolchgled aruot
 Eurwawr hoeddyl ddiruawr *ddaruot*.

Deryw Bleg. deurud arwyd hoew
 Neum doeth hoet oe tramgwyd
 Drutwalch hylwybyr ualch hylwyd
 Dewr argeletyr da wr arglwyd.

Type (4), linking by the repetition of a word from the penultimate verse of one stanza in the first of the next is hard to find by itself in the *Myv. Arch.* The scarcity of this type of linking probably explains itself by the brevity of Welsh stanzas, four verses as against sixteen in the English linked romances. Type (4) occurs occasionally as a reinforcement to type (1). The following example is from an elegy on Maredudd ab Cynan by Llywarch ab Llywelyn (1160–1220), on p. 210:²⁰

Meibyon dewr derynt ychlan
 Mur greid kynniuyeid *kynan*

Dwyn *meibyon kyan* cyn bu llwyd yrun
 Arwynawl ym plymnwyd.

(Whereas in Irish poetry linking by alliteration is common and linking by repetition of words or syllables rare, in Welsh the reverse is true, so that examples of type (9), linking by alliteration alone, scarcely occur, and when they do turn up, appear to be reinforced by word-echo. (The uncertainty of linking by alliteration in English will be remembered.) In the following stanzas from an elegy

²⁰ Compare p. 235, col. 2, st. 2; p. 254, col. 1, st. 3; p. 257.

on Davydd Benfras (p. 255) by Bleddyn Vardd (1250–1290) linking is effected by alliteration but it is reinforced by vowel rhyme—*dri, tri*:

Pob deu pobyl dygyn eu colli
Pob awr poen dramawr pob *dri*.

Oet *tringar* an car cof newyt an peir
Perygyl hiraeth peunyt.

These Welsh bards knew the rule, pointed out above²¹ for the first time in English, that stanza-linking may be omitted whenever successive stanzas begin with the same word. This rule is observed in Irish linked poems.²²

They seem also to have observed the rule that linking may be omitted when the first verse of a stanza contains a proper name. For example, the elegy on Goronwy ab Ednyved, by Bleddyn Vardd (p. 254), is linked throughout except at stanzas 4–5. The first verse of stanza five contains the hero's name:²³

Kedawl *oronwy* kat uorgymlawd hard.

It is worth noting that occasionally both in Irish and in Welsh all methods of linking seem to fail.²⁴

IV

All extant Welsh poems of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seem, like those from which quotation has been made, to be either addressed to princes or written for noble hearers. These

²¹ ROMANIC REVIEW, VII, p. 266, n. 75. For Welsh examples, cf. *Myv. Arch.*, pp. 176, 186.

²² Kuno Meyer, Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. XXV, 437 (describing *fidrad freccomail*): "Das letzte Word jeder Strophe alliteriert mit einem der ersten Wörter der nächstfolgenden. Nur zwischen der ersten und zweiten Strophe fehlt diese Alliteration, und zwar deshalb, weil beide mit demselben Worte anfangen, . . . Diese Eigentümlichkeit der irischen Verskunst ist bisher noch nicht festgestellt worden. . . . Dieselbe Regel galt auch bei den kymrischen Barden. So zeigt ein Gedicht Cynddelws (Strachan, Introduction to Early Welsh, S. 234) *adgymeriad* in allen Strophen ausser in den sechs ersten, die alle mit 'asswynaf' anfangen."

²³ Compare p. 285, col. 2, st. 5.

²⁴ E. g., *Fél. Oeng.*, March 7–8, 17–18, May 7–8.

pieces, intended for courtly audiences, can hardly have directly influenced the English romances. But stanza-linking is so dominant in all of this poetry that one is surely justified in holding that it must have characterized also popular Welsh poetry during the same epoch, especially since it was not merely a technical ornament, but served a useful purpose. This conclusion is confirmed by the prevalence both of stanza-linking and of the habit of beginning and ending with the same word in Irish, which shows that the devices were deeply rooted in Celtic verse. One is justified in believing that popular entertainers in Wales, who sang of King Arthur, must have observed them.²⁵

Of the five English romances in question, two, "The AunTERS," and "The Avowynge," do not seem to rest as a whole upon any French original. Their exact local geography proves that they were written in the neighborhood of Carlisle, and they seem to be based in part upon Celtic traditions, which we may suppose were current in that neighborhood. The part of "The AunTERS," for instance, which celebrates Galeron of Galloway, who must have been a Celtic hero, does not suggest a French original, nor does that part of "The Avowynge" which exalts a hero, Badewyn of Briton, who was not popular in Anglo-Norman or French romance. It would be an attractive hypothesis to maintain that these two romances go back

²⁵ If the study of stanza-linking should establish some influence of Welsh popular verse upon English, it might help to explain one of the great puzzles of English literary history, namely, why the revival of English alliterative verse, which must have rested upon popular tradition from Anglo-Saxon times, showed such energy and persistence for two centuries, in the north and west of England, although the main current of verse elsewhere was steadily toward rhyme and metre according to French models. Saintsbury has frequently (*History of English Prosody*, I, 101, 126, 191; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 422), and with some exaggeration, called attention to the difficulty of explaining the persistence of alliterative verse in the West Midland and the North. He has made an improbable suggestion that the alliterative revival was "connected with the intellectual and religious stir effected by Richard Rolle of Hampole."

If Welsh influence could be admitted one might imagine that literary history repeated itself. Just as the influence of Irish teachers and poets encouraged Anglo-Saxons in Northumberland in the seventh century to use their own language instead of Latin for religious and poetic purposes, so we could suppose that the respect felt for Welsh linked and alliterative poetry in the thirteenth century emboldened English gleemen along the old Welsh marches to resist French fashions and to practice their native alliterative verse.

in part to Welsh originals and exhibit in form as well as in story the influence of Welsh poetry.

Several scholars hold that "Sir Perceval" rests directly upon Welsh traditions without the intervention of a French intermediary. Those who take an opposite position and believe in a French source have alleged no positive evidence except two or three proper names (Acheflour, Lufamour) which could easily have entered the story in other ways. "Sir Degrevant" seems to be largely an invention of its author and cannot represent much popular tradition. It stands on a different plane from the others. One might note in passing, however, that it shows little evidence of a French original. "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" has not stanza-linking and not much should be made of its beginning and ending with the same word in Celtic fashion. It contains proper names which point to a French origin, but its metre is so peculiar that it cannot be an exact translation of anything in French. Its author had evidently in mind models very different from French, and there is nothing to combat the idea that these models may have included Celtic poetry.

If any interaction between Welsh and English poetry took place, no doubt can exist as to which way the influence would have operated. Welsh poets of this period had nothing to learn from the English poets. Welsh poetic art was highly developed.²⁶ Stanza-linking and the habit of beginning and ending with the same word are sufficiently striking and practical features of style to have been noticed by gleemen, who listened to the recitation of Welsh verse even if the Englishmen understood little of what they heard.

The suggestion of this paper can have, as the author realizes, but a tentative value. Additional researches into the intricacies of Welsh verse are needed. For the present it is enough to note that no considerable body of linked alliterative poetry has been pointed

²⁶ See J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, ed. 1913, I, 59, speaking of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Wales, he calls attention to numerous marriages uniting the Norman and the Welsh aristocracy, and adds: "La génération sortie de ces unions fut plus galloise souvent que française. C'est très probablement par eux ou sous leur influence, par leur ménestrels, que les traditions celtiques se propagèrent en Angleterre. . . . Les bardes gallois n'avaient rien à apprendre des trouvères français, et de fait nulle influence française n'apparaît à aucun point de vue, dans leur poésies. La poésie lyrique galloise est très supérieure à la poésie française."

out in early French or Latin.²⁷ In Wales, where poetic art was carried to great excellence, and where bards had special privileges,²⁸ such a body of linked alliterative verse existed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The only English romances in which stanza-linking is important, "Sir Perceval," "The AunTERS," "The Avowynge," and "Sir Degrevant," originated in or near counties which were a part of the old Welsh borderland. The last three exhibit an unusual and Celtic peculiarity of beginning and ending with the same word. All four deal with Arthurian material. None shows unmistakable traces of an intermediate French original. Whether or not we believe that they derive their Arthurian plots from Welsh, with or without the intermediary of any French version, it seems possible that they may have been influenced by the form of Welsh poetry.

Stanza-linking existed both in mediaeval French and Latin, but no body of linked verse, such as might have served as a model for English writers, has been pointed out. If the device came from either of these sources it must have had in English a more or less independent development of which there is small trace, and its use must have gradually increased in alliterative verse until it finally found extended application in the long poems under discussion. Whatever be the history of stanza-linking, these poems are set apart by their alliteration from the main body of English verse, and could scarcely have been written under the *direct* influence of any known linked poem in French or Latin.

No explanation why stanza-linking appeared in the alliterative verse of the north of England only, and chiefly in four Arthurian romances has ever been given. I have followed a method of exclu-

²⁷ The question of the ultimate origin of stanza-linking and the other devices is of course not raised here. The point is that these devices existed in Irish and Welsh before their appearance in English. They may have been suggested to the Irish and Welsh by early Latin usage of the middle ages. Meyer (*Gesam. Abhand.*, II, 366 f.) would trace all alliteration back to Latin. The influence of the fifth-century grammarian, Virgilius Maro, cf. Zimmer, *Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, IX, 118, has not yet been worked out.

²⁸ Chaucer, it will be remembered, puts "the Bret Glascurion" (*Y Bardd Glas Keraint*) among world-famous harpers, *House of Fame*, III, 1208. It will, perhaps, be objected that no influence of Welsh verse upon English has ever been pointed out. Not even the great Welsh poet of the fourteenth century, Davydd Ab Gwilym, has ever been shown to have influenced English writers.

sion, and I have found, as I believe, that direct influence from either Romance or Latin linked verse is improbable. I have, therefore, been led to consider the possible influence of the great body of Welsh linked poetry. Welsh harpers were the most famous in the world. The fact that three out of four extant linked English romances begin and end with the same word, a peculiarity never observed outside of Celtic verse, seems like a clue pointing to Celtic influences. My conclusion is that influence of Welsh upon English in the matter of these rather salient devices of stanza-linking and beginning-and-ending-with-the-same-word is the most probable hypothesis.

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EL PRIMER LIBRO DE ESCRITOR AMERICANO

¿CUÁL es el libro más antiguo de escritor nacido en América? D. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, en su *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (México, 1886), y D. José Toribio Medina, en su *Imprenta en México* (primer tomo, Santiago de Chile, 1912), mencionan más de diez obras publicadas en la Nueva España por autores allí nacidos, y unas cuantas de autores cuyo origen es dudoso. El primero de los indiscutiblemente mexicanos, según el orden de publicación, es Fray Juan de Guevara, autor del perdido manual de *Doctrina cristiana en lengua huasteca* que se imprimió en 1548.¹ El segundo en el orden, y primero que publica libro en castellano, es el agustino Fray Pedro de Agurto, autor del *Tractado de que se deben administrar los Sacramentos de la Sancta Eucharistia y Extrema unction a los indios de esta Nueva España* (1573).

Pero D. Carlos M. Trelles, en su *Ensayo de bibliografía cubana de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Matanzas, 1907), atribuye a la Isla de Santo Domingo, primer país colonizado por los españoles en el Nuevo Mundo, la probabilidad de haber dado cuna "al primer americano que escribió y publicó un libro," a saber, Fray Alonso de Espinosa. El libro en que funda su hipótesis el Sr. Trelles se intitula *Del origen y milagros de la Santa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, que apareció en la Isla de Tenerife*, y, según la *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum* de Nicolás Antonio (Roma, 1672), se publicó en 1541, siete años antes que el más antiguo opúsculo de autor mexicano.

Mis investigaciones me hacen creer que Santo Domingo produjo, en Fray Alonso, a uno de los más antiguos escritores de América. Fué del siglo en que vivieron las poetisas dominicanas Doña Leonor de Ovando y Doña Elvira de Mendoza; y, entre los mexicanos, no sólo Guevara y Agurto, sino también, junto a otros menos interesantes, Tadeo Niza (cuyo libro histórico sobre la conquista de México, que se dice escrito hacia 1548, no llegó a las prensas), el médico Fray Agustín Farfán, los poetas Francisco de Terrazas y

¹ Fray Juan de la Cruz, autor de la segunda *Doctrina cristiana en lengua huasteca*, impresa en 1571, no parece haber sido mexicano, sino español.

Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, y el historiador Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla; y finalmente, entre los peruanos, Pedro de Oña y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Faltan datos para suponer que Fray Alonso haya sido el más antiguo de todos. El libro sobre la Candelaria de Tenerife, suyo o ajeno, no se publicó en 1541. La primacía continúa, pues, correspondiendo a Guevara y Agurto.

He aquí lo que sabemos sobre el escritor dominicano: "Fve hijo desta Ciudad (la de Santo Domingo) el Reuerendo Padre Fray Alonso de Espinosa, Religioso Dominico, que escrivio vn elegante Comentario fobre el Psalmo 44. *Eructavit cor meum verbum vonum.*" Esto dice Gil González Dávila en su *Teatro eclesiastico de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de S. Domingo y vidas de sus obispos y arzobispos*, que forma parte del *Teatro Eclesiastico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales* (dos volúmenes, Madrid, 1649-1655).

¿Es este Fray Alonso de Espinosa el mismo religioso dominico que escribió una exposición, en verso castellano, del Salmo XLI, *Quem ad modum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum*, y el libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria, en el cual manifiesta haber recibido los hábitos en Guatemala? El P. Juan de Marieta, en la segunda parte de su *Historia eclesiastica de España* (tres volúmenes, Cuenca, 1594-1596), hace al autor de la *Candelaria* "natural de Alcalá de Henares" y declara que aun vivía en 1595. Nicolás Antonio identifica a los dos Espinosas, y asegura que otro tanto hace Fray Alonso Fernández. Probablemente, el P. Fernández hablaría del asunto en su *Notitia Scriptorum Praedicatoriae Familiae*, obra inédita de que hace mención el gran bibliógrafo del siglo XVII, pues nada descubro en la *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos* (Toledo, 1611).

Beristáin (*Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, tres volúmenes, México, 1816-1821) acepta la identificación de los dos Espinosas, pero con intención contraria a la de Nicolás Antonio: si el último aboga por el nacimiento europeo, el primero está por el americano. Hablan de Espinosa, según él, Altamuro, escritor de quien nada he podido conseguir, pero que no parece bien informado, y el P. Antonio Remesal, en cuya *Historia de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, de la Orden de nuestro Glorioso Padre Sancto Domingo* (Madrid, 1619) sólo he logrado noticias

(páginas 712 y siguientes) de otro Espinosa, oaxaqueño: este segundo o tercer Fray Alonso, mencionado allí brevemente, no parece haber estado en Guatemala, y Beristáin le distingue, con toda claridad, del personaje doble en quien me ocupo.

No estoy convencido de la identificación sostenida por Nicolás Antonio. Pero las pruebas en contra no son todavía completas. Los dos Espinosas coinciden en el nombre, el hábito religioso y probablemente la época: pues, aunque no poseemos fecha ninguna relativa al dominicano, se colige que vivió en el siglo XVI, ya que Fray Alonso Fernández escribía muy desde los comienzos del XVII. No coinciden ni en el lugar de nacimiento ni en las obras que escribieron. La semejanza en el tema de los Salmos es superficial: el fraile dominicano comenta, en prosa, el XLIV; el complutense amplifica, en verso, el XLI.

He aquí, textualmente, lo que dice Nicolas Antonio en la primera edición de su *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*:

“F. ALPHONSUS DE ESPINOSA, *Compluti* apud nos natus, cujus rei testis est Ioannes Marieta, Sancti Dominici amplexatus est apud Guatemalenses Americanos regulare Institutum; at aliquando in Fortunatas Insulas, potiorémque illarum Tenerifam advectus, non sine Superiorum auctoritate scripsit—

“Del origen, y *Milagros de la Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria*. Anno 1541. 8. Eodem tempore pro facultate impetrandâ typorum, & publicae lucis, ad Regium Senatuum detulit, ut moris est, de *Interpretatione Hispanica Psalmi XLI, Quemadmodum desiderat Cervus ad fontes aquarum* & a se versibus facta.

“Alphonso Spinosae in Insula Sancti Dominici nato, hujusmet Instituti Dominicanorum, tribuit Aegidius Gonzalez Davila in *Theatro Indico-Ecclesiastico* elegantem *Commentarium super Psal. XLIV. Eructavit cor meum* &. quem cur à superiore distinguam, non video, uti nec distinguit Alphonsus Fernandez.”

Acéptese o no la identificación entre el Espinosa de Alcalá y el de Santo Domingo, la obra que, según el Sr. Trelles, podría ser la primera publicada por escritor americano, no se dio a luz en el año de 1541 sino en el de 1594. La fecha 1541 es una errata de las ediciones de Nicolás Antonio: es evidente que el bibliógrafo escribió 1591, pues alude a las licencias de publicación del libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria, en las cuales se menciona el trabajo poético

sobre el Salmo XLI. La fecha 1545 que da Beristáin no es sino una nueva errata.

El libro sobre la Imagen de Candelaria no pudo imprimirse antes de 1591. El autor habla, en el capítulo III, de sucesos de 1590, y su *prohemio* está fechado en el Convento de la Candelaria, en Santa Cruz de Tenerife, a 14 de Mayo de 1590. La *aprobación*, dada por el buen poeta y fraile carmelita Pedro de Padilla, el privilegio del Rey (la una y el otro se refieren al libro sobre la Candelaria y al trabajo sobre el Salmo XLI), la licencia del Provisor de Las Palmas, el *testimonio* del Provisor de Canarias, todo tiene fecha de 1591. El libro lo imprimió, finalmente, Juande León, en Sevilla, el año de 1594. Existen ejemplares de esta edición príncipe en las colecciones de la Sociedad Hispánica de América, en Nueva York, del Museo Británico y del Duque de T'Serclaes en Sevilla. He consultado el primero. Del segundo habla el insigne americanista Sir Clements Markham, y del tercero D. José Toribio Medina (*Biblioteca hispano-americana*, Santiago de Chile, 1898-1907). El ejemplar de la Sociedad Hispánica perteneció a León Pinelo; mide 14 cm. por 10, y, como está falto de portada y colofón, se han fotolitografiado éstos en hojas sueltas. La portada dice: "DEL ORIGEN / Y MILAGROS DE LA / Santa Imagen de nueſtra Señora de / Candelaria, que aparecio en la Isla / de Tenerife, con la deſcripcion / de eſta Isla. / *Compueſto por el Padre Fray Alonſo de Eſpinofa / de la Orden de Predicadores, y Pre- / dicador de ella.* / (Estampa de la Virgen con el Niño en brazos) / CON PRIVILEGIO. / Impreſſo en Seuilla en caſa de Iuan de Leõ. / Año de 1594. / *Acoſta de Fernando Mexia mercader de libros.*"

La obra está dividida en cuatro partes o libros: el primero trata de los Guanches, antiguos habitantes de las Canarias; el segundo, de la aparición de la Imagen (antes de la conquista, según la leyenda); el tercero, de la invasión y conquista de las islas por los españoles; el cuarto, de los milagros atribuidos a la Imagen. Se reimprimió en 1848, como parte de la *Biblioteca Isleña* publicada en Santa Cruz de Tenerife, y recientemente la tradujo al inglés Sir Clements Markham, bajo el título de *The Guanches of Tenerife. The Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria and the Spanish Conquest and Settlement, by the Friar Alonso de Espinosa* (publicaciones de la Hakluyt Society; Londres, 1907).

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIEVAL LATIN RHET- ORICS ON THE ENGLISH WRITERS OF THE EARLY RENAISSANCE

ENGLISH poetry of the fifteenth century is difficult to understand because both the inaccuracy of the texts and the change in the pronunciation prevent a knowledge of the principles on which it was composed. In some cases the sequence is clear. The rime royal, for example, from Chaucer, thru Occleve-Lydgate-*Court of Love*-Hawes-Heywood, developed a definite literary tradition. The majority of the literature, however, seems chaotic, particularly in the case of the shorter lyric pieces. Yet these are the poems that seem to us charming and best worth the remembering.

Since such poems as these have no clear antecedents, the assumption is either that they arose spontaneously, or that they follow other than native precedent. If the first of these assumptions may be dismissed on the ground of improbability, the dilemma forces us to a consideration of non-English influence. Of such influences the first is obviously that of the medieval Latin. The presence of Latin words, Latin lines, and Latin tags show that both to the poet and his audience the Latin language was familiar. And in one case, that of the origin of the so-called "Skeltonic" meter, I think that I have shown the probability that the poets, English, French, or Italian, were composing in their respective vernaculars according to the principles of medieval Latin verse.¹ On the other hand, the form is so peculiar that it would be especially unsafe to generalize from that particular. Yet broadly Latin may be said to have been recognized as having furnished at least a background, and the hymns of the Church in many cases as having given the immediate source of inspiration.

But in this statement there are two factors that must be kept clearly in mind. The first is that, owing to the social conditions, the language was changing from Chaucerian to modern English.

¹ THE ROMANIC REVIEW, vol. VI, No. 4, October-December, 1915.

The result of this was that, since the writers were no longer able to follow the Chaucerian models, they were peculiarly susceptible to foreign influence. And the second factor is that this influence was predominantly that of the medieval Latin. The situation is confusing because with the revival of classical Latin, that is called humanism, there is the influence of two literatures upon English, and still both of the literatures are in the same language, Latin. Yet they are diametrically opposite in both form and content. The classical Latin is pagan, quantitative, and unrimed; the medieval Latin is Christian, accentual, and rimed. And whereas classical Latin is national and local, singing the pride of Rome, medieval Latin is necessarily without national values, and hymns the pride of the universal Church. Consequently, whereas the contact with classical Latin had a very minor effect upon the form of poetry, but did give an immense intellectual stimulus, the contact with medieval Latin gave a minor intellectual stimulus, but immensely affected poetic forms. Nor could it be expected to give a fresh point of view. The men writing in medieval Latin were the same men writing in the vernaculars, expressing only individual modifications of the common thought. Thus a translation from medieval Latin to English bears no mark of a foreign origin. This literature, therefore, was accessible and furnished models in great variety such as might easily be copied in the English language. Theoretically, therefore, writers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, would normally turn to the medieval Latin.

That this was the actual as well as the theoretic sequence, at least in one case, is shown in the poem *The epitaffe of the Moste noble and valyaunt Jaspar late Duke of Beddeforde*.² It purports to record the lament of "Smerte, maister de ses ouzeaus" on account of the death of the Duke of Bedford (1495). As the sole remaining copy has Pynson's device, its date of publication is probably slightly later. What makes it remarkable is neither the sincerity of the grief, nor the poetic excellence of the phrase, but the fact that the twenty metres employed and the various rhetorical tricks are carefully explained by side-notes in Latin. As these side-notes refer obviously to the rhetorical treatises, the poem may be regarded as a series of experiments, each of which is differentiated

² Printed in the App. of Dyce's *Skelton*, ii, 388.

and labeled. To comprehend what the author of this poem desired to accomplish it is necessary to refer back to the medieval rhetorics.

Altho naturally it is impossible to state exactly which treatises were in use in England in the fifteenth century, this fact is of minor consequence since all the treatises give, under slightly varying phraseology, more or less the same dicta. The immediate problem, then, is to formulate the principles of the medieval Latin, and then to show in each case its application to English verse. Of these there are three that need extended comment, the principles of ornamentation, of scansion of the lines, and of the combination of lines into stanza forms.³

By the word ornamentation I have translated, the Latin *colores*, a good Ciceronian word. Thus the *Exempla honestae vitae* begins.

Rethoricos a me petis, o dilecte, colores;
Eloquit phaleras a Cicerone petas.

The same word is used by Hawes:

But rude people, opprest with blyndnes,
Agaynst your fables wyll often solisgyse,
Suche is theyr mynde, such is theyr folyshnes;
For they beleve in no maner of wyse
That under a colour a trouth may aryse.
For folysh people, blynded in a matter,
Will often erre whan they of it do clatter.⁴

Under this conveniently vague heading are grouped all figures of speech, such as antithesis, rhetorical question, et al. As, however, such figures of speech are by no means the peculiarity of verse, Nicolo Tibino insists correctly that a consideration of them belongs properly to rhetoric, not to poetics.⁵ As such, there is no need to linger here. The significant fact to be recognized is that in the Latin the Englishman found all of these figures of speech explained

³ This problem is simplified by Giovanni Mari who has collected eight poetics under the title *I trattati medievali di ritmica latina*, 1899.

⁴ P. of P., Cap. ix. The N.E.D., giving this passage, explains *colour* as fiction, allegory; actually the meaning is more "poetic beauty," of which one is allegory.

⁵ Mari, *op. cit.*, p. 469. Rethorica enim nil plus facit nisi quod orationes variis coloribus ac congruis exornat, prolixas breviando, correptas producendo.

and examples of their use. He thus had inherited a most elaborate and self-conscious system of rhetoric.

With the second variety of *colores*, however, the modern reader will find himself much less familiar. This consists in the arrangement of the words so distorted from their natural order that a desired effect may be produced. The simplest form of this is the anagram where the first letters of the first word in each line form a name. Such is the *Envoy of Alison*,⁶ or the stanza in the *Ship of Fooles*,⁷ eulogizing James of Scotland. But really to appreciate what is possible in this type of work, one must turn back to the poetic efforts of the pious monks, where not only the first letters spell a holy thought, but the final letters, and by means of a careful selection of medial letters, fancy patterns, such as crosses, diamonds, and squares, are outlined in the stanza itself. The amount of ingenuity required predicates a time of infinite leisure. Somewhat higher in the grade of poetic achievement may be ranked the color *repetitio*.⁸ This repetition may be at the beginning, as in Hawes;⁹

Woe worth sin without repentance!
Woe worth bondage without release!

or it may be at the end, as in Barclay;¹⁰ where four stanzas end, *shame doth the ensue*; or it may be a combination of them both,¹¹ as in the following instance.

O sorowe, sorowe beyonde al sorowes sure!
All sorowes sure surmountynge, lo!
Lo, which payne no pure may endure,
Endure may none such dedely wo!
Wo, alas, ye inwrapped, for he is go!
Go is he, whose valyaunce to recounthe,
To recounthe, all other it dyd surmounte.

This masterpiece of ingenuity is labeled by Smerte simply "Color, repeticio." The author here had not only to construct his stanza

⁶ Skeat's *Chaucer*, vii, 360.

⁷ Jamieson's edition, ii, 208.

⁸ John of Garlandia, ed. Mari, *op. cit.*, 420.

⁹ Example of Virtue, Arber, *op. cit.*, 234-5.

¹⁰ Jamieson, *op. cit.*, ii, 164.

¹¹ Dyce's *Skelton*, ii, 389.

in the rime royal; in addition the final word of each line must begin the succeeding. Naturally he succeeds in little more than merely making sense. Another form, called by Smerte *iteracio*, that brings in the same idea of repetition, is the *traductio dictionis de casu in casum*. In the *Epistle ad Herennium* it is said that *traductio* is the figure, that when the same word is used frequently, not only it does not offend the mind, but makes the oration more closely knitted together.¹² This in the *Exempla honestae vitae* is illustrated as follows:

Grege illis cedit, gregis hos custodia tangit,
In vigilantique gregi multiplicantque gregem.

Smerte version is:

Complayne, complayne, who can complayne;
For I, alas, past am compleynte!
To compleyne wyt can not sustayne,
Deth me with doloure so hath bespraynte.

The important fact to remember here is that a continuous repetition of the same word does not argue an impoverished vocabulary, but that it was regarded as a poetic adornment.¹³ One more illustration to show the dependence of these writers on the Latin. Retrograd or transformed verses are such that when read from left to right they mean one thing, and from right to left another.¹⁴ A Latin illustration, taken from John of Garlandia, is

Esse decorem de te, presul, gens provida dicit.

¹² Ad Herenn., IV, 14, 20: Traductio est, quae facit, uti, cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur, non modo non offendant animum, sed etiam concinniores reddat.

¹³ Tertius modus dicitur *equivocatio*, et fit quando dictator non poterit invenire dictionem consonantem suae dictioni; recipiat eandem sive equivocacionem significationis vel declarationis. Exemplum de primo: si ad hanc dictionem "multa" velis habere consonantiam et non poteris alias, accipias eandem sive equivocacione, "multa" nempe in quantum est nomen adiectivum et collectivum plurale, et in quantum est nomen substantivum, et tunc idem est quam "pena" ut in hoc versu: *Nos patimur multas*, etc. Mari, *op. cit.*, 485.

A man that should of Truth tell,
With Great Lords he may not dwell!
In true story, as Clerks tell . . . Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 191.

¹⁴ Mari, *op. cit.*, 393, 427.

This read backward produces

Dicit provida gens, presul, te dedecorem esse.

Smerte has also an example of this.

Restynge in him was honoure with sadnesse,
Curtesy, kyndnesse, with great assuraunce,
Dispysynge vice, loughnge alway gladnesse,
Knightly condicyons, feythful alegeaunce,
Kyndely demenoure, gracyous utteraunce,
Was none semelyer, feture ne face;
Frendely him fostered quatriuial aliaunce;
Alas, yet dede nowe arte thou, Jaspar, alas!

It would be robbing the reader to anticipate him in his pleasure in reading this backward! That such poetic curiosities as these that have just been cited were common either in the Latin or the English it is impossible to believe. Their employment would substitute intellectual ingenuity for poetic feeling. But the fact that they are found at all both in the Latin and in the English is significant, because they are so extreme that here there can be no question of vague borrowing, or an indefinable influence. There can be no question that certain peculiarities appear in English verse *because* they appear in Latin verse, and that to learn to write English the authors endeavored to adapt the principles taught for Latin composition. And the same reasoning holds true of other *colores*, the exclamation, the apostrophe, the rhetorical question, the antithesis, etc., etc., that were then, and are now, in ordinary use. The important fact is that for the English author of the fifteenth century the rhetorical value of each had already been definitely stated in the medieval Latin.

With relation so close between the two languages it is natural to expect that in English poems Latin would appear. In the latter, it was regarded as an elegance to work in quotations from classic authors. Thus in the *Laborinthus* the last nine verses of the stanzas of one section consist of lines from Juvenal, Theodulus, and Horace.¹⁵ Normally, therefore, particularly in divine poems, Latin

¹⁵ Mari, *op. cit.*, 460.

lines from the psalms and phrases from the Vulgate appear. Lydgate's *Te Deum* will serve as an example:¹⁶

Te deum laudamus! to the lord sovereyne
 We creaturys knowleche the as creatoure;
Te eternum patrem, the peple playne,
 With hand and herte doth the honoure;
 O ffemynyn fadir funte and foundoure,
Magnus et laudabilis dominus,
 In sonne and sterre thu sittyst splendoure,
Te laudat omnis spiritus.

Or, there may be whole Latin lines completing the English rime-scheme.¹⁷

Salvator mundi, Domine,
 Fader of hevyn, blessyd thou be,
 And thi son that commeth of the,
De Virgine Maria.

Or, there may be worked in tag ends as in the dull *Lamentation of Mary Magdalen*, a dramatic monologue presumably written by a nun.¹⁸

I haue him called, *Sed non respondet mihi*,
 Wherefore my mirth is touned to mourning
 O dere Lord *Quid mali feci tibi*,
 That me to comfort I find no erthly thing,
 Alas, haue compassion of my crying,
 Yf fro me, *Faciem tuam abscondis*,
 There is no more, but *Consumere me vis*.

Associated with religion are the noels at Christmas-tide; they are secular hymns. It is no matter for surprise to find the Latin carried over into them.¹⁹

¹⁶ MacCracken's Lydgate, *op. cit.*, 21.

¹⁷ T. Wright, Percy Society, 23, xiii.

¹⁸ The poem is in Anderson's *British Poets*, i, 536; the comment is by Bertha M. Skeat, Cambridge, 1897.

¹⁹ T. Wright, Percy Society, *op. cit.*, xlv.

Make we jow in this fest, *in quo Christus natus est.*
A patre unigenitus, to a maydyn is cum to us,
 Syng we of hym and sey wolcum, *veni, redemptor gencium.*
Agnoscat omne seculum, a byrth stare kyngges mad cum,
 For to take with her presens *verbum superum prodi-*
ens, etc.

Or the well-known carol that was so popular that there are at least three versions of it.²⁰

Caput apri differo,
Reddens laudes Domino,
 The bores heed in hande bring I,
 With garlands gay and rosemary;
 I praye you all syngre merely,
qui estis in convivio, etc.

But with the Latin mingling in the songs of the Church and the Church festivals, the new step would be to find it in poems where the connection with the Church has been completely lost. So Smerte in bewailing the death of his lord normally drops into the phrasing

As a pryngre penytente and ful of contricion,
 So dyed he, we his seruantes can recorde:
 And that he may haue euerlastyng fruiçyon,
 We the beseche, gloryous kynge and lorde!
 For the last lesen that he dyd recorde,
 To thy power he it aplied, sayngre *tibi omnes*,
 As a hye knyghte in fidelyte fermely moryd,
Angeli celi et potestates;
 Wherwith payne to the hert him boryd,
 And lyfe him lefte, gyuyngre deth entres.

The next step is to have it used convivially in a drinking song.²¹

The best tre, if we tak entent,
Inter ligna fructifera,
 Is the vyne tre, by good argument,
Dulcia ferens pondera.

²⁰ T. Wright, Percy Society, Christmas Carols, xviii.

²¹ T. Wright, Christmas Carols, L.

Sent Luke seyth in hys gospels,
Arbor fructu noscitur.
 The vyne beryth wyne, as I yow tell,
Hinc aliis preponitur.
 The first that plantyd the vynnayard,
Manet in celi gaudio; . . .

This continues for ninety lines, the alternate riming lines being English and Latin. One more example must suffice. This is apparently a three part song, at least it is headed by the phrase *triplex pars*, by Raff Drake. As the commonplace book, Appendix 58 of the Royal Ms., has a number of the songs of the court musician Cornish, Drake probably had some connection with the royal chapel and the date of the poem is probably in the last ten years of the reign of Henry VII.²²

ffrere gastkyn wo ye be
 qui manes hic in pat'a
 for all yt here supportyth ye
 ye makyst ye way ad tartara
 tartara ys a place trewly
 pro te et consimilibus
 ffor hym yt lyuyth in Apostasy
 absentyd a claustralibus, etc.

And this resembles the macaronic verses of the present day. It must be remembered that all these, and the countless others like them, appeared before the conventional date for the beginning of humanism in England, that therefore they show the close relationship between English and medieval Latin, and that among all authors and for all purposes Latin was used almost interchangeably with the native tongue.

In any case, such a condition would have affected the vocabulary of the English tongue to a very large extent. In addition, this influence came at a period when English word formations were shifting and new words were being created. And still more, it was endorsed by the precepts of the medieval Latin. Since the effect of such precepts was so great upon the English language, and since

²² Printed by Flügel, *Anglia*, 12, 268.

also the documents are scarcely accessible to the general reader, an English translation, the first one to my knowledge, may be offered.²³

It now remains to speak of the third section, namely the way to find rimes. Since doubtless the toilsome continuation of this work demands laborious exertion, it is fitting that in some way means should be given by which the ponderosity of this weight may be relieved. In the present chapter I shall declare ways by which rimes and the harmony of phrase may be found more easily.

1. The first method then of finding rimes is called *dictionum debita derivatio*, because, if the author in a time of necessity cannot find the necessary rime to a given phrase, let him see whether from another expression a derivative riming to his own expression whose rime he seeks, can be formed whether or not such expression be known; for example, suppose the author wishes to have a rime for this word "formula"; nor can he find another except this word "norma"; but that does not make a sufficient rime; and therefore let him make from this word "norm" a diminutive "normula" that now rimes to his own expression. But *debita derivatio* must be used in that way whereby one does not sin against the foundation of rhetoric, which is grammar.

2. The second way of finding rimes is called *compositio*, and that happens when the writer cannot find the necessary rime to any word; let him form it then by any compound word; for example, any one wishing to find the rime for this word "ficio," not being able otherwise, let him take the compound of this word "facio," as "perficio," etc.

3. The third way is called *equivocatio*; it happens when the writer cannot find the rime to his word; let him take the same word under an equivocation of significance or meaning. Example of the first: if to his word "multa" you wish to have the rime and cannot do otherwise, take the same "multa" in equivocation, for truly sometimes it is an adjective and a collective plural, and sometimes it is a substantive, and then it is the same as "pena" as in that verse: *Nos patimur multas*, etc. And of the second: anyone wishing to have a rime of this word "flores," if he cannot do otherwise, let him take the same word verbally, and this is used so according to the evidence from various places.

4. The fourth way is called *aliene dictionis introductio*, and is when a rime cannot be found in the ordinary way. Then in the proper case either let the word of another speech, or one formed from it, just as many are accustomed sometimes to introduce Greek words, or words formed from the Greek, or from some other

²³ Mari, op. cit., 484. Trattato di Meolò Tibino.

language; but nevertheless the formation from the Greek pleases me more, because all Latin is founded on Greek and agrees better with Greek than with the other languages.

5. The fifth way is *nove dictionis fictio*: this way is when the riming word cannot be found by the writer; in which case then let a new word be formed from the sound or the nature of the subject and that word introduced. But the writer should see to it that in some way such a word be comprehensible and intelligible; otherwise little praise follows, since his word or song cannot be understood.

6. The sixth way is called *transumptio*, and is when the word necessary for making the rime takes a new significance and in such transumption there is inherent or is given sufficient similarity; for example: if someone wishes to have a rime for this word "videt"; no other is possible except this word "videt," yet because it cannot in its own signification, let the same word assume a meaning in this extended significance.

7. The seventh way is called *dictioni similitudinis adjunctio*, and takes place when the author cannot find the rime; then he puts in some kind of fitting similitude, as is seen in the example:

Ut ex spinis crescit rosa,
in mundi delictis,
semper finis dolorosa
miscetur cum viciis.

But this can be done by another *color*, that is called *similitudo*.

8. The eighth way is called *contrarii positio*, it is when the writer cannot find the riming word; let him use then the phrase of the contrary meaning with the negative sign; as, if from this speech: *munera tua sunt mala*, some one might wish to make a speech harmonizing in rime, let him in the prescribed mode say: *tua dona, non sunt bona*; so by this device let him make a phrase suitable in meaning, as, if one cannot rime a certain word, let him take its synonym, or its opposite with a negative, as has been shown.

9. The ninth way is called *unius partis orationis pro alia receptio*; this mode is when the writer cannot find in the paradigm the riming word, let him take another undeclinable part, such as adverb, or preposition, etc. Let him then take the synonym of that part, giving it the full meaning, and let him make that part declinable, just as *Laborinthus* teaches in his *de modis egregie loquendi*. This is also shown in the following examples:

Qui sunt absque nisi
Non sunt homines minus visi;

where this idea "nisi" is placed advowedly for its synonym.

10. The tenth method is called *casuum mutatio*, and this happens when the word does not rime in one case, let it then be varied into another riming case, and this is explained in the *Viatico dictandi*, treatise *de commutatione dictionum*.

And I urge you to remember faithfully these said methods of finding rimes; for they are themselves not only valuable for finding rimes, but also to the ornamentation of writing and by them authors induce subtilty.

The effect upon any language of such precepts as these naturally would be a large increase of the vocabulary. Practically the author is told that, if he cannot find a riming word, he is at liberty to coin one; and the practice is advocated not only as a labor-saving device, but as producing that pearl of medieval literature *subtilitas*. It requires no great knowledge of human nature, as exhibited in the writing of the fifteenth century, to understand that such precepts would be read with avidity by English authors harassed by linguistic difficulties. That such was the fact is shown by the examples in the poem by Smerte, who not only followed the precepts but in addition noted the fact in the margin. Thus the stanza

Than, if it be ryghte, most of myghte, thy godhed
 I acuse,
 For thy myght contrary to right thou doste gretly
 abuse;
 Katyffes unkind thou leuest behind, paynis, Turkes,
 and Iewis,
 And our maister gret thou gaue wormes to ete;
 whereon gretly I muse;
 Is this wel done? answer me sone; make, Lorde,
 thyn excuse.

is marked *color Introductio*. This is the fourth *color* in the list cited previously, and advocates the introduction of a word of foreign origin. In this stanza the *b* rime is given by "accuse." Of the five necessary rimes, three, "accuse," "Jews," and "muse" were at hand. Therefore from the French, or possibly medieval Latin *abusare*, he introduces the word *abuse* in the sense of *to employ improperly*, the first use of which as applied to things, recorded by the New English Dictionary is a century later; and the first use of *excuse*, that which tends to extenuate a fault or offense, is dated as

1494. In another stanza, by the fifth *color*, *fictio*, he increases the significance of the word.

Bydyng al alone, with sorowe sore encombred. .

Encumber in this figurative sense is new with *Smerte*. Still another illustrates the sixth, *transumptio*, in the line

Your plesures been past unto penalyte.

This is the first use of *penality* given in the New English Dictionary, with the meaning *suffering*. And from the fact that *Smerte* affixes the side-notes it is clear that not only is he conscious of his innovations but that he is proudly conscious of them.

Consequently the fifteenth century is marked by the great number of new verbal coinages, especially from the Latin, altho there are a number from the French. Thus was formed the "aureate" language. As an example of this, the stanza from the *Envoy of Alison* may be quoted, the one in which the first letters of the respective lines form an anagram of the name²⁴

Aurore of gladnesse, and day of lustinesse,
Lucerne a-night, with hevenly influence
Illumined, rote of beautee and goodnesse,
Suspiries which I effunde in silence,
Of grace I beseche, alege let your wrytinge,
Now of al goode sith ye be best livinge.

This was written and was accepted as beautiful English. But in the *Remedy of Love* such words as allecive, concupiscence, scribable, aromatic redolence, jeopardously, sembably, ortographie, ethimologie, ramagious, bataylous, and dissonant, (to choose only the more striking), are used in denunciation.²⁵ The author explains that he was one of three men flirting with the same woman that tricked them all. It is to this melancholy incident that the poem is due. The piece belongs clearly to the type of the medieval attack upon women, but its language shows the beginning of the Renaissance. It is interesting, therefore, as showing to what extent even in normal verse the English language was affected by foreign importations.

²⁴ Skeat's *Chaucer*, vii, 360.

²⁵ Anderson's *British Poets*, i, 540.

It is in Hawes, however, that we find both the fullest explanation of the theory and the most extreme examples of its practice. His master Lydgate had versified²⁶

"The depured rethoryke in English language."

Consequently the selection of a vocabulary is a serious problem.²⁷

"The dulcet speche from the langage rude,
Tellynge the tale in termes eloquent,
The barbary tongue it doth ferre exclude,
Electyng wordes whiche are expedyent,
In Latyn or in Englyshe, after the entent
Encensing out the aromatyke fume,
Our langage rude to exyle and consume."

If the author neglects this principle, trouble follows.²⁸

"For though a matter be never so good,
Yf it be tolde wyth tongue of barbary,
In rude maner wythout the discrete mode,
It is distourbanse to a hole company."

This craving for the "aromatyke fume" in "fewe wordes, swete and sentencious," a sixteenth century expression of the theory of *le mot propre*, results in a vocabulary enriched by such coinages as *depured*, *puberitude*, *sugratif*, *perambulat*, *equipolent*, *brobate*, *solisgyse*, *habytaile*, *itarenge*, *teneorus*, *consuetude*, etc. To a student of Latin the meaning of most of these words, and of others like them, is clear. The concrete application of this theory is terrifying. In the following stanza²⁹ the knight has won his lady and the effect upon him is described.

Her redolente wordes of swete influence
Degouted vapoure moost aromatyke,
And made conversyon of complacence;
Her depured and her lusty rethoryke
My courage reformed, that was so lunatyke;
My sorrow defeted, and my mynde dyde modefy,
And my dolorous herte began to pacyfy.

²⁶ *Pastime of Pleasure*, Cap. xi.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Cap. xi.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Cap. xii.

²⁹ *Pastime of Pleasure*, Cap. xxxviii.

The excesses of such a style rendered it innocuous. A reaction against "ink-horn" terms set in and simplicity was sought. This reaction was either caused by, or at least concomitant with, that closer and more sympathetic study of the classical authors, that is called humanism. The movement was naturally slow, the nation tending to slough off some excrescences sooner than others. Thus Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) feels it necessary to include the "tropes" of a word. These are:³⁰

A Metaphore or translation of wordes.
 A word making.
 Intellection.
 Abusion.
 Transmutation of a word.
 Transumption.
 Change of name.
 Circumlocution.

And the tropes of a long continued speech or sentences, are these :

An Allegorie, or inuersion of wordes.
 Mounting.
 Resembling of things.
 Similitude.
 Example.

Such a catalogue as this suggests *Ad Herennium* as seen thru mediæval spectacles much more than the reasoning of Aristotle. This is the mediæval side of his work. But it is preceded by an elaborate warning. This is the Renaissance:³¹

Among all other lessons this should first be learned, that wee neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seeking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer-carelesse using our speeche as most men doe, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue done. Some seeke so far for outlandish English, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tell what they say; and yet these fine English clerkes will say, they speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for

³⁰ I am quoting from the reprint of the 150 edition, edited by G. H. Mair for the Clarendon Press, 1909, 172.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

counterfeiting the Kings English. Some farre iourneyed gentleman at their returne home, like as they loue to goe in forraine apparell, so thei wil pouder their talke with oersea language. He that commeth lately out of Fraunce, will talke French English and neuer blush at the matter. Another hoops in with English Italianated, and applieth the Italian phrase to our English speaking, the which is, as if an Oratour that professeth to utter his mind in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge antiquitie. The Lawyer will store his stomacke with the prating of Pedlers. The Auditor in making his accompt and reckening, cometh in with *sise sould*, and *cater denere*, for vi.s.iiii.d. The fine courtier will talke nothing but *Chaucer*. The misticall wiseman and Poeticall Clerkes, will speake nothing but quaint Prouerbes, and blind Allegories, delighting much in their owne darkeness, especially, when none can tell what they doe say. The unlearned or foolish phantastical, that smelles but of learning (such fellowes as haue seen learned men in their daies) wil so Latin their tongues, that the simple can not but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely they speake by some reuelation. I know them that thinke *Rhetorique* to stande wholie upon darke wordes, and hee that can catche an ynke borne terme by the taile, him they compt to be a fine Englishman, and a good *Rhetorician*.

This extract deserves careful consideration since Wilson has here correctly diagnosed the disease. He shows the presence of the "ink-horn" terms; he has explained their formation; he points out the tendency toward their abuse; and, finally, by study of the classics, he deduces the correct solution. In the same way the humanist Ascham, in his celebrated passage from the *Toxophilus* (1545) protests against excesses of this style. Yet in general the result of the movement was happy. Many of the words thus hauled into English, lost their foreign air and, sometimes with a changed significance, took their places in the vocabulary. The English language was sturdy enough to take care of itself; it both threw off the unnecessary and useless additions, and it assimilated the rest.

In the dealing with the question of *colores*, especially how the practice of them affected the English language, we are standing on fairly firm foundation. At least beneath us is the massive bulk of the New English Dictionary! The moment, however, we come to the question of pronunciation, the proper scansion of the line, to the question of prosody, it is quite a different matter. As the syllabic

value of the final *e* varies with the individual writer, each line is a problem to us. What is still more unfortunate is the fact that each line was equally a problem to the scribe of the sixteenth century, whose redaction in almost all cases is the only one that has come down to us. Because the possible existence of the final *e* as a metrical factor was a mystery to him and because in the sixteenth century the desire for the *ipsissima verba* was unknown, he conscientiously endeavored to improve the poems by making the lines more regular. The result is that we can never be sure that in any given case we have the words that the author wrote. Therefore we deduce principles from the text, and then correct the text in accordance with the principles. The result, however, is necessarily unsatisfactory. It is here, then, that we turn to the medieval Latin theorists to find what is the basis for the scansion.

In the medieval Latin, as all the theorists agree, there is one main definition of rithm. This, as stated in the simplest and most primitive of the treatises, is that rithm is the harmonious equality of syllables, held within a definite number.³² Other writers, carefully following Cicero, explain that the word comes from the Greek *ῥυθμός*, equivalent to the Latin *numerus*. This is, then, the basic point. Lines are classified primarily by the number of syllables contained in each. The limitation of this definition is at once apparent because according to it all the syllables would be of equal value. Verse composed according to this scheme would have the unaccented characteristic of French poetry. Altho this is untrue either in Latin or English verse, in the early ecclesiastical chants, where the music consists in a succession of half notes terminated at the end of the line by a whole note, such a definition fairly covers the facts. Equally of course when quicker measures were introduced, to follow the musical analogy the conception had to be modified. This was done by prolonging some syllables and shortening others, thus recognizing accent.³³ In this way are feet formed the names of

³² Mari, *op. cit.*, 383. *Rithmus est consonans paritas sillabarum sub certo numero comprehensarum.* The difficulty here is that *rithmus* in some treatises is doubtful in meaning. Cf. Mari's article *Ritmo Latino e Terminologia Ritmica Medievale*, *Studi di Filologia Rimansa*, 21, 35-88. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor T. C. LeCompte.

³³ Mari, *op. cit.*, 470. *Propter quod nota quod per accentum non intelligo plus quam prolongationem et breviationem sillabarum, idest acutam et brevem*

which are taken from the quantitative system. Thus an iambus is formed by a word accented upon the ultimate, and a spondee by a word accented upon the penult. For example, *delight* forms an iambic foot, and *mother* a spondaic foot.⁸⁴ The line then takes its name from the last foot in it and the syllables are counted backward. An octosyllabic line with a feminine ending would then be termed a tetraspondaic line; with a masculine ending, a tetraiambic line. Aside from the nomenclature, this needs no comment in regard to English verse composition. It would produce lines as faultlessly regular as those of the eighteenth century. In actual practice, however, this theoretical regularity was modified by opposing tendencies. Of these, undoubtedly the most important was the old national system of versification, according to which poems were still composed in the fifteenth century. The numerous manuscripts of the *Vision of Piers Plowman* attest the popularity of the type. But there versification is based upon stress, and the exact number of syllables to a foot is unimportant. To the ear trained in such a system, therefore, an occasional extra syllable in the line was a matter of indifference.⁸⁵ There was thus a strong tendency to scan the line by the number of accents, rather than by the number of syllables. This native tendency received also subconscious strength from the nomenclature, borrowed from classical versification. Naturally in an accentual system of prosody spondees, dactyls, or anapests exist largely by courtesy. But as in the classical system a dactyl or an anapest is the metrical equivalent to a spondee, so in a five-accented ten-syllable line it was easy to explain the introduction of extra syllables on the ground of the substitution of a dactylic or anapestic foot for the regular spondaic. Still more, the medieval Latinists claimed the license of slurring syllables, at least for the sake of the rime, so *mommona* could be scanned as *momma*, *secula* as *secla*,⁸⁶ etc. And the result of these three factors was that

ipsarum prolationem, ita quod per prolongationem sillabe signatur acutas vel elevatus sonus, per breviationem gravis suspensio. Istud autem Laborintus exprimit per iambicum et spondaicum seu spondicum, volens per iambicum breviationem sillabe et per spondaicum prolongationem.

⁸⁴ In accentual Latin the trochee was considered a spondee.

⁸⁵ Mari, *op. cit.*, 472.

⁸⁶ For an elaborate discussion of this position, cf. *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes*, by Maximilien Kawczynski, Paris, 1889. My acquaintance with this is due to the kindness of Professor C. M. Lewis.

the author composed freely by ear, so that while theoretically a five-accented line had ten syllables, and only ten, actually provided that the accents were correct, the exact number of syllables was immaterial. In the following passage, for example, Barclay was writing the heroic couplet, altho few of the lines have only ten syllables.

Nay, there hath the sight no maner of pleasaunce,
And that shall I prove long time or it be night.
Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male,
Or an army arayde ready to the warre,
Or to see them fight, so that he stande afarre.⁸⁷

It is this freedom in the number of syllables and the placing of the accents, as well as the enjambment that technically differentiates the couplet of the Elizabethans from that the Age of Anne. Marlowe's line,⁸⁸

The barbarous Thracian soldier, mov'd with nought,

is consequently strictly consonant with English usage. On the other hand, the versification of Pope where

And ten low words oft creep in one dull line

shows the effect of the French, a really syllabic, prosody. And altho not with Pope, at least in the hands of his imitators, verse became mechanical, a mere matter of counting syllables. But as the medieval Latin, like the English, was accentual, such danger was not incurred by English imitators while at the same time the syllabic basis of prosody was insisted upon. And to this free interpretation of medieval Latin precepts are due the great lines of Elizabethan poetry.

In dealing with the question of the grouping of lines into stanza forms, we have definite data. For, not only is there the summary of John of Garlandia, written about the middle of the thirteenth century, but in addition we have the fourth book of the *Laborinthus*,

⁸⁷ Barclay, First Eclogue.

⁸⁸ *Hero and Leander*. First Sestiad, 81.

written probably a century later,³⁹ in which twenty-eight of the possible forty-four combinations are illustrated. An examination of these two documents shows that medieval Latin prosody is interesting not only for what it contains but also for what it omits. With the exception of the ten syllable iambic line, the longest line possible is octosyllabic. But even this Iambicus Decasillabus is qualified by the clause *qualis est ille rithmus*. The importance of this qualification is apparent when the verse form is studied.

Diri patris infausta pignora,
ante ortus damnati tempora ;
quia vestra sic iacent corpora,
mea dolent introrsus pectora.

If this were read

Diri patris infaústa pignorá

it would be a normal five accented line. Really, however, as John Garlandia confesses, it is iambic only by courtesy as the last foot is dactylic. This is shown by a quotation from the same poem, *Lamentatio Oedipi*, given in another tract (circa 1150) to illustrate a triple rime. But this reduces the verse to one of four accents only. If this be true, the iambic pentameter line, the line of blank verse, the sonnet, the heroic couplet, the rime-royal, and the Spenserian stanza does not appear. When one realizes the effect on English literature of the disappearance of all poems written in these and allied forms, the limitation of the medieval Latin is at once apparent. And the second striking omission is that there is no provision for an intricate rime scheme. You may have a couplet, triplet, quadruplet, in lines of two, three, or four accents closing in a *b* rime, you may have a quatrain with the second and fourth lines alone riming, the first and third and the second and fourth, or the first and fourth and the second and third, but there is no prototype of such a form as the ballade or the rondeau. These rime-schemes, aab and abab, with their variations, thus form the staple of medieval Latin poetry. In contrast with the wire-drawn verbal ingenuity, the effect upon the reader is one of simplicity. Compare with these

³⁹ Mari, *op. cit.*, Prefazione, Sec. 8.

perfectly obvious forms the rime-scheme of such a piece as the *Lycidas*, for example, where the ear is tantalized by the appearance or omission of the rime, each equally unexpected. Here the rimes appear with an obvious regularity; the accents fall with the tick of the clock.

Meum est propositum
 In taberna mori;
 Ubi vina proxima
 Morientis ori:
 Tunc cantabunt laetius
 Angelorum chori
 "Deus sit propitius
 Isti potatori."⁴⁰

This is really two mono-rime couplets of thirteen syllables. So far as the form is concerned, this celebrated old drinking song is typically obvious.

When the forms used by the English poets between Lydgate and Wyatt are examined, these same characteristics are to be found. Aside from the rime-royal, the "Monk's Tale" stanza and the heroic couplet, all belonging to the Chaucerian tradition, dignified by the use of Lydgate, and continued as the vehicle for formal literary effort, poetic forms are marked by short lines and simple rime-schemes. While these all are not necessarily borrowed from the medieval Latin, it is worthy of notice that the majority are to be found discussed in the medieval Latin treatises. Of these in the English the popular forms are aab-ccb, aab-cdd, aaab-cccb, and aaab-cccd, for lyrics and lines riming in couplets, tercets, or quadruplets for serious content, both naturally usually iambic. To illustrate the extent to which the English stanza-forms are taken from the medieval Latin, the simplest method will be to list several of the poems in accessible collections under the appropriate heading. Iambic dimeter, bimembris, with three iambic differentia.

I was not past
 Not a stones cast
 So nygh as I could deme,

⁴⁰ *Confessio Goliardi*, from *Carmina Clericorum*, Heilbronn, 1876.

But I dyd see
A goodly tree
Within an herbor grene.⁴¹

Iambic dimeter, trimembris, with two iambic differentia.

In an arbour
Late as I were,
The fowls to hear
Was mine intent.
Singing in fere,
With nòtes clear,
They made good cheer,
On boughès bent.⁴²

Iambic trimeter, trimembris, with three iambic differentia.

In this tyme òf Christmas
Bytwỹxte an õxe and an àsse
A màiden delyuered wàs
Of Christ her dère son dère.
The hùsband òf Marỹ
(Saint) Jòseph stòode her bỹ
And sàide he wàs readỹ
To sèrue her if nede wère.⁴³

Iambic tetrameter, bimembris, with three iambic differentia. (This is the very common narrative stanza, used in *Sir Thopas*.)

Pope, king, and emperoure,
Byschope, abbot, and prioure,
Parson, preste, and knyght,
Duke, erle, and ilk baron
To serve syr Peny are they boune,
Both be day and nyght.⁴⁴

The spondaic forms are much rarer, but as an example of dispondeus

⁴¹ Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, iii, 187, *Armonye of Byrdes*, third stanza.

⁴² Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 193, Thomas Feilde's *Lover and a Jay*.

⁴³ *Anglia*, xii, 588. The accents are my own.

⁴⁴ Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, i, 161.

trimembris with iambic differentia, is that of Anthony Wydville, Lord Rivers.⁴⁵

Somewhat musing,
And more mourning,
In remembering
 The unsteadfastness;
This world being
Of such wheeling,
Me contrarying,
 What may I guess?

I fear, doubtless,
Remediless,
Is now to cease
 My woeful chance!
For unkindness,
Withouten less,
And no redress,
 Me doth advance.

With displeasaunce, etc.

This last is interesting as not only being spondaic in movement but from the fact that the rime in the differentia becomes the *a* in the succeeding verse. This peculiarity is called *cum consonantia sequente immediate*,⁴⁶ or *caudati continentes*.⁴⁷ This same device is used in the *Iustes of the Moneths of May and June*.

The moneth of May with ameraus beloued
Plasauntly past wherein there hath ben proued
Feates of armes and no persones reproued
 That had courage

⁴⁵ Arber, *Dunbar Anthology*, 180. This identification is taken from Arber. The poem appears also in Add. Ms. 31922, published by Flügel (*Anglia*, 12, 234). A note of Flügel states that it also appears in the collection Add. Mss. 5465, fol. 33b ff, and there it is attributed to Robert ffayrfax.

⁴⁶ Mari, *op. cit.*, 460.

⁴⁷ Mari, *op. cit.*, 404. *Caudati autem continentes dicuntur cum cauda praece-*
dentis cum consonanciia sequentis concordat per omnem rithmorum seriem.

In armoure bryght to shewe theyr personage
On stedes stronge sturdy and corsage
But rather praysed for theyr vassellage
As reason was

In whiche season thus fortun'd the cace
A lady fayre moost beautyuous of face
With seruantes foure brought was into a place
Staged about

Wheron stode lordes and ladyes a grete route . . etc.⁴⁸

As this poem describes the jousts held by Charles Brandon, Giles Capell and William Hussey in May and June, 1507, according to the title, it shows that also in the sixteenth century the medieval Latin influence persisted. But the use of the pentameter indicates the anglicization of the measure. And the popularity of this general type may be indicated by the fact that the majority of the poems in the *Songs and Carols*, edited by Wright, belong in this category.

Two variants of the type may be worth the mentioning, altho both are obvious at a glance. The first is *rithmus cum duplici differentia*, where, instead of a single line cauda, the *differentia* is double.⁴⁹

Vita iusti gloriosa,
mors ut esset preciosa,
apud Deum meruit;
et qui sibi viluit
a datore gratiarum
cum fine miseriarum
gratiam obtinuit,
et decorem induit.

And the second is where the *differentia*, either single or double, is repeated as a refrain. This is usual in carols and songs. In English examples of these are found as late as in the *Lusty Juventus* (circ. 150). *Juventus* makes his entrance singing⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, ii, 114.

⁴⁹ Mari, *op. cit.*, 426.

⁵⁰ The text of these two songs is taken from Mr. Wever's edition in the *Tudor Facsimile Texts* series.

In a herber grene, a sleepe where as I lay,
 The byrdes sang sweete in the myddes of the day
 I dreamed fast of myrth and play
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure,
 Me thought as I walked stil to and fro.
 And from her company I could not go,
 But when I waked it was not so,
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure.
 Therfore my hart is surely pyght,
 Of her alone to haue a sight,
 Which is my ioy and harten delygth,
 In youth is pleasure, in youth is pleasure. Finis.

This is quite clearly the iambic tetrameter, trimembris, with *duplici differentia*, repeated. So true is this, that it enables us to reject the foot *a sleepe* in the first line, as an intrusion of the typesetter. The text of the second song in the play is, however, in a still worse condition, suggesting cynical deduction concerning the state of affairs in the printing establishment of John Awdely dwelling in litle Britayne strete without Aldersgate.

Why should not youth fulfyll his owne minde
 Is the course of nature doth him binde,
 Is not euery thing ordained to do his kinde.
 Report me to you, report me to you.
 Do not the floures spring fresh and gay,
 Pleasant and swete in the month of May?
 And when their time commeth they vade away,
 Report me to you, reporte me to you.
 Be not the trees in wynter bare?
 Like unto their kind, such as they are,
 And when they spring their fruites declare
 Reporte me to you, report me to you.
 What should youth do with the fruits of age,
 But liue in pleasure in this passage,
 For when age commeth in his lustes will swage
 Reporte me to you, report me to you.

The first stanza, here, requires considerable adjustment before it returns to the original state. As blame for these errors should not lie with the author, but with the printer, they furnish interesting

examples of the charm and melody of the medieval form in a very late stage. And, as has been said before, both the content is simple and the medium is obvious. The medieval Latinist composed with major chords.

And the value of all this? The answer is easy. During the fifteenth century, when owing to the disintegration of the language the poetic models were lost, many writers deliberately adopted for English use the principles of the medieval Latin. As these writers in their turn were built into the great tradition, their innovations were naturalized, their vocabulary accepted, and their experiments approved. Then their indebtedness to the medieval Latin, together with the medieval Latin itself, was forgotten. A theory of spontaneous generation of verse forms was started, or the theory of modified types, or the explanation was sought in analogies in contemporary literatures, themselves affected by the same forces.⁵¹ On the other side, as the principles that guided the writers were not understood, the poems were at the mercy of the typesetter. But if the reasoning in the previous pages be correct, if those writers did adapt the principles of medieval Latin to the use of English, order is brought out of chaos and we may criticise their work from the point of view of their own age.

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⁵¹ The French rhetorical treatises have been published by E. Langlois, *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902; Professor Langlois' thesis (Univ. of Paris, 1890) discusses them.

NOTES ON THE POETRY OF HERNANDO DE ACUNA

IT is a curious fact that the pleasure of seeing their works in print was denied to most of the Spanish lyric poets of the sixteenth century. The poetry of Boscán was published by his widow a year after his death, together with the works of his friend Garci Laso de la Vega, while from six to thirty-five years intervened between the death of Santa Teresa de Jesús, Gregorio Silvestre, Cristóbal de Castillejo, Francisco de Figueroa and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and the publication of their verses. Quevedo's interest in poetry of unusual excellence was responsible for the publication of the lyrics of Luis de León and Francisco de la Torre in 1631, while Gutierre de Cetina did not appear in print until 1895. The posthumous publication of poetical works in an age when verses circulated freely in manuscript form presents many problems of authorship. The ascription of verses to a poet in a single manuscript has too often lead to their inclusion without further examination in even recent editions.

The poetry of Hernando de Acuña first appeared at Madrid in 1591, eleven years after the author's death, if the date usually assigned, 1580, be correct. His widow, doña Juana de Zúñiga applied for permission to print the autograph manuscript of his verses in 1589 and the privilege for publication in Castile was granted on October 4 of that year. Apparently little care was taken by the publisher in preparing this volume for the press. No order was observed in the arrangement of the compositions and three sonnets appear twice. The second edition published at Madrid in 1804 is a reprint of the edition of 1591, with alterations of the original orthography made at random.

Four of the compositions which appear among Acuña's works have been attributed to other poets. The *Carta de Dido a Eneas* has been printed as the work of Cetina¹ and of Diego Hurtado de

¹ *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, ed. J. Hazañas y la Rúa, Sevilla, 1895, Vol. II, pp. 15-30.

Mendoza.² Menéndez y Pelayo³ ascribed it to Acuña on the evidence of its having been included in the original edition of Acuña's poetry. The sonnet *Amor me dixo en la mi edad primera*,⁴ has been attributed to Hurtado de Mendoza but Foulché-Delbosc⁵ in his recent critical examination of the works ascribed to Mendoza is unable to decide between the claims of the two poets. It seems certain that the sonnet *En una selua al parecer del día* was composed by Acuña,⁶ and the same is true of the sonnet of Silvano to his shepherdess Silvia, *Quando la alegre y dulce Primavera*,⁷ which has been printed with a few variants as the work of Cetina. The names Silvano and Silvia, so often used by Acuña in his pastoral compositions, suffice to settle the question of authorship.⁸

It will be remembered that Hernando de Acuña was born of an illustrious family at Valladolid about the year 1520 and that in September, 1536, he joined the Spanish army in Piedmont under the command of the Marquis of Vasto, Governor of Milan. On the death of his eldest brother from wounds received at the battle of Moncalieri in April of the following year, the young Don Hernando was appointed to his command as Captain of Infantry and took part in the Piedmont campaign. He probably remained until 1544 either at Milan with the Marquis of Vasto or at some fortress in the vicinity.⁹

It is certain that the young soldier became interested in Italian

² *Obras poéticas*, ed. by W. I. Knapp, in the *Colección de libros raros o curiosos*, Vol. XI, Madrid, 1877.

³ *Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, Vol. I, p. 12n.

⁴ *Varias poesias compuestas por don Hernando de Acuña*, En Madrid, en casa de P. Madrigal, 1591, f. 113v. All references are to this edition.

⁵ *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, Revue Hispanique, Vol. XXXII, 1914, pp. 25 and 28.

⁶ Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, Revue Hispanique, Vol. XXII, 1910, p. 525. It is published in the 1785 edition of the *Obras de Francisco de Figueroa*, but appeared in the edition of 1626 preceded by the word *ageno*, and was not included in the first edition, 1625.

⁷ *Varias poesias*, f. 120.

⁸ Foulché-Delbosc has published four sonnets attributed to Acuña in the Revue Hispanique, Vol. XVIII, 1908, pp. 560-61.

⁹ In outlining the biography of Acuña I am entirely indebted to the monograph of Señor Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Don Hernando de Acuña, noticias biográficas*, Valladolid, 1913. His fortunate discovery of manuscript sources has enabled him to cast a great deal of new light upon the poet's life and activity.

poetry and that he eagerly read the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch and the verses of the Italian writers of his day. He knew Sannazaro's *Rime* which had appeared in 1530 and doubtless was acquainted with the lyrics of Bembo and his followers. The Marquis of Vasto himself was a poet of considerable ability and was fond of the companionship of poets. He must also have read in manuscript some of the compositions of Garci Laso de la Vega whom he probably met in Piedmont. It was natural that when his military duties allowed him leisure to write verse, he should have sought to express himself in the Petrarchistic forms of sonnet, *canción* and madrigal rather than in the traditional measures of Spanish poetry.

It is not possible to arrange all of Acuña's verses in chronological order, but it seems probable that his earliest compositions were addressed to a lady whom he calls Silvia. We learn in one of his eclogues that he had seen the shepherdess pass one day along the banks of the Ticino:

Esparcidos al ayre sus cabellos,
Con cuyo resplandor el sol se dora.
Y en verla se enlazo de suerte en ellos,
De suerte se enlazo, que no apartaua
La memoria jamas ni el canto dellos.
Su Siluia, sin cessar, siempre cantaua,
De Siluia eran sus tratos y porfias,
Y Siluano por Siluia se llamaua.
Durole esta passion no pocos dias,
Hasta que el tiempo y otras ocasiones,
La fueron deshaziendo por mil vias.¹⁰

His infatuation was ardent for a time and he declared that the rivers would mount lofty peaks, summer would be leafless and the sun would become dark before he would cease to adore her. The lady, however, failed to return his love and in sonnets and tercets, he chides her for her cruelty and fickleness which have brought him to the point of death.

In the eclogue mentioned above, the shepherd Tirsi gives an evasive answer when asked why Silvano had ceased to adore Silvia, but his statement

¹⁰ *Varias poesias*, f. 19v.

Yo tengo para mi que fue figura
 Aquel destotro mal o su apariencia,
 O su demostracion o su pintura,

leads us to infer that Acuña had followed Ovid's advice to cure himself of the pains of Love by another *amour*.

Compared with his tender passion for Galatea, his attachment to Silvia was little more than a flirtation.¹¹ Adopting the Virgilian name of Damon, he sang the praises of Galatea, his new idol, but in respectful tones for she was evidently a lady of high degree whom other shepherds ventured not to celebrate and who made him happy merely by her presence. He realized that he had set his thoughts upon so exalted a lady that he can expect no other reward for his audacity than death.¹² In his *Egloga y contienda entre dos pastores*

¹² *Varias poesias*, f. 132, sonnet beginning *Viendo Tirsi a Damon por Galatea, enamorados, sobre qual dellos padece mas pena: Silvano, que auiendo dicho la suya es mal tratado, o Damon, que no la osa dezir*, he compares the grief which he has suffered, in the one case from the cruel reception accorded his protestations by Silvia and in the other, from the silent admiration bestowed upon Galatea.¹³

The alarms of war interrupted his courtship. The French were advancing upon Ceresola and the Marquis of Vasto accepted the challenge. Acuña took part in the ignominious defeat and rout of the Spanish army at Ceresola in 1544 and was captured by the French. From his prison he addressed two sonnets to a lady, probably Galatea herself, in which he laments his absence from her. When his release was effected, partially through the assistance of the Marquis of Vasto who contributed two hundred ducats toward his ransom, he returned to Lombardy and from the same friend received an appointment as Governor of Cherasco, which again

¹¹ In the eclogue mentioned above, Tirsi says in reference to this new love affair:

cierto no es menor la diferencia
 De la passion que tuuo a la que tiene,
 Que la de la pintura a biua essencia.

¹³ Señor Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto, estudio biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico*, Madrid, 1903, p. 95n, conjectures that Silvano in this eclogue is Pedro de Padilla who occasionally used that name in addressing a lady named Silvia. It seems certain that Acuña was merely comparing his own emotions in two love affairs.

brought him near his beloved Galatea. It is reasonable to suppose that while still at Cherasco he read Lodovico Domenichi's famous anthology containing the best poetry of the school of Bembo, which appeared at Venice in 1545 with the title *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori nuovamente raccolte* and dedicated to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. From this volume, which proved to be so great a favorite with the poets of the Pléiade, Acuña translated two compositions, Giovanni Muzzarelli's sonnet beginning *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte* and Thomaso Castellani's octaves on Venus and the fugitive Cupid.

Giovanni Muzzarelli or Muzio Arelio was born about the year 1490 at Gazzuolo and as a young man entered the service of Bishop Lodovico Gonzaga. On the death of his patron in 1511, he went to Rome and in 1515 was appointed Governor at Mondaino in Romagna. Two months later his untimely murder cut short the career of the Mantuan youth of whom Bembo had spoken a few years before as *magnae spei adulescens*. He was evidently regarded with esteem by his contemporaries for Ariosto mentions him as the *culto Muzio Arelio* in Canto XLII, stanza 87 of the *Orlando Furioso* and his death was mourned by Bembo, Giraldi, Molza and other poets.¹⁴ Fifteen of his sonnets and three *canzoni* were included in Domenichi's anthology. The following sonnet, which is by no means his best, compares Nero's joy at the burning of Rome with the indifference of a lady to her lover's suffering.

Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte
 Ardean di Roma, et l'altre cose belle,
 Mandaua il pianto infin soura le stelle
 Il popol tutto del figliuol di Marte;
 Sol cantaua Neron'asceto in parte,
 Onde schernia le genti meschinelle,
 Fra se lodando hor queste fiamme, hor quelle,
 Per far scriuendo uergognar le carte.
 Così di mezzo il cor, ch'ella gouerna
 Mira lieta il mio incendio, e tutta in pianti
 De miei tristi pensier la turba afflitta,

¹⁴ On Muzzarelli, see two articles by Vittorio Cian, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. XXI, 1893, pp. 358-384, and Vol. XXXVIII, 1901, pp. 78-96.

Donna, che sol di cio par che si uanti,
 Essendo in mille esempi gia descritta
 Sua crueltade, et la mia fiamma interna.¹⁵

Acuña's version follows closely the Italian original.

Mientra de parte en parte se abrasaua,
 Y en biuas llamas la gran Roma ardia,
 Al alto cielo el gran clamor subia
 Del pueblo todo, que su mal lloraua:
 Solo en parte Neron cantando estaua,
 Do el clamor miserable escarnecia,
 Y el incendio mayor, mas alegria;
 Y el mayor llanto, mas plazer le daua:
 Assi de en medio el alma donde estays,
 Veys, señora, mi fuego y toda en llanto
 La turba de mis tristes pensamientos:
 Y tanto mas de verlo os alegrays,
 Quanto mas ardo, y por vos lloro, y quanto
 Me llegan mas al cabo mis tormentos.¹⁶

Thomaso Castellani's octaves on Venus and the fugitive Cupid, which also appear in Domenichi's anthology,¹⁷ are based upon the first Idyl of Moschus, so frequently imitated by the Renaissance poets.¹⁸ In his *Venus quaerens filium*, Acuña expanded into fifteen octaves the original seven of Castellani's composition. Certain stanzas, such as the first, third and fourth are translated literally.

¹⁵ The text is taken from the second edition, p. 70, of Domenichi's collection which appeared at Venice in 1546. I have also found this sonnet in Lodovico Dolce's collection entitled *Rime di diversi, et eccellenti autori. Raccolte da i libri da noi altre volte impressi tra le quali se ne leggono molte non piu vedute*, in Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari et Fratelli, MDLVI, p. 265, and also in Ruscelli's *Fiori delle rime de'poeti illustri*, in Venetia per Giovanbattista et Melchior Sessa Fratelli, 1558, p. 357.

¹⁶ *Varias poesias*, f. 112v. I mentioned the source of Acuña's sonnet in a note contributed to Modern Language Notes, Vol. XXXI, 1916, pp. 122-23. Muzzarelli's sonnet was also translated by Gutierre de Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 120. It was imitated in French by Philippe Desportes, *Hippolyte*, XXVII. See Joseph Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e Siècle*, Montpellier, 1909, p. 235.

¹⁷ Ed. 1546, pp. 52-54.

¹⁸ See the interesting article of Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, *Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets*, American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXX, 1909, pp. 278-79.

No ponga a los mortales mi venida
 Admiracion ninguna ni recelo,
 La Diosa soy que fuy en la mar nacida,
 Y que gouierno y mando el tercer cielo :
 De puro maternal amor mouida,
 Busco mi hijo con incierto buelo ;
 El que supiere del, luego lo diga,
 Si amando quiere a Venus por amiga.

El que del me mostrare vna pisada,
 O de su buelo la dudosa via,
 Por ello me tendra tan obligada,
 Que no le faltara la gracia mia :
 Mas porque del es cosa acostumbrada
 Para desconocerse cada vn dia,
 Mudar de forma, de abito y razones,
 Sus señas os dire y sus condiciones.
 Niño hermoso, y el color de fuego
 Tal que su rostro es vna llama ardiente,
 Dulce en la habla y de muy gran sossiego,
 Mas siempre variable y diferente :
 Iuega bien como niño, mas el juego
 Conuierte en dolor graue facilmente ;
 En fiestas le vereys, pero sus danças
 Son siempre baxa y alta de esperanças.¹⁰

Compare with these the first three octaves of Castellani's poem.

Non tremi alcun mortal di marauiglia
 Che qua giu mira il mio diuin aspetto :
 Io son la Dea di Cipro, del mar figlia,
 Donna e splendor del terzo alto ricetto.
 Come materna cura mi consiglia,
 Il fuggitiuo mio figliuol diletto
 Cercando uo : chi l'ha ueduto il dica ;
 Se Vener cerca a suoi desiri amica.

Ch'inditio alcun di lui, o del suo piede
 Mostra qualch'orma, o del suo uol la uia,
 Vn bascio n'hauera per sua mercede

¹⁰ *Varias poesias*, f. 156.

Quanto dolce puo dar la bocca mia :
Ma chi'l rimena a la sua propria fede,
Di maggior don uoglio che degno sia,
Et perche in mille forme inganna altrui,
I segni udite da conoscer lui.

Garzon è alato e di color di fuoco,
Crespe e flaue ha le chiome e'l uiso ardente,
Il parlar dolce in cui non troua luoco
Il uero, anzi è contrario a la sua mente :
Scherza come fanciul, ma'l scherzo e'l gioco
Quando s'adira cangia in duol souente.
Hor corre, hor uola, e non ha ferma stanza,
Et sempre in giro mena la speranza.

In the spring of the year 1546 Acuña's friend and protector, the Marquis of Vasto, died at Vigevano and the poet, mindful of past favors, wrote five sonnets on his death, one directed to Vasto himself, one addressed to the Marchioness of Vasto, Donna Maria d'Aragona, one to the Marquis of Pescara and two epitaphs. A few months later, military service again called Acuña from the pursuit of letters and from his lady Galatea. The war of the German League had broken out and the Emperor mobilized all his armies. Acuña was summoned with his troops to Bavaria and took part in the battle of Ingolstadt where his bravery won for him public recognition from the Emperor. Yet in the midst of arms, his thoughts ever turned toward Galatea. In a pastoral eclogue written on the banks of the Danube (probably at Ingolstadt) he tells of his grief on parting from his lady who at that time was preparing to leave for Naples, and in *liras* he tenderly mourns the happy days, now past beyond recall, spent at her side :

Mudose en triste inuierno
Aquella alegre y dulce primavera,
Por donde al llanto eterno
De mi boz lastimera
Resono ya del Istro la ribera.
Y Skelt mi canto oyendo,
Oro en la Baxa parte de Alemaña,
Con impetu corriendo

Por seluas y campaña
Al mar lleua la boz triste y estraña.²⁰

It would be interesting to discover the identity of this lady whose position was so exalted that the poet dared not hope that his love could be returned, awaiting only death as a reward for his devotion. There is no evidence at hand to settle the question but I offer the conjecture that Galatea was none other than Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchioness of Vasto, the beautiful but haughty lady who inspired some of Tansillo's best verse.²¹ The Marquis was exceedingly jealous and on one occasion did not hesitate to flash his dagger before the eyes of the Viceroy of Naples whom he suspected of acting in the Emperor's interests to win the love of Donna Maria. We know that Donna Giulia Gonzaga used to call the jealous Marquis by the name of Polyphemus, in which case Galatea was an appropriate name to be bestowed upon his wife. In the eclogue mentioned above, written on the Danube, Tirsi says that Damon had been summoned to the colors:

Pero su ausencia no podia escusarse,
Que aunque aca no viniera, se apartaua
De quien nunca jamas pudo apartarse:
Que en aquel propio tiempo se quedaua
La hermosa Galatea aparejando
Para vn largo camino que esperaua.

The call to the army arrived in the spring of the year 1546 and on March 31 of the same year the Marquis of Vasto died at Vigevano (near the Ticino) and after some months Donna Maria returned to Naples, her old home. We learn in a *sestina lirica* of the same eclogue that Naples was also the destination of Galatea.

Do hizieron partiendo Galatea
Las ninfas de Tesin extremo llanto,

²⁰ *Varias poesías*, f. 151v.

²¹ Notably the sonnet *Amor m'impenna l'ale, e tanto in alto*, translated by Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 17. For an account of Tansillo's love for Donna Maria d'Aragona, see *Poesie liriche edite ed inedite di Luigi Tansillo con prefazione e note di F. Fiorentino*, Napoli, 1882, xlii-lv, and an article by Fiorentino, *Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto*, Nuova Antologia, Vol. XLII, 1884, pp. 212-240.

Y alegrese Sebeto con sus campos:
 Alli causa su vista alegre vida,
 Alli se veen cantarse eternos versos,
 Que el sol solas alumbra aquellas tierras.²²

This conjecture as to the identity of Galatea may be purely fanciful but I have mentioned it in the hope that further evidence may be obtained to confirm it.

The following year, 1547, Acuña was appointed custodian of the Duke John Frederick, the deposed Elector of Saxony and by virtue of this office became a member of the Emperor's household for four years. It was at this time that he translated at the Emperor's request Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier délibéré*,²³ a subject which his predilection for Italian Renaissance poetry would never have led him to choose. Furthermore, this translation, which appeared in 1553, was composed in double *quintillas* instead of octaves, the meter employed by Acuña in most of his longer poems. However, he had not lost interest in Italian poetry for to this period probably belongs his *Elegia a una partida* in tercets, a translation of Tansillo's well known poem beginning *Se quel dolor, che va innanzi al morire*²⁴ which first appeared in 1552 in an anthology entitled *Rime di diversi Signori Napolitani ed altri nobilissimi ingegni, Libro V*.²⁵

In 1555 Gerónimo de Urrea published another translation of *Le Chevalier délibéré* and Acuña ridiculed the work of his competitor in a poem imitating Garci Laso de la Vega's *lira*, addressed to "un buen poeta caballero y mal poeta." On the death of Charles V three years later, Acuña paid tribute to the Emperor's memory in a so-called epigram in *quintillas*, in which Fame sings his achievements.

²² In the pastoral language employed by the Italian and Spanish poets of the sixteenth century, the *campos del Sebeto* were synonymous with Naples.

²³ According to the traditional account, Acuña versified the Emperor's prose translation. See James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1913, pp. 193-94.

²⁴ Mele, *Rev. crit. de la lit. esp., port., e hisp.-am.*, vol. I, 1896, p. 267.

²⁵ There is a copy of this very rare book in the library of the University of Pennsylvania. Tansillo's poem may be read in Fiorentino's edition, pp. 167-69. It was also translated by Gutierre de Cetina and by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. The three Spanish versions may be read in the *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, pp. 145-52.

Among the longer compositions to which no date can be assigned, the most important is a translation of the first three and part of the fourth Canto of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, in octaves, superior in style to Urrea's version of the *Orlando Furioso* but lacking in true poetic qualities. He gives proof of his admiration for Ovid in his graceful translation in tercets of *Heroides*, VII, entitled *Carta de Dido a Eneas* and also in *La contienda de Ajax Telamonio y de Ulisses sobre las armas de Achilles*, a close translation in *verso suelto* of *Metamorphoses*, XII, 612-28 and XIII, 1-394. The use of this metre was suggested to him by Boscán's *Historia de Leandro y Hero* or by the innovations of Trissino, Dolce and other Italian poets. His *Fabula de Narcisso* in octaves is one of the first attempts in Spain to treat a detached story of Ovid in a separate poem and may have been suggested by Alamanni's *Favola di Narciso*, although the two compositions have nothing in common except the subject.²⁶

Only a few of the shorter poems call for detailed comment. It is true that a few of the compositions included in the volume of *Varias poesias* are written in the form of *coplas*, *quintillas* and *décimas*, but as far as we are able to assign a date for them, they belong to the latter part of Acuña's life. The predominating influence upon his lyrics is found in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and in the Italian poetry published between 1530 and 1550. His verse is free of the exaggerated mannerisms of Cariteo, Aquilano and Tebaldeo and rarely, if at all, do we find any trace of the preciousness of Tansillo, Costanzo and Rota. Acuña's inspiration rarely carried him to great heights, but his poetry is almost always characterized by a certain grave dignity and good taste.

Although the spirit of Petrarch may be recognized in many of his compositions, he made only one translation from the *Canzoniere*, the sonnet *Despues que a Cesar, el traidor de Egipto*, which closely follows Petrarch's *Cesare, poi ch'l traditor d'Egitto*. The following sonnet is a translation from Sannazaro's sonnet, *O gelosia d'amanti, horribil freno*.

O celos, mal de cien males lleno,
Interior daño, poderoso y fuerte;

²⁶ The three sonnets on Icarus, Phaethon and the giants of Phlegra are also based upon episodes in the *Metamorphoses*.

Peor mil vezes que rabiosa muerte,
 Pues bastas a turbar lo mas sereno:
 Ponçoñosa serpiente, que en el seno
 Te crias, donde vienes a hazerte,
 En prospero sucesso, aduersa suerte,
 Y en sabroso manjar, cruel veneno:
 De qual valle infernal fuiste salido?
 Qual furia te formo? porque natura
 Nada formo que no siruiesse al hombre;
 En que constelacion fuiste nacido?
 Porque no solo mata tu figura,
 Pero basta a mas mal solo tu nombre.²⁷

Acuña's sonnet *sobre la red de amor*²⁸ is also a translation of an Italian sonnet of the sixteenth century, the authorship of which is unknown.²⁹

Acuña also shared the admiration of Boscán, Garci Laso de la Vega, Hurtado de Mendoza, Cetina and other poets for the *Cants de Amor* of Ausias March. Amédée Pagès has noted that Acuña's sonnet *Como aquel que a la muerte esta presente*³⁰ simply develops the idea expressed by Ausias March in stanza 3 of Cant XXVII, beginning *Si com aquell qui es verí donant*.³¹ The following sonnet of Acuña is also inspired by Ausias March.

²⁷ *Varias poesias*, f. 138. The same sonnet of Sannazaro was translated by Gerónimo de Mora and by Andrés Rey de Artieda and was paraphrased by Góngora. See F. Rodríguez Marín, *Primera Parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*, Sevilla, 1896, Vol. I, p. 401. I have noted still another translation in the *Cancionero General de 1554*, reprinted by Morel-Fatio in the volume entitled *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e Siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 584, and a paraphrase in octaves in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erifile*, Madrid, 1821, pp. 178-179.

²⁸ *Varias poesias*, f. 97.

²⁹ See E. Mele, *Sonetti Spagnuoli tradotti in italiano*, Bulletin Hispanique, Vol. XVI, 1914, pp. 448-457. The same sonnet was also translated by Cetina, *Obras*, Vol. I, p. 160. Signor Mele has noted that Acuña's version as well as his three *respuestas* to the same, were translated into Italian by Paolo Filippi dalla Briga, a poet of the end of the sixteenth century.

³⁰ *Varias poesias*, f. 102v.

³¹ *Ausias March et ses prédécesseurs. Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne au XIV^e et XV^e siècles par Amédée Pagès*, Paris, 1912, p. 417. I have used the Pagès edition of *Les Obres d'Ausias March*, Barcelona, 1912-14.

Como al tiempo al llover aparejado,
 Se conforman con el, la tierra y viento,
 Assi todo dolor, todo tormento,
 Halla conformidad en mi cuydado:
 Que en tanto el mal de amor es estremado,
 En quanto se parece al que yo siento,
 Y en tanto es congoxoso el pensamiento
 En quanto con el mio es comparado:
 Por do viendo en qualquiera, que padece
 Dolor conforme por alguna via,
 Es fuerça que de entrambos sienta pena:
 Assi descansar nunca se me ofrece,
 Que si acaso se aliuia el ansia mia,
 Amor me la renueua con la agena.²²

Compare with this the second stanza of *Cant de Amor*, XC.

Si com lo temps a plour' aparellat,
 la terra ·l vent l'es a plour' avinent,
 tota dolor d'altre m'es conuinent
 qu'en ma dolor sia passionat.
 Tot cas estrem me port' a recordar
 lo propri dan y el lunnyament de be;
 mas yo ·m dolch mes s'algú mal d'amor té,
 car en l'affany es companyó e par.

It is as a poet that Acuña is accorded a place in the history of Spanish literature but we should not forget that his verse was the product of leisure moments and that soldiering was his profession. His biography by Señor Cortés shows that he spent twenty-six years of his life in the army and engaged upon missions for the Emperor and Philip II. On his record in public service he was well qualified to express, as he does in the following sonnet, the aspiration of Spain for world dominion.

Ya se acerca, señor, o es ya llegada
 La edad gloriosa, en que promete el Cielo
 Vna grey y vn pastor solo en el suelo,
 Por suerte a vuestros tiempos reseruada:

²² *Varias poesias*, f. 103.

Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada
 Os muestra el fin de vuestro santo zelo,
 Y anuncia al mundo para mas consuelo
 Vn Monarca, vn Imperio y vna Espada:
 Ya el orbe de la tierra siente en parte,
 Y espera en todo vuestra monarquia,
 Conquistada por vos en justa guerra:
 Que a quien ha dado Christo su estandarte,
 Dara el segundo mas dichoso dia
 En que vencido el mar, vença la tierra.²⁸

What we know of Acuña's career makes of him an interesting personality and while his verse is surpassed by that of Garci Laso de la Vega, Luis de León, Herrera, Francisco de la Torre, Cetina and Hurtado de Mendoza among the Italianate poets of his time, the volume piously published by his widow serves as an index to the literary tastes of a well-born soldier, courtier and poet of the middle of the sixteenth century in Spain.

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²⁸ *Varias poesias*, f. 145. Antonio Minturno made use of the same figure in expressing the aspiration for world domination under Charles.

Si lieti uedrem poi l'antico onore,
 Vn Cesare nel mondo ed un'impero,
 E uedremo un Ouile ed un Pastore.

Rime et Prose, Venetia, MDLIX, p. 100.

NOTES ON THE SONNETS IN THE *SPANISH CAN- CIONERO GENERAL DE 1554*

THE *Cancionero General de 1554*¹ has a certain claim to interest in being the earliest anthology published in Spain containing verses composed in both the traditional and Italian measures. The book was printed at Saragossa in 1554 by Estéban G. de Nágera, who two years before had published the *Segunda Parte del Cancionero General*. We know nothing of the identity of the editor nor the basis for choosing the verses included in the volume, except that he proposed to limit himself to inedited compositions.²

The place of honor in both parts is accorded to Don Juan de Coloma, Count of Elda, who is represented in the second part, devoted to compositions in the Italian manner, by three *canciones*, *La Historia de Orfeo* in octaves, a pastoral *egloga de tres pastores*, a *capítulo* in tercets and twenty-two sonnets. These are followed by nine compositions by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and forty-six sonnets classed indiscriminately as *sonetos de diversos autores*. An anonymous *romance* closes the volume. It appears that having given due credit to a nobleman and to a famous statesman, the collector did not trouble himself to mention the names of the other poets whose compositions were included in the second part. If we knew the authors of these forty-six anonymous sonnets, it is almost certain that new names would be added to the list of poets who in the period of transition, preferred the Italian measures to the traditional forms of Spanish verse.

¹ The full title is *Cancionero general de obras nuevas nunca hasta agora impresas, assi por ell arte española como por la toscana*. The unique copy preserved at the Library of Wolfenbüttel was first described by Ferdinand Wolf in the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Band X, Wien, 1853, pp. 153-204, and was reprinted with additional notes by Alfred Morel-Fatio in a volume entitled *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, pp. 500-602.

² This restriction, however, was not fully observed. Fourteen of Boscán's compositions included in the volume had already appeared in print. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, Madrid, 1908, p. 264.

The *Canzoniere* of Petrarch was the predominating influence upon the poets whose verses were included in the second part of the *Cancionero*. In addition to the ten sonnets which may be classed as translations or imitations of Petrarch, there is scarcely a sonnet which does not betray acquaintanceship with the works of the great Italian poet. Overwrought figures in a few sonnets recall the exaggerations of Tebaldeo and other poets of the end of the Quattrocento, but the prevailing tone is elevated and far removed from the sensuality of Serafino Aquilano and the wanton license of Olympo da Sassoferrato. Three translations from Sannazaro appear in the volume, but the influence of Bembo and his followers whose verses had so great vogue in Italy between 1530 and 1550, is noticeably absent. Seven of the sonnets are translations or paraphrases of the *Cants de Amor* of Ausias March.

Although many of the compositions included in the second part of this *Cancionero* are creditable productions, no one would venture to claim for them the title of great poetry. We must remember that the Italian measures were not fully acclimated in Spain in 1554 and that these verses must be regarded as experiments with a comparatively new instrument. The notes which follow on some of the sonnets contained in the volume may serve to show at least a few of the sources of inspiration for the Spanish poets of the middle of the sixteenth century.³

OBRAS DE DON JUAN DE COLOMA

CIII

En el sobervio mar se via metido.

This sonnet, which follows quite closely Martial's well known epigram, is one of the many compositions dealing with the story of Hero and Leander which appeared in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Menéndez y Pelayo has treated of them at length in his *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, Madrid, 1908, pp. 359-78.

CV

Todos los que de amores an hablado
Callen con lo que yo triste he sentido,

³ I have followed Morel-Fatio's edition in the numbering of the sonnets.

Borrese quanto escripto se a leydo
 Con sola la miseria de mi estado.
 Quen mi comparacion ninguno a amado
 De quantos por amor han padescido,
 Pues que me siento dél mas encendido
 Quanto mas de remedio estó apartado.
 Ningun remedio espera el mal que siento.
 ¿Quien nunca se sostuvo con tal pena?
 ¿Quien desseó jamas sin[e]sperança?
 Sino los condenados al tormento,
 Adonde eternamente Dios condena,
 Por no tener en él su confiança.

This is a paraphrase of Auzias March, *Cant de Amor*, XXII.⁴

Callen aquells que d'amor han parlat,
 e dels passats deliu tots lurs escrits;
 en mi pensant, meteu-los en oblits.
 En mon esguart degú's enamorat,
 car pas desig sens esperanç' aver.
 Tal passió jamés home sostench;
 per als dampnats nostre Deu la retench,
 sols per aquells qui moren sens esper.

CVII

*No desseó jamas la clara fuente
 El ciervo con la flecha atravessado.*

The first quatrain may have been suggested by the opening lines of *Cant de Amor*, LXXXIX, of Auzias March.⁵

Cervo ferit no desija la font
 aytant com yo esser a vos pressent.

CXIII

Como el questá a muerte sentenciado.

The quatrains are a paraphrase of the second stanza of the first *Cant de Amor* of Auzias March.⁶ See also CXXIV and CLXXI.

⁴ *Les Obres d'Auzias March, edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès*, Vol. I, Barcelona, 1912, p. 255.

⁵ Ed. Pagès, Vol. II, p. 54.

⁶ Ed. Pagès, Vol. I, p. 186.

si com aquell qui es jutgat a mort
he de lonch temps la sab e s'aconorta,
e creure ·l fan que li serà estorta
e ·l fan morir sens un punt de recort.

OBRAS DE DON DIEGO DE MENDOÇA

CXXIV

Como el triste que a muerte es condenado.

Suggested by the same stanza of Auzias March as CXIII. The source of the sonnet was noted by Amédée Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs. Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne au XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris, 1912, p. 415.

CXXVI

Amor, amor, un abito he vestido.

The first quatrain is a paraphrase of Auzias March, *Cant de Amor*, LXXVII.⁷

Amor, Amor, un abit m'e tallat
de vostre drap, vestint-me l'esperit:
en lo vestir, ample molt l'e sentit,
e fort estret, quant sobre mi 's posat.

The Catalan source of this sonnet was noted by Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas in his edition of the works of Garci Laso de la Vega, 1574. For a discussion of the relationship between the sonnets *Amor, amor, un habito vesti* and *Amor, amor, un habito he vestido*, and the authorship of the same, see R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, pp. 26-28.

SONETOS DE DIVERSOS AUTORES

CXXIX

Celos de amor terrible y duro freno
Que me bolveys, parays y teneys fuerte,

⁷ Ed. Pagès, Vol. II, p. 10.

Parientes muy cercanos de la muerte
 Quel cielo escureceys claro y sereno.
 ¡O serpiente escondida en dulce seno
 De flores, quieres causa se convierte
 El prospero suceso en dura suerte
 Y el suave manjar hazes veneno!
 ¿De qual furia infernal aca as salido,
 Monstruo cruel que a todos as lisiado
 Y a mi en tan grande angustia me has metido?
 Buelve, no sigas mas lo començado,
 Desdichado temor, ¿á que has venido
 Do me bastava amor con su cuydado?

This is a translation of the following sonnet of Sannazaro.⁸

O Gelosia d'amanti, horribil freno,
 Ch'in vn punto mi volgi e tien si forte;
 O sorella de l'empia amara morte,
 Che con tua vista turbi il ciel sereno.
 O serpente nascosto in dolce seno
 Di lieti fior, che mie speranze hai morte,
 Tra' prosperi successi aduersa sorte,
 Tra' soai viuande aspro veneno;
 Da qual ualle infernal nel mondo vscisti,
 O crudel mostro, o peste de' mortali,
 Che sai li giorni miei si oscuri e tristi?
 Tornati giu, non raddoppiar miei mali,
 Infelice paura, a che venisti?
 Hor non bastaua Amor con li suoi strali?

This sonnet was also translated by Gerónimo de Mora and by Andrés Rey de Artieda and was paraphrased by Góngora. See F. Rodríguez Marín, *Primera parte de las flores de poetas ilustres de España*, Sevilla, 1896, Vol. I, p. 401. I have noted still another translation by Hernando de Acuña beginning *O celos, mal de cien males lleno*, in his *Varias poesías*, Madrid, 1591, f. 138 and a paraphrase in octaves in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erifile*, Madrid, 1821, pp. 178-79.

⁸ *Rime di M. Giacompo Sannazaro*, in Venetia, appresso Oratio de'Gobbi, MDLXXXI, p. 24.

CXXXI

Valles floridas, frescas y sombrosas,
 Selves desiertas de nadie abitadas,
 Aves que con cantar mis desdichadas
 Lagrimas amansays tan congoxosas,
 Aguas de rios claras y hermosas
 Que de hermosas ninfas soys pobladas,
 Oyd mis quexas, que nunca contadas
 Fueron ni seran tan dolorosas.
 Que si el gritar el amor me ha quitado
 No quitara un hablar con sospiros,
 Y vos^o muy triste y baxa lamentando;
 Y quando me aya tambien esto vedado
 Y mis males no pueda aqui deziros,
 Presentes los vereys a mi mirando.

This is a translation of the following sonnet of Sannazaro.¹⁰

Liete, uerdi, fiorite e fresche ualli,
 Ombrose selue, solitari monti,
 Vaghi augelletti a le mie notti pronti,
 Di color persi, uariati e gialli,
 Voi, susurranti e liquidi cristalli,
 Voi, animali innamorati insonti,
 Voi, sacre ninfe ch'abitate in fonti,
 Deh, state a udir da' piu secreti calli.
 Che se'l gridar questo Signor m'ha tolto;
 Tor non potrammi vn romper di sospiri:
 Vn iunger lasso, vn mormorar occolto:
 O se pur non consente ch'io respiri;
 Almen non fia che sol mirando'l volto
 Non ui sian noti tutti miei martiri.

CXXXIII

Todo el dia lloro, y la noche, quando.

The quatrains are translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Tutto 'l dì piango; e poi la notte quando.*

^o Evidently intended for *vos*.

¹⁰ *Rime*, MDLXXXI, p. 73.

CXXXIV

*¡O como e estado desapercebido
Contra las crudas fuerças del amor!*

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Lasso, che mal accorto fui da prima.*

CXXXVIII

Quando vi aquel cabelo desparzido.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi.*

CXL

Vencido del trabajo el pensamiento,
Quel mismo havia causado, yo dormia,
Quando en el sueño vi que a mi venia
La que me causa el grave mal que siento.
Diome vella muy gran contentamiento,
Que señalar piedad me parescia,
Y en esta novedad hallé osadia
De procurar remedio a mi tormento.
Su dulce voz oy me consolava,
Diziendo que esperasse verme sano
Por quien el accidente me causava.
En esto recorde y hallélo vano,
Y como dengañarme procurava,
Desamparóme aquella blanca mano.

This is a translation of the following *canzone* of Sannazaro.¹¹

Venuta era Madonna al mio languire,
Con dolce aspetto humano,
Allegra e bella in sonno a consolarme:
Et io, prendendo ardire
Di dirle, quanti affanni ho spesi in uano;
Vidila con pietate a se chiamarme,
Dicendo, a che sospire?
A che ti struggi et ardi di lontano?

¹¹ *Rime*, MDLXXXI, p. 52.

Non sai tu che quell'arme,
 Che fer la piaga, ponno il duol finire?
 In tanto il sonno si partia pian piano,
 Ond'io per ingannarme,
 Lungo spatio non volsi gli occhi aprire:
 Ma da la bianca mano
 Che si stretta tenea, senti lasciarme,

CXLVI

Si una fe amorosa y no fingida.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto*.

CXLVIII

En duda de mi estado lloro y canto.

The quatrains are translated from Petrarch's sonnet *In dubbio di mio stato, or piango, or canto*.

CXLIX

Felice alma, que tan dulcemento.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Spirto felice, che sì dolcemente*.

CLIII

Si amor no es, ¿que mal es el que siento?

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *S'Amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?* The source of the Spanish sonnet was noted by Ferdinand Wolf in his description of the *Cancionero General de 1554*, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, Band X, Wien, 1853, p. 189. In 1520 Hernando Díaz translated this sonnet of Petrarch in *coplas de arte mayor*. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, p. 232.

CLV

Gracia que a pocos el cielo encamina.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Grazie ch'a pochi 'l Ciel largo destina*.

CLVI

Vivas centellas de aquellos divinos.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi*.

CLX

Quando las gentes van todas buscando.

Translated from Auzias March, *Colguen les gents ab alegria festes, Cant de Amor*, XIII. The source was indicated by Pagès, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs*, p. 416. The Spanish sonnet was included by Dr. Knapp in his edition of the *Obras poéticas de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1877. See also R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, p. 41.

CLXIII

¡O si acabasses ya mi pensamiento
Muriendo, que con vida no querria,
Que ciertamente sé que no podria
Sufrir la soledad de mi tormento!

The first quatrain was suggested by Auzias March, *Cant de Amor*, I:

Plagués a Deu que mon pensar fos mort
e que passas ma vida en durment.

The whole stanza was translated by Hurtado de Mendoza in a well known sonnet ¡ *Si fuese muerto ya mi pensamiento!* See Pagès, *ibid.*, p. 415.

CLXVII

Quando para partir se remueve.

Translated from Petrarch's sonnet *Quando dal proprio sito si remove.*

CLXXXI

Como aquel que a la muerte es condenado.

The quatrains were suggested by the same lines of Auzias March as CXIII and CXXIV.

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MISCELLANEOUS

THE MOHAMMEDAN CRESCENT IN THE ROMANCE COUNTRIES

THERE are few national symbols more commonly known or more intimately associated with the nation or religion which they represent than is the Crescent with the Turkish nation and the Mohammedan religion. The Crescent is very often used in prose and poetry as a synonym for both people and faith; it is seen on Turkish flags and minarets and ships, and it is generally used as a weather vane. Shortly before the war with Russia in 1877-78 the Turks saw the necessity of forming a society to care for the sick and wounded, on the order of the Red Cross. Naturally they would not use the Christian symbol, and the new society was appropriately called the Red Crescent.

But although the use of the Crescent is so generally known, the reason for its adoption is not so well understood. The greater part of books of reference, if they attempt to explain the subject at all, say that the Turks assumed the Crescent as their symbol when they took Constantinople in 1453. The ancient city of Byzantium, on the site of which Constantinople was partially built, used the Crescent as its emblem as early as the time when Philip of Macedon besieged the city in the year 430 B. C. Philip, we are told was attempting to enter the city by surprise at night through a mine under the walls, when the moon suddenly appeared; the dogs, which even at that early day seem to have abounded in the city of the Golden Horn, began to bark, and aroused the inhabitants, who were thus enabled to repel an attack which otherwise would probably have been successful. The grateful inhabitants thereupon chose for the object of their especial devotion the torch-bearing Hecate (who was considered to preside over the phases of the moon), and made the crescent their emblem. Another version represents the saving light as that of the Aurora Borealis, and this manifestation was equally attributed to Hecate. It may be recalled here that Hecate

and the Greek Artemis (the Roman Diana), although unlike in other attributes, shared the honors of the moon, and this circumstance has given rise to more or less confusion and to a certain degree of identification of the two. The fact that Hecate was the moon-goddess of this occasion is emphasized by the reported barking of the dogs, for which her appearance was supposed to be a signal.

Another tradition, unsupported by history however, is that during the night which preceded the final assault of the Turks, their operations were favored by a partial eclipse of the moon, and that in consequence they took the crescent as an emblem of war.

But none of these explanations can be accepted if investigations are carried a little further, for it is evident that the Turks had used the Crescent long before the taking of Constantinople. The *Konversationslexicon* of Meyer relates that the Sultan Mohammed Tekesch (1192-1200) had ornamented his tent with a crescent, and Orchan (1326-1360) placed a silver crescent on the red standard which he gave to his janissaries. The flag of Genghis Khan, which floated before the Chinese wall in 1209, also bore a crescent. It is imaginable that this identity of their symbol with that of Constantinople might have encouraged the superstitious Turks to believe that the city was predestined to fall into their power, and might have stimulated their efforts during that desperate siege.

Thus far the Crescent has been considered as belonging to the Turks in particular, rather than to the Mohammedans in general, but any student of early Spanish and Portuguese history knows that this view cannot be supported. The *Maurorum quinque Lunas*, in the Latin description of the arms of Portugal, which were traditionally supposed to have been assumed after the Portuguese victory over the Moors in the battle of Ourique in 1139, were clearly Crescent standards of the Mohammedans. Besides this, many Portuguese families, as Brandão and Severim de Faria record, placed the Crescent or half-moon on their coat-of-arms to commemorate their victories over the Mohammedans, or the capture of Crescent standards, during the constant wars with the followers of the Prophet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This device was displayed in the arms of the noble families of Alardos, Alpoem, Amaral, Besta, Cassena, Carvalho, Froes, Goes, Homem, Lemos, Pessôas, Pintos, Queiros, Sousa, Taborda, Valentes, and Zagallos. Many

Spanish families assumed the Crescent for the same reason and the city of Pamplona, in Navarre, placed the half-moon on its shield in memory of the standard which was captured in the famous battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, where the Navarrese played so gallant a part. The coat-of-arms of the Córdovas de Cabra was accoladed with twenty-two Moorish banners, gained in the battle of Lucena (April 21, 1483), and seven of these banners bear the half-moon. Though it is true that the Turkish use of the Crescent must have been well known at that time, thirty years after the capture of Constantinople, the Moors of Andalusia would certainly not have carried on their banners a purely national symbol of the Turks.

Other instances might be cited, but these are sufficient to prove that Murray's Oxford Dictionary and the Encyclopaedia Britannica are mistaken in asserting that it is an anachronism to attribute the use of the Crescent to the Moors in Spain or to the Mohammedans at the time of the Crusades.

It is evident, also, that the Crescent should be regarded as a religious rather than as a national emblem, and as one common to all Mohammedans, regardless of origin.

This gives rise to the question: Why and when was it adopted? There are various possible answers. One may be found in a Spanish history of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, where it is recorded that the ancient philosophers believed that Providence and divine wisdom extended to the moon, and did not pass beyond, basing this opinion on an absurd and perverse interpretation of the verse: *Domine in coelo misericordia tua, et veritas tua usque ad nubes*. (This is the fifth verse of the thirty-fifth Psalm of the Vulgate, which corresponds to the thirty-sixth Psalm of Protestant versions. The verse is repeated with slight variations in the fifty-seventh and one hundred and eighth Psalms.) This opinion, some affirmed, was entertained by Mohammed and his followers, who drew thence the conclusion that God reigned above the moon and the Mohammedans below it, and for this reason they adopted the Crescent, or, as others say, the waning moon, to signify the authority which they claim in this lower world, using the emblem on their flags, seals, rings, sandals and turbans.

Another reason for the lunar emblem may be found in the al-

leged miracle of Mohammed, who, to confute the incredulity of some of his enemies, is said to have showed his power by dividing the moon with his finger, and slipping one of the pieces up the sleeve of his mantle. It is supposed that there is an allusion to this achievement in the first verse of the fifty-fourth sura :

The hour approaches, and the moon is split asunder.

This miracle may be entirely fictitious, or possibly it might be based upon Mohammed's skilful use of the knowledge of an approaching eclipse, of which the sceptics were unaware.

Then again, as the founder of Islam adopted a lunar year, the appearance of the new moon was naturally of great importance in the regulation of religious practices, as, for example, the beginning of Ramadan, a month consecrated to fasting by strict Mohammedans. Mohammedans in general, and the Turks in particular, give great heed to its appearance, considering the new moon to be especially favorable for undertaking any enterprise. An old writer relates that during a journey they would stop when the moon waned, and not proceed till the new moon reappeared.

The crescent is found on Arab weights of the first century of the Hegira, and was common to Mohammedans from Persia to Portugal. There is a tradition that an iron crescent covered with precious stones was suspended by a magnet over the tomb of Mohammed at Medina, and all this indicates a very early reverence for the sign among the Mohammedans.

Aside from these reasons, the regard of the Arabians for the moon might be accounted for on other grounds. The book of Job was written in the land of Uz, which probably corresponded to a part of Arabia, and there the afflicted man protests (XXXI, 26, 27) that he had never worshipped the moon, and it is evident from this there were idolaters even at that early time who were guilty of the practice. The queen of heaven, whom the Jews so obstinately persisted in worshipping, as told in the forty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah, is generally conceded to have been the moon. This form of idolatry long continued in Arabia, not unnaturally, among a people so given to the study of astronomy as the Arabians, and it persisted till the time of Mohammed, the moon being especially adored by the

tribe of Camenah; and Mohammed, who certainly did not lack the gifts of statecraft, may have thought it the part of wisdom to conciliate the good will of this tribe by according a certain recognition to the object of their worship, without compromising his monotheistic doctrines of divinity.

Professor Ridgeway has advocated the theory that the Mohammedans took the idea of the crescent from the ancient amulets long used in Asia Minor, made by fitting two boar's tusks together at the base. This figure, it is asserted, bears a closer resemblance to the crescent of the Turkish flag than does the new moon. Granting this, it seems probable that such amulets were a rude attempt to represent the new moon, an object of general observation, and one which naturally lends itself to superstitious charms. This seems more reasonable than to imagine that these amulets had any peculiar significance apart from representing the moon.

A singular outgrowth of this adoption of the Crescent is possibly to be found in the French and Italian romances which deal with the Mohammedans. In the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Chanson d'Antioche* the Mohammedans repeatedly invoke their supposed gods, Mohammed, Jupiter, Apolin and *Tervagant*. Larousse and others suggest doubtfully that the name may be derived from *ter* 'thrice,' and *vagantem*, the accusative of the present participle *vagans*, 'wandering'; a possible reason for this will be given a little later.

The Italian form of the name is Trivigante, and in the twelfth canto of the *Orlando Furioso* the Saracen Ferraù is represented as blaspheming Macone (Mohammed) and Trivigante in a rage. Commenting on this passage, Casella writes :

Trivigante is a supposed deity of the Saracens. Perhaps it comes from Trivia, a name which was given to Diana because she was adored at the meeting of three ways. As she was confused with the moon, and as the Mohammedans had the half moon as an ensign, perhaps it was believed by the Christians that they adored her.

Again, in the eighteenth canto, where Medoro is searching for the body of his slain master, Dardinello, king of Zamora, he fixes his eyes devoutly on the sky, where the moon was hidden behind the dark clouds, and prays that her light may aid him. Here Casella writes :

We said elsewhere that the Christians seeing on the banners of the Saracens the half moon, believed that they adored, among the other gods, Diana also, who was confused with the moon, and called also Trivia, whence perhaps their supposed god Trivigante. It is not therefore strange that Ariosto should put in the Saracen Medoro's mouth this beautiful prayer to the triform goddess.

Now there is a discrepancy here. Ariosto does not speak of Trivigante, and Medoro, although he does not use her name, clearly invokes Diana, the goddess of the moon and of hunting, not Trivigante, the warlike god. The passage of Ariosto has some resemblance with the episode of Nisus and Euryalus in the ninth book of the *Æneid*, and Medoro's prayer to the moon was probably suggested by Nisus' appeal to Diana as he hurled his spear:

Tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori, etc.

But admitting that there is no reference to Trivigante in this passage, the fact seems to be that Casella has correctly conjectured the origin of the name, though the derivation from Trivia, which he advances, is perhaps less probable than that from *ter* and *vagantem*, mentioned above. This threefold idea is closely associated with the moon, or Diana, and is expressed in the epithets *triformis*, *tergemina* and *triceps*, and in the lines:

Terret, lustrat, agit, Proserpina, Luna, Diana,
Ima, suprema, feras, sceptro, fulgore, sagitta.

("Proserpina—or Hecate—terrifies the lower world with the sceptre, the moon illuminates the upper world with light, Diana hunts the wild beasts with the arrow.")

Casella apparently does not consider that Trivigante ought to be a goddess, not a god, if imagined identity with Diana were respected. The moon, too, is always feminine in Greek and Latin and all the Romance languages, and the poetic tradition of the classic writers is so strong that even in such a genderless language as English the feminine pronoun is generally used in referring to that luminary, though its name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, in which it is strangely masculine, as is the German *Mond*, though the Dutch *maan* is feminine. The Germans indeed used to write

of *Herr Mond* (Lord Moon). In passing it is curious to note that the sun—*Sonne* in German and *zon* in Dutch—are both feminine, so that when the Dutch van Hemert speaks of *de Koningin des Hemels* he refers to the sun as the queen of heaven, not to the moon, and so too Schiller's *Lichteskönigin* is the sun.

The feminine idea of Tervagant is preserved, it is true, in the unflattering restriction of the word termagant—derived from the name of the turbulent god—to women exclusively at this day, although there are instances in old writers of its application to men also; but in the romances Tervagant is always masculine.

This variation may perhaps be explained when it is remembered that as there was no real basis of fact to give stability to the inventions of fiction, each romancer was at liberty to follow his own fancy, and when the original idea of identity with the moon was forgotten Tervagant was considered as the warlike companion of Mohammed, Jupiter and Apolin.

Possibly a link of transition from goddess to god can be found among the Dutch. In Lodewij van Velthem's *Roman van Lance-lot*, a thirteenth century Dutch translation from the French of Gautier Mappe, a Saracen conversing with Joseph of Arimathea (!) says:

Du weets wel dat maer iiij Goede en sijn,
Mahomet, Tervagaen ende Apolijn
Ende Jupiter, dits waerheit fijn.

("Thou knowest well that there are only four gods, Mahomet, Tervagaen and Apolijn and Jupiter, this is the pure truth.")

Verwijs and Verdam explain Tervagaen and its variants Tervogan and Tervogant, as corruptions of *Trismegistos*, 'thrice greatest, very great,' a surname of the Greek Hermes.⁶ This divinity was a Greek adaptation of the Egyptian Thout or Thoth, who was considered to be the god of the moon, and who had the three attributes of presiding over time, measures, and the moon. It is easy to see how this threefold deity might be vaguely fused with Hecate, and have some influence in making Tervagant a masculine instead of a feminine deity. It cannot be supposed that the fact that the Arabians regard the moon as masculine had any influence on the

romancers; that would be crediting them with a more exact knowledge than they ever displayed of Oriental matters. A classical basis for their inventions is much more credible.

It is hardly necessary to say that these gods of the Mohammedans were pure inventions, for the followers of the prophet were and are monotheists. The Christians, in their racial and religious hatred, attributed the sin of idolatry to their formidable enemies in addition to their unquestionable errors of belief.

In regard to the presence of Jupiter and Apolin in this strange imaginary quartet, the inclusion of Jupiter was probably suggested merely by the fact that he was the chief deity of both Greeks and Romans. Apolin at first thought would seem to be the sun-god Apollo, one of the principal deities, and naturally associated with the moon. This is the Dutch explanation, and may be indeed the true one, but the *i* of the final syllable gives rise to the conjecture that the Apollyon of *Revelation* (IX, 11) may have had a share in the composite. The Christians, victims of the destructive invasions of the Mohammedans, would have considered them capable of worshipping the fallen angel of destruction, whom commentators on *Revelation* have believed to represent Mohammed and his successors leading their great armies of Saracens in their progress of desolation.

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A CORRECTION

IN his article on the "Versification of *El Misterio de los Reyes Magos*," published in volume VI of the *Romanic Review*, Dr. Espinosa (p. 399, note 65) makes the following statement apropos of Hanssen's theory that synaloephe does not exist in Old Spanish:¹

¹ Such, at least, are the terms in which Hanssen's theory is recorded by Dr. Espinosa (p. 398), who in note 65 (p. 399) furthermore says that Hanssen's theory is "again upheld in his recent *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, § 102." As a matter of fact, however, in his *Gramática* Hanssen does not express himself with the absoluteness ascribed to him by Dr. Espinosa. What he says in the paragraph cited is literally and simply this: "A pesar de la aversión de los poetas a la sinalefa, parece que ésta, en algunos ejemplos aislados, ya existió temprano en el idioma: *faciem ad* > *faze a* > *fazia*, *hacia*; *Y elo* (leon.) en lugar de *e elo* (Staaff, L. 200). Los primeros ejemplos seguros del uso de la

"Recently, Lang has announced his belief in Hanssen's theory, *Romanic Review*, V, p. 13, note."

Let us see what foundation Dr. Espinosa had for his assertion that in the passage referred to I announced my belief in what he describes as Hanssen's theory. Note 34 on page 13 occurs in that part of my first article on the metre of the Poem of the Cid in which (pp. 12-14) the question as to the regular metres recognizable in the copy of Per Abbat is introduced, and the opinion is expressed that this text contains "some 430 pentasyllables (= 5.75 % of the total number of 7460 hemistichs of the *Poema*), 140 of which combine with heptasyllables in a line resembling the metre of the *Chanson de Roland*."² The note gives a list of the lines containing the 430 pentasyllables in question and begins with the following preliminary remarks: "Our method of counting syllables will be explained in the second³ part of this article. Suffice it to say here that the text has been taken exactly as handed down, and that synaloephe is excluded. The numbers in italics represent the combination 5-7."

Now, inasmuch as the clause "and that synaloephe is excluded" is the only place in the whole article in which synaloephe is at all mentioned, it must be the one that Dr. Espinosa seized upon for the assertion at issue. But do these five words, whether taken in their context or by themselves, warrant the interpretation that in and by

sinalefa en la versificación, presenta el Arcipreste de Hita." And before, § 100 (p. 44), Hanssen observes with regard to the closely related phenomenon of elision: "En la antigua poesía castellana, la elision no se halla con mucha frecuencia, y sigue disminuyendo poco á poco." Manifestly, it is one thing to say that synaloephe does not exist at all in Old Spanish, and quite another that no certain examples—Hanssen does not say 'no examples'—of it appear in the poetical texts preceding Juan Roiz, most of which, as is well known, cannot as yet be studied in critical editions. It is by keeping distinct the things that are different, not by confusing them, that the cause of science is advanced.

² A number of errors contained in this list, due partly to overlooking of misprints, partly to inadvertent inclusion of lines having debatable features, will be corrected in a subsequent article.

³ By this was meant at the time the second part of the Notes on the Metre of the Cid-epic as originally planned. But these Notes having grown into a consideration of the larger problem of the development of Castilian epic poetry itself, with the solution of which the question of the metre is inseparably bound up, several articles will intervene before the specific discussion of the metrical form of the *Poema* is resumed.

them the author announced his acceptance of Hanssen's or anybody else's theory respecting the employment of synaloephe in Old Spanish in general or even in some one text in particular? Obviously not. In the first place, no one at all conversant with scientific procedure would formulate the announcement of his belief in a theory so important and still so debatable as that regarding the use of hiatus, elision and synaloephe in Old Spanish, in language so brief and indefinite as that contained in the preliminary remark under discussion, unsupported by either argument or reference to authority. Not a word is said in that clause, nor for that matter anywhere in the article, of this question or of Hanssen's position regarding it. Besides, it is not merely a matter of affirming or denying the presence of synaloephe in Old Spanish—over a half a century ago Diez⁴ spoke of it as a phenomenon common to the whole domain of Romance poetry—but far more of determining the conditions under which it occurs. That this problem has been brought anywhere near its solution by Dr. Espinosa's publication on the "Versification of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*" seems rather doubtful, to say the least. To be sure, Dr. Espinosa says (p. 398): "I am absolutely certain that synaloephe is frequent enough to warrant my rejecting the theory that it does not exist at all and that the first examples date from the 14th century."

But what is the basis of this absolute certainty? On p. 386 we find Dr. Espinosa commenting as follows on l. 10 (Si es verdat, bine lo sabre) of the *Misterio*: "*Bine* is certainly of two syllables here. Cf. also verses 51, 101. See, however, 39."⁵ Now, historical grammar, as Dr. Espinosa might easily have learned from such books as Ford's *Old Spanish Readings* (e. g. p. XX) and

⁴ *Kunst- und Hofpoesie*, pp. 52-53.

⁵ The note to l. 39 (bine lo veo sines escarno) reads as follows: "In verse 39 one is inclined to consider *bine* as *bin*, since a similar emendation corrects a hemistich of verse 67. The use of the doublets *bine*, *bin* is not impossible, but seems somewhat improbable. Cf., however, *dond* 20, *grant* 85, etc. I believe that a more probable emendation would be to consider *sines* a scribal error for *sin*." Unless we entirely misunderstand this note, it not only reaffirms the position previously taken that the spelling *bine* represents a dissyllabic, and otherwise unknown, Spanish derivative of *bene*, but regards it as improbable that the author of the *Misterio* used the monosyllabic reflex of the Latin word, the only one employed in the contemporary poem of the *Cid* and recognized by historical grammar.

Hanssen's *Gramática* (§ 67), which he repeatedly cites, shows it to be fairly certain that, quite to the contrary of Dr. Espinosa's assumption, the monosyllabic *bien* (*bien* > *bién*) was at the time of the *Misterio*, as it still is, the regular Spanish reflex of Latin *bene*, there being no evidence of a derivation retaining the atonic final *e*. A form like *bine* can therefore hardly be more than an imperfect writing of *bien*. Nor is this an isolated case. Even as Mephistopheles bids the ambitious student pin his faith on the letter of the word, so, to quote only one or two more instances, absolute certainty leads Dr. Espinosa to discover Spanish dissyllables in Latin spellings like *nocte* (l. 9), *pace* (ll. 25, 85).⁶

But to return to the main topic, Dr. Espinosa's construction of the clause under discussion is unfounded in the second place because in the very note containing that clause it is explicitly stated that "the method of counting syllables will be explained in the second article"; in other words, it will be explained neither in the note nor anywhere in the article in which the clause occurs. Needless to say that this precluded exactly any definite expression of belief, or disbelief, in such a thing as synaloephe, without which, as everybody knows, it is well-nigh impossible to chase a panting syllable through time and space.' In the light of this unequivocal statement and of the obvious fact that the passage in which it occurs was chiefly concerned with a preliminary estimate of the number of pentasyllables in the text of Per Abbat, it would certainly seem as though Dr. Espinosa might have realized the incongruity of his interpretation of the five words in question, and have found for them a meaning far more consistent with the tenor of the whole exposition. The idea underlying them was, of course, that in the absence of an explanation of matters pertaining to syllable-counting, and for the very reason of that absence,

⁶ No explanation whatsoever, to say nothing of proof, is offered for taking a position so entirely at variance with the results of modern research. Possibly it was suggested by the example of Lidforss, one of the earlier editors of the *Misterio*. It is hardly necessary to say that Staaff's remark (*Dialecte léonais*, p. 192): "La forme *tjne-tenet* est probablement une faute de notaire, mais rappelle le *bine* (< bene) des Reyes Magos" refers only to the *i* in both forms. As for the Latin spelling *nocte*, the assumption of its dissyllabic value is not by any means, as Dr. Espinosa may possibly have thought, justified by the fact that the Spanish formation *noche* occurs several times in the Cid-poem beside *noch*. For the probable influence of Leonese upon Castilian in forms retaining atonic final *e*, see Staaff, *l. c.*, 212-213.

it was thought best to exclude for the present from the count of pentasyllables such hemistichs as contained combinations of final and initial vowels which might with some reason be regarded as cases of synaloephe,⁷ and which, if so treated, would yield additional examples of the same metre. Is exclusion of synaloephe from an enumeration equivalent to saying that it does not exist at all?⁸ Evidently no more than the confusion of writing and utterance noted above is equivalent to proving that it does exist. Doubtless some such fuller phrasing as 'cases of synaloephe are not included in the count,' or "hemistichs containing what may be considered cases of synaloephe are excluded' would have been better than 'synaloephe is excluded'; but the latter expression seemed sufficient for the purpose, and it must be borne in mind that even explicit statements are subject to misconstruction if read without consideration of the context. If, however, Dr. Espinosa was not certain of the import of the clause, and nevertheless thought its use pertinent to the discussion, one fails to understand why he did not represent his interpretation of it as merely conjectural, instead of giving it the form of an assertion as unqualified as it is unwarranted.

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APROPOS OF PROVENÇAL *affron*. (ROMANIC REVIEW. VII, 177)

AFTER sending off the note on *affron* it occurred to the writer that the presence of the vocable *tutor*, representing the Italian adverb *tutt'ora*, *tutt'or*, might serve to explain how the expression *de conquerre uos er*, 'you will have to conquer,' 'it will remain for you to conquer,' with the employment of the preposition *de* instead of *a*, found its way into our Provençal text. It is well known that the manuscript containing the best copy of the satire addressed by Joanez d'Albuisson to Sordel is of Italian origin, as is shown, among

⁷ Including in this term, for the sake of brevity, cases of crasis.

⁸ Arguments for the admission of synaloephe in the Gallego-Portuguese Lyric were presented by the present writer in his edition of the Songs of King Denis (1894), in his discussion of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* in *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philol.*, XXXII (1908), pp. 144-145, and in *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Philol.*, 1912, col. 291-292.

other things, by a number of Italian words and spellings. Now, *esser de* followed by an infinitive corresponds very closely to the Italian construction *esser da* with infinitive, which has been current since the time of Dante both in the sense occurring in our passage and in related uses. Thus Virgil admonishes Dante, *Inferno* XXXIV, 68-69:

Ma la notte risurge; ed oramai
È da partir, chè tutto avem veduto.

Boccaccio, *Decam.*,¹ Proemio: La gratitudine è sommamente da commendare, e il contrario da biasimare; Introduzione II: Non è perciò così da correre, come mostra che voi vogliate fare. F. Soave, *Novelle morali*, I, 4: Ad una schiavitù sì obbrobriosa la morte è da preferire; V. Gioberti, *Primato morale*, II, 38: Negli scorati l'orgoglio non è da temere.

It is quite possible, then, if not probable, that in our text the construction of *esser* with *de* and the infinitive, though not entirely foreign to Provence, echoes the speech of the Italian scribe rather than that of the Provençal singer. If this should be the correct explanation, it would serve as another argument in favor of our interpretation of the passage in question.

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ETIMOLOGIC NOTES

*TRUDITARE

CLASSIC Latin has *agitare* beside *agere*, *cantare* beside *canere*, *cantitare* beside *cantare*. With the help of such models, spoken Latin developed **truditare* from the stem of *trudere*. This **truditare* became **turtare*, which is the source of Italian *urtare*, Provençal *turtar* and *urtar*, French *hurter* and later *heurter*. The change of **truditare* to **turtare* has parallels in French *porveeir* < *providere*, Provençal *assetar* < **asseditare*.

The loss of initial *t* seems to show that **turtas* and **turtat* were mistaken for verbs combined with the object *t(e)*. In Spanish,

¹ See Gauchat e Kehrli, *Il Canzoniere Provenzale* H, in *Studi di Filologia romanza*, 5, p. 495.

a ti te veo has esencially the same meaning az *te veo*; likewise *te *turtat* cood hav bin taken for a variant ov *t(e) *urtat*. It iz also posibl that **turtas* woz ofn felt to contain the werd *tu*, and thærfoar became **urtas*. A paralel iz seen in Spanish *uñe* < *iungit*: heer the inical sound woz mistaken for the derivativ ov *illi* found in *gelo* < *illi illu*.

The French chanje ov *hurter* to *heurter* woz du to the opening influence ov *r*; similar developments ar thôs ov *murtrir* > *meurtrir*, *cirge* > *cierge*, *virge* > *vierge*. The sound *h* may hav arizen (az also in *hérissier*?) from the emfasis with hwich the verb, on account ov its meaning, woz ofn utterd. Or perhaps the *h* iz Jermanic: a werd similar in form and meaning iz Dutch *houwen*, corresponding to Jerman *hauen* and Inglish *hew*.

*PERPEDANEU

MEYER-LÜBKE'S diccionery givs French *parpaing* and Recian *parpaun* az derivativs ov **perpendiu*. Thees werds seem to hav cum from tuw diffrent sorses, and neether ov them correponds to **perpendiu*. In erly French a derivativ ov **perpendiu* wood hav rimed with *engin*. It iz truw that we find the spelling *parpin* in Godefroy, but the uzual form woz *parpain* or *perpain*. We may thærfoar asume that the form *parpin* indicates meerly the leveling ov *pain* and *pin* in spoken French.

Latin *pedalis* and *pedaneus* had the same jeneral sense; uzed az a noun, *pedale* ment "mezure." Aparently the derivativs ov *pedaneu* came to mean "measured, scwared, smoothd." Spanish has *peana* beside *peaña*, so we may admit **pedanu* az a variant ov the longer form. From **perpedaneu* cum French *parpain* (f. *parpaigne*), Spanish *perpiaño*, Portugees *perpianho* (recorded in Cortesão's *Subsídios* and Viana's diccionerys); probably also Sicilian *parpagnu*, givn by Mortillaro az meaning "mezure." In Sicilian, *d* iz ofn chanjed to *r*, az *ru peri* < *duo pedes*,¹ and **perprañño* cood hav lost *r* by disimilacion. The diffrence between Spanish *peaña* and *perpiaño* shows that the *e* ov **pedañño* woz moar strongly strest than the second *e* ov **perpedañño*.

¹ De Gregorio, *Saggio di fonetica siciliana*, 98, Palermo, 1890.

Pallioppi givs *parpaun* az a variant ov *partaun*. From *vair* < *uidere*, it iz clear that *parpaun* < **perpedanu* may be considerd normal. The form with *t*, belonging to a diffrent dialect, seems to imply an erly loss ov the second vouel, *rpd* > *rpt* having paralels in French *nete* < *nitida*, Provencial *posca* < **possega* (with *g* az in *poss'ego*), Italian *ratto* < *rapidu*.

SOLA

MEYER-LÜBKE givs a theoretic "**sola*" az the basis ov corresponding Romanic forms, and a similar idēa iz to be found in Walde's Latin diccionery. Tuw simpl facts hav bin overlookt: classic *solum* ment 'sole,' and had the plural *sola*.

SERA

THE *e* ov *sēra* has becum *i* in Emilian, hwær strest clōs *e* dus not normaly make *i*, except by harmonic chanje (*mīl* < **meli*). This development, hwich seems werthy ov mencion in Meyer-Lübke's etimologic diccionery, woz cauzd by asociacion with the derivativ ov *matutina*.

SPATHA

IN French and Provencial, *d* became a fricativ between vouels, and French developpt the same sound from *t*. This fricativ woz lost in the north, but jenrally chanjed to *z* in the south. Provencial *espaza*, givn by Meyer-Lübke az a normal derivativ ov *spatha*, woz borrod from French and shows a normal suthern treatment ov the northern derivativ ov *t*.

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

REVIEWS

Humbaut: Altfranzösischer Artusroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts nach Wendelin Foerster's Abschrift der einzigen Chantilly-Handschrift zum ersten Male kritisch bearbeitet von Jacob Stürzinger aus dessen Nachlass ergänzt herausgegeben von Dr. Hermann Breuer. Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur. Band 35. Dresden, 1914. XXVII + 201 pp.

It is more than forty years since Professor Foerster made a copy of the Arthurian poems in the Old French manuscript, at that time the property of the Duc d'Aumale and now one of the gems of that wonderful collection in the Château at Chantilly. Of the nine poems found in this manuscript, number 626 in the catalogue, this is the last to be published. This does not mean that it has been neglected until recently, for the task of editing the poem was entrusted by Foerster to his friend, Jakob Stürzinger, who was professor for several years at Bryn Mawr. Stürzinger devoted many years to the work but was prevented from finishing the edition on account of his many activities and poor health. After his death in 1903 nothing was done towards finishing the work until in 1912 the material accumulated by Stürzinger was confided to Dr. Hermann Breuer, who, after arranging and supplementing it, has finally brought out a critical edition of the poem. Dr. Breuer has recently completed a similar unfinished task in publishing the *Roman de Cristal et Clarie*, GRL XXXVI, which had been begun by Apfelstedt and Feilitzen.

The material left by Stürzinger consisted of the text, a table of proper names, and the notes for the first 2475 vv., besides scattered notes on the rest of the text and an outline of an introduction. Breuer abridged Stürzinger's study of the language of the copyist, rewrote the section on the language of the author and the summary of the poem and omitted the paragraph on the versification. He also compiled the glossary which is fairly complete and added a list of proverbs occurring in the poem, a feature which it might be worth while to imitate in publishing similar works. Foerster has given the editors the benefit of his wide scholarship and Suchier has made a few helpful suggestions.

From his brief study of the rhymes and the hiatus, the editor concludes that the poem is in the Picard dialect, but he wisely refrains from attempting to precise the exact region. To the five instances of imperfect rhymes should be added *ouverte: adestre* 3379 and *fiert: trenciet* 3489. The form *niés* [nepos] as accus. occurs in 791 as well as 611. He omits to state that the final cons. falls in *né* [navem] 2908.

The treatment of the language is followed by a rather detailed summary of the poem occupying nine pages. Compared with this the page and a half devoted to the authorship and the sources seem quite insufficient. In fact practically nothing is added to what has been said by Gaston Paris in *Hist. litt.* XXX. Even the references to editions are not brought up to date. In citing the episode *l'hôte incommode* the old edition of Méon and not Armstrong's later edition is mentioned and nothing is said of the five other versions of the story which Armstrong has listed. For the incident of the head-cutting challenge he refers only

to the *Vert Chevalier*, but it occurs also in *La Damoisele à la Mule*, *Perceval* 12629 ff., where Caraduc is the hero, *Perlesvaus*, pp. 102-4, *Floire et Blanchefleur* and in two Irish epics *Feis tige Bricreud* and *Fled Bricreud*: cf. Rom. XII, 377. Another curious episode (2760-3000) which as far as I know does not occur elsewhere is passed over without comment. It is the account of how Arthur and ten knights who accompany him arrive at a large river and find a boat which has the peculiar property of being able to carry only an uneven number of passengers, never an even number, for in that case the boat would sink at once. Fortunately, Arthur and his knights number eleven, so they are able to cross without danger. Surely this incident is sufficiently curious to deserve study or at least a special mention in an edition of the poem. Another feature that deserves further treatment is the relationship between this poem and *Meraugis de Portlesgues* and *La Vengeance Raguidel* by Raoul de Houdenc. Two of the characters found in the Hunbaut, Gervain Cadruz and the lady of Gautdestroit, play important parts, the former in *Meraugis de Portlesgues*, the latter in *La Vengeance Raguidel*. It is not best to discuss in detail this subject here, but the present reviewer hopes to publish elsewhere the result of his comparisons of the Hunbaut with Raoul's poems. It is but just to state that this meagre chapter on the sources and the theme was the incomplete work of Stürzinger and that Breuer in a note states that he was unable to complete it because he lacked the necessary books. However, in its present shape it is practically useless and demands an entirely new treatment. This would be important from the point of view of other Arthurian poems, because the Hunbaut is late and seems to be little more than a collection of themes taken from earlier works. The introduction is appropriately supplemented by a life of Stürzinger and a bibliography of his works, compiled by Dr. E. Dietz.

Another important subject which has not been treated in the introduction is the versification. The poem is arranged in rhymed couplets but the reader is at once struck by the predominance of rich rhymes. This is so noticeable that I have computed the rhymes according to the system adopted by Freymond, ZRP VI, 1 ff. The results show that 89 per cent. of the rhymes are rich rhymes, there being only 6 per cent. regular masc. rhymes and 5 per cent. fem. This ratio of rich rhyme is unusually high, as is shown by Freymond's calculation and should not be neglected in determining the date of composition, which is of course late. G. Paris has called it *un des derniers romans bretons*. However, the edition does not even take up the question of date. The text of the poem has been treated with care and when changes have been made, the manuscript reading has usually been indicated at the foot of the page. The notes were largely compiled by Stürzinger but Breuer has suggested quite a number of improvements in foot-notes signed with his name. The glossary, entirely the work of Breuer, is reasonably complete and there are special lists of proper names with citations from the contexts to explain their use and with the rhyme word if they occur at the end of the verse. As far as the text, notes and vocabulary are concerned one cannot help feeling that much improvement has resulted from the careful scholarly work of Dr. Breuer. The following details are based on a comparison of this edition with a photograph copy of the manuscript and on the notes compiled by the reviewer who was preparing an edition of the poem when he learned that Dr. Breuer had resumed the task left so long in abeyance.

V. 28 *moine*, not *monne*. MS. reads *mône*.—128 *baut* = seize, rather than

surrender. No need to suppose *nus* = *nos*; it is rather nom. of *nul*.—132 It is better to correct *aveu* to *aveuc* as in 264, 275, 299, etc. The absence of the final consonant in this case is doubtless a scribal error due to the initial *c* of the following word.—234 *sen* for *son* on account of *senestre* of preceding verse.—268 MS. *mais je sai bien estre arestis*, so no need of changing the text. Humbaut means that he knows well how to act slowly on occasions where force is not needed. This prudence of H. contrasts with the bravery of Gauvain, v. 267. *Arestis* is nom. sing. agreeing with *je*. The note to v. 268 is therefore unnecessary.—271 *vaura* (*valoir*), not *vanra*; *mestier* 270 means 'service,' not 'Gelegenheit.' 'I know well that such a service will be of importance to him.'—295 MS. *ço*, not *ce*.—296 *armes* better than *armés*, cf. 1328.—345 *do je for doi je*; for mention of this and similar forms cf. *Chev. as Il. Espees*, p. XXXIV.—423 semicolon at end instead of comma.—434 It is better to keep the MS. version *erent armé* as Breuer admits in a note. Stürzinger's change is quite unnecessary.—457 *usages*, not *u sages*.—518 A slighter change would be *cil par estovoir jëune*, 'for that man fasts through necessity, etc.'—568 *faisoit* a simpler correction than *feroit* and the imperfect tense is needed rather than cond.—619 *sel*; the MS. has *ses*, which should have been noted in the variants.—689 MS. *quant*, not *quar*.—843 Put semicolon at end of this verse and not after 842.—863 It is questionable whether the unusual *tamés* should have been introduced for the perfectly satisfactory *cremes* simply to form a rich rhyme. Although rich rhyme is usual, there are several exceptions, cf. 827, 843, 959, etc.—896 Correct *serré* to *serres*, cf. 516, 1397.—910 *vëue*. B. translates *Anhöhe*, but the meaning 'the distance one can see' seems not only more usual, but more appropriate in this verse and also 1015, 99.—985 If one reads .xl., not xi., there is no need of adding a word; *quarante* gives the right number of syllables.—1066 Breuer calls Hunbaut a dative and refers to the glossary, where, however, this reference is not listed. It would be better to consider it a vocative, cf. vv. 90, 256, 882, 912, etc., and put colon after *dist*.—1075, 6 The editor has not attempted to explain these difficult verses. May not the indefinite article before *chevalier* have been omitted? In that case, the number of syllables would be correct and the sense satisfactory, if *chevalier* were taken as a nom., cf. 1327. There seems to be a lacuna after 1075.—1093 The interpolation unnecessary, cf. v. 2398 where the same expression occurs.—1150 No need of apostrophe with *bel*, for *encontre* is both masculine and feminine.—1178 MS. *que vos*.—1267 MS. *mrs*, not *murs*.—1274 The editors omit giving the MS. *leior* for *seior*—1280 *si* for MS. *li*, which is omitted in variants, but explained in note. There are several cases where the scribe has confused *s* and *l*.—1324 *terre*, better than *rente*. The abbreviation is the same as vv. 1335, 1343.—1384 *destanroit* is meaningless; *destruiroit*, cited by Breuer in the glossary, would be satisfactory.—1390 Instead of *encant*, the MS. has *enrant*, which is another form of *errant*; cf. Godefroy, *enramment*, *anramment* = *erranment*.—1397 *ça*, which B. would change to *si*, is really *ja* in MS. The last form is satisfactory and the change and note are both unnecessary.—1457 This verse may be parenthetical and then the change of *le* to *les* would not be necessary.—1479 It might be well to change *se* to *le*, as *l* and *s* are confused at times. There is but one other case of *se* = *sa*, whereas there are several of *le* for *la*.—1528 Why should the abbreviation for the numeral be solved in this case and not in 1530.—1538 Keep *deface* < *desfacier*, v. n.—1594 *rote* has both genders, so unnecessary to change adj.—1669 MS. *repondre*.—

1680 *n'i ert*, otherwise a syllable is lacking.—1748 This verse is repeated in MS. In variants it is stated that v. 1739 is repeated, which is incorrect.—1756 Better to accept B.'s slight adaptation than to omit the hemistich.—1778 Better to connect this verse with the following and put comma after *forest*.—1785 MS. *ses*, not *les*.—1799 *on* is misprint for *ont*.—1825 The substitution of *frai* for *irai* is questionable. There is no instance of *frai* in the MS., whereas *ferai* is common. I prefer the ellipsis.—1829 MS. *donnoie* for *donoie*.—1891 Why not a lacuna after 1889 instead of 1891, in which case *cius* might be kept and semicolon placed after *ostel*?—1892 MS. *ch'r*.—1973 MS. *rois*.—1986 Thomas's suggestion of *u cort Oisse* is excellent, both on account of the rich rhyme that it affords and to distinguish this *Biaumont* from the others.—1988 The abbreviation may be for *quant* instead of *grant*, then the line would be *Con j'a esté por li, quant pris Hardement por li decevoir*. For *li* = *lui*, cf. 3420.—2016 Put comma after this verse and period after 2017.—2084 MS. *fesisse*.—2127 Better to correct *ceur* to *ceurt* = *cort*, cf. 140, 855.—2177 Change *atant* to *ataint*. The latter alone suits the meaning.—2209 MS. *vient* is satisfactory; *uent* not *vient* is the regular form for pres. *vouloir*.—2284 *le* is not pleonistic, for *c'* refers to *l'œuvre* just as *qu*, 2283.—2304 Better to keep *est*, cf. note to this verse.—2436 MS. *ne*, not *nen*.—2450 One syllable lacking. The editor changes *nes* to *ne* and adds *pas*. A simpler change would be to read *nes ne*. In this case the scribe might easily have failed to copy the second word.—2485 MS. *faic*.—2572 Why not add *le* before *di* instead of inserting *con*?—2593 The note shows that *Gaheris* in three instances has three syllables and in one (2656) four syllables. As the same variation occurs in *Veng. Raguidel*, it would have been better to leave the trisyllabic form in this verse and also in 2605 and 2721 and not alter these lines.—2598 *felissent* may be kept if *se* is added. The only reason for the change is to secure a rich rhyme.—2602 MS. *de tant* for *devant*.—2605 Keep the MS. *Gaheris* and *pas*. In the two other cases of *s'ire* 1907, 2854 *pas* is found.—2612 It seems preferable to include this verse in the speech which would then comprise vv. 2606-12. No change would then be necessary; *cont* is sub. 3; "let one tell the other about himself."—2652 One syllable too many in MS. Why not omit *puis*, the position of which Breuer calls astonishing?—2705 MS. *se*, not *ses*. The variants should show that MS. has an abbreviation for *et* before *est*.—2727 MS. *tot*.—2756 MS. *et*, not *si*.—2844 For the unusual adj. *nului*, one might read *nul liu*, cf. 2723 *Cligés* 639, *Erec* 1042, 2552.—2914 The scribe omitted the *s* of *armes*.—2925 MS. *vasaws*.—2927 *qui* lacking in MS. The interpolation needed, but should be indicated as such.—2938 MS. *passer*.—3049 The meaning demands *les* for *le*, cf. 3048.—3163 Period or at least a semicolon needed at end of line.—3181 No lacuna at end of verse, for 3180 and 3182 are connected in thought and 3181 is parenthetical.—3191 *rederont* which the editor lists in glossary without explanation is doubtless for *renderont*, which would make the verse intelligible.—3208 MS. *aïc*.—3231 *empire* < *empirier* = "to make worse." The reference in glossary is wrong and the explanation meaningless.—3236 *corcie*; the reference in glossary should be corrected to 3236.—3255 This verse is repeated at the top of the next col.; *pardonst* in 1st case and *pardoist* in 2d. Probably *pardoinst* would be the best form, cf. v. 1553.—3419 MS. *cevaucet* = *cevauçoit*.—3445 MS. *maintenant*.—3479 One syllable too many in MS. Better to keep *soie*, cf. vv. 221, 1909, etc., and omit *je*, which is doubtless a repetition of copyist. MS. has *encore* correctly.—3488 Better to suppress *et* and

leave *encontre*, which is often found as adverb in this poem, whereas *contre* occurs only as prep.—3556 MS. *durrement*.—3558 MS. *foliates*.—3563, 4 Apparently a slight lacuna, for the rhyme is lacking.—3565 MS. *grans*.—3606 *lunedi*. Why change the text? The sense is better without change.

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Le Roman de Renard par Lucien Foulet, Elève diplômé de l'École des Hautes Etudes (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, Sciences historiques et philologiques, Fasc. 211), Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, Edouard Champion, 1914, gr. in-8, pp. 574.

The world of scholars is already indebted to Professor Lucien Foulet for the original and solid results of his studies in two widely divided fields of French literature. In his articles, published in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* between 1905 and 1908, he has questioned the value of the French *lais* as offering evidence of their Celtic origin, and he has at once brushed aside numerous flimsy theories, and added to our definite knowledge in regard to an interesting literary type. His *Correspondance de Voltaire 1726-1729* (1913), while furnishing a model edition of a very small part of his author's epistolary work, instructs, surprises and alarms his readers in regard to the reliability of editors in general, when those of Voltaire are convicted of sins of omission in collecting and transcribing, and of errors in following their predecessors in dating and confusing different letters. In his *Roman de Renard* he has presented us with a masterpiece of historical literary criticism. In emphasizing, or rather in attributing its due share to, the personal, the artistic and the learned elements of the work, he strikes against the tendency—one of the results of romanticism in literary history—to find in medieval literature the spontaneous, impersonal, the popular, the communal, if you will have it. If the book is a general attack on the thesis set forth in detail in L. Sudre's *Sources du Roman de Renard* (1892) and accepted by Gaston, Paris (1894), who had made the original suggestion (1881), that the Roman had its chief source in popular tradition, it is more specific in its attack against the thesis of which Carl Voretsch is the most recent exponent in a series of articles published in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (1891-1892), that the *Rheinhard Fuchs* reproduces line upon line an early, closely concatenated French version, which has not come down to us, except in the *rifacimento* of the existing French text. The mere title *Roman de Renard* is misleading, engaging even those who have studied it to ascribe to it the unity of the *Roman de Troie* or the *Roman de Tristan*, while in fact it is only a chain of episodes, more or less closely connected with each other according to the artistic aims and talents of the various authors who have done their part to continue the story. The manuscripts offer no final criterion for either the date, or the order in the collection of the different branches, as the archetype of the manuscripts was due to a collector who did nothing but place in juxtaposition the branches known to him. For this reason the branches must be studied and judged separately, and the form in which we have them must be considered as the originals, and not as *rifacimenti* of earlier non-existent versions. In the study of these branches, amidst the mass of details both of the French work and of the confirmatory evidence which the author brings

forward to prove his thesis, he has ever in his mind those sane dicta of literary criticism which militate against the theories that (426) "plus on remonte haut dans le moyen-âge, plus on a de chance de trouver des oeuvres parfaites, et que plus une oeuvre renferme des traits illogiques, plus tardive elle doit être," and that (272) "cette perfection artistique qu'on veut désigner par le terme d'archaïsme, en vertu du postulat très en honneur qui veut qu'au moyen-âge les genres littéraires aient évolué à rebours."

After stating the difficulties of the problem and their explanation by others, Professor Foulet begins at once the exposition of his own. The prologue of Branche II, in which the Old French author announces that he is presenting to his readers an entirely new literary genre, must be accepted at its face value, both because this "branche" does not refer to others, as is the general practise, and because the story it tells is alluded to, not only by the other branches, but by the earliest French works which refer to this new type of vernacular literature, of which the date can be placed towards 1170. So insistent is Professor Foulet in denying the existence of any popular conception of the story earlier than this branche, that he gives a strained interpretation to the often-cited passage from the *De sua vita* of Guibert de Nogent, written between 1114 and 1117, of which the correct text has been known only since 1907: Solebat autem episcopus eum Isengrinum irrendendo vocare, propter lupinam speciem, sic enim aliqui solent appellare lupos. Ait ergo scelestus ad presulem: "Hiccine est dominus Ysengrinus repositus!" For him the "aliqui" refers to "quelques personnes, selon toute vraisemblance . . . des clercs," for whom it was "très possible" to find the name in a Latin work, a predecessor of *Ysengrimus*, showing a willingness on Professor Foulet's part to believe in lost Latin, if not French, models for the existing Old French poems. And let but the evidence be produced, as it can be produced, of the use of "aliqui" in medieval chroniclers referring to folk traditions, and his argument will collapse. On the other hand, he sets aside for good any argument drawn from the fabliau *Richeut*, whose heroine's name has been supposed to be taken from the name given to Renard's wife in the lost "older" branches of the cycle. Only in XXIV, for which the only authority is a manuscript of the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, is the usual name of Hermeline, or a variant thereof, changed for that of Richeut. That the allusion in *Richeut* to the desire of Henry II to possess Toulouse may apply to the year 1188 as well as to 1158 when he actually besieged it, as argued by Professor Foulet (92-3), is further established by the phrase in Bertran de Born's "S'eu fos aissi senhor" in reference to Richard; "E Tolosa qu'el te sobre deman," which could not have referred to the earlier date.

The chapter on the chronology of the branches may be regarded as the *point de repère* of the succeeding chapters which fill in with details its outline of Professor Foulet's thesis. He devotes no less than a fifth of his book (120-237) to establishing the priority in composition to the other branches of what he calls "le premier poème de Renard et d'Isengrin," a combination of II and Va, in showing its source, and assigning to it a definite date. He is not the first to note that three episodes, Renard and Chantecler, Renard and the Titmouse, and Renard and the Rape of Hersent, are arranged in the same order in both the French poem and in *Ysengrimus*, but for some, this parallelism is due to the imitation in the latter of the original form of the French poem, and for others,

to a common source in folk-tales, while Professor Foulet's cogent arguments force one to see the close dependence of the French poem both for details and general setting on the Latin poem. At the same time he points out the probable indebtedness of the episode of Renard and Tiécelin to a fable of Marie de France. Nor is he the first to make II and Va one, as two classes of manuscripts of the thirteenth century have the same arrangement, adopted by Méon in his edition, which is based on a manuscript of one of these classes. But Professor Foulet is the first to point out that Va supplies the logical completion of the "guerre" between Isengrin which ends so unexpectedly in II, which leaves Isengrin and Hersent beaten, and like present-day pacifists satisfied and unashamed. Drawing his illustrations from examples of medieval French laws, the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of Philippe de Beaumanoir, he shows that it was only a question of a private war between the two protagonists of the story, which is announced in the prologue, of which the final phase would properly take place in the royal court of Noble, such as it is set forth in Va in a naturally complementary way. Assured of the unity of the story, Professor Foulet dates its composition precisely by finding in the Lombard camel, so learned in law (Va, 444-451), an allusion to Peter of Pavia, who visited France as a Papal legate, 1174-8, and preached there the crusade in aid of Constantinople in 1176, of which one finds a reflection in the phrase, "Por apoter mon segnor Noble Treü devers Costentinoble." Finally, the reference in I to Pierre de St. Cloud as the author of the story of the trial of Renard at the royal court, must be accepted at its face value as the testimony in regard to the authorship of the original Renard poem by the author of a supplementary poem.

With his main thesis established, Professor Foulet easily makes his next point that V, which gives the story of the bacon stolen by Renard to be devoured by Isengrin, was borrowed from *Ysengrimus* by a later writer to insert as an interpolation into the original story. This indebtedness has been admitted by earlier scholars, but for them it supported the thesis that the French poem is only a *remaniement*, with the use of the Latin poem, of the earlier French poem, used by the author of *Reinhart Fuchs*, which shows no evidence of the use of the Latin poem in his version of this episode. This omission is explained by Professor Foulet, by the fact that the German writer introduced the story in a way different from his French source, the existing poem, which only borrows from the Latin poem in its introduction to the real story. For the second part of V the author went to his French predecessor for the setting, if not for the details of the story of Renard's defeat by an inferior animal, the cricket. The author of XV was again an early imitator of the original French poem, but while he continues by an interpolation the adventures in chronological order of Renard and Tibert, he assigns to the latter a rôle quite independent of the protagonists of the original. But allusions in XV to Isengrin as a monk, and to Renard as a priest, show that this early interpolation had been preceded by an independent branch which distributed such rôles to the animals, namely, III, of which Professor Foulet finds the source in the *Isengrimus*. In the Latin poem Isengrin is tempted into monastic life by Renard's tale that he had received some cakes, offered by him to the wolf, from his own convent. After Isengrin had renounced his new life of piety, Renard offers to teach him to fish with his tail, which is frozen in the ice, and cut off by the man pursuing him. In the French poem, it is the temptation of eels, stolen from a cart by Renard—

this episode may be due to a popular tale—which makes Isengrin ready to be tonsured by Renard, and to take the first step in his novitiate, which consists in fishing for his proper food, an action which results in the freezing in, and loss of his tail.

That IV presents the original French form of the story of Isengrin in the well, and that it is only in the story of the *Disciplina clericalis* that are found the details of the ascending and descending buckets, are the next points which are elucidated in the argumentation of Professor Foulet, who clears off the debit balance of the earlier strata of the *Roman de Renard* to the work of Nivardus, by showing that besides utilizing in his own way episodes of I, Va, VII, and V, and a version of an Æsopic fable, its author has followed closely the account in the Latin poem of Brer Wolf's oath to a wolf trap, and its consequences. In his discussion of I, "Le Jugement de Renard," Professor Foulet has not so much emphasized its indebtedness to earlier branches, particularly to II, Va, and XIV, and to Latin fable literature, as he does the masterly use made by the author to develop the story from the material he found to hand, resulting in an artistic piece of work, the gem of the *épopée*, which has had the fortune in subsequent literature it deserved, in successive imitations from the time of its first Flemish translator to the *Reineke Fuchs* of Goethe. In the analysis of its merits, which in an age of non-specialization the supreme critic Sainte-Beuve divined, Professor Foulet shows here that he has a sensitive, well poised literary taste, as he reveals throughout the book mental alertness and erudite preparedness.

It is an easy task to prove that the authors of Ia (Le Siège de Maupertuis), Ib (Renard teint, Renard jongleur), and VI (Duel de Renard et d'Isengrin) at once plagiarize and supplement I, while X (Renard médecin),¹ beginning as an imitation of the same branch, has added a new episode of which the elements are to be found in *Ysengrimus*. Further, the Italian Rainardo (XXVII), which for Sudre and G. Paris was a rifacimento of a very early form of several primitive French branches, is shown to be the original work of a Franco-Italian writer of the thirteenth century, largely based on I. If in the discussion of the separate branches Foulet has had to take issue with Voretzsch on the originality of the existing texts, in a chapter devoted to *Reinhart Fuchs* of Glichezâre, he has emphasized the originality and artistic merits of the German adapter, and has proved by cogent arguments that (393):

"le Glichezâre a, non sans talent, ordonné et fondu en un poème unique une demi-douzaine de branches que nous avons encore. On ne peut s'appuyer sur son récit pour voir dans les poèmes conservés de Renard des remaniements tardifs."

To complete his study of the branches comprised in the archetype of the manuscripts is the next part of his task that Professor Foulet takes up. He again finds that of these seven branches, VIII (Pèlerinage de Renard) and XVI (Le partage du lion) had their source in *Ysengrimus*, and IX (Renard et Liétard) was suggested by a story of the *Disciplina clericalis*, while one episode

¹ The Caroline fable of the sick lion (371) was included by the original editor Dümmler in the *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* (M.G.), I, 62-4, and by Neff in his *Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus* (1908), 193-6, although the latter has joined von Winterfield (*Neues Archiv d. Ges. f. ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXIX, 468), if for different reasons, in denying its authorship to Paulus.

of XI (Renard empereur) was directly inspired by the fable of the fox and grapes in the collection of Romulus, and a second (The sparrow revenged by the dog) had its source in a popular tale. If the author of XVI goes as far as to claim to be the original creator of the cycle, Pierre de St. Cloud, it was the evident intention of the authors of these late branches to develop or bring to a conclusion episodes in the earlier branches. A source for the attack upon the monks of Cluny and the Cistercians in VII, which has escaped Professor Foulet (443), is the *Speculum Stultorum* of Nigellus Wirecker, written before 1183 (cf. *Studii med.*, IV, 118-9), of which the hero, the ass Burnellus, refuses to enter any of the monastic orders after a complete and unfavorable review of them all (T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets*, I, 82-96). In this branch and in XII (Les vêpres de Tibert), whose author, Richard de Lison, is careful to name himself, and XVII (Mort et procession Renart), the personality of the respective authors is so apparent that Professor Foulet does not need to insist, in opposition to his predecessors, that we have them in their original form.

Coming to the epigoniads, Professor Foulet in his study of the late branches, written posterior to the original collection of Renard poems, from 1205-1250, notes how their authors have either revamped episodes of the older collection, or added new elements to the cycle to which they wish to attach their own compositions. Following the lead of the late chansons de geste, magic plays a large part in one branch (XXIII); and another (XXIV) relates the "anfances" of Renard; while the author of another branch which has been divided into three (XIX, XX, XXI) has found in *Ysengrimus* the suggestions, if not the details, of three episodes, in which Isengrin is the protagonist, and Renard is not even mentioned. In a chapter on the popularity of the Renard poems, our author shows both its extended influence and his own wide reading. Beginning with the first years of the thirteenth century not only do the writers of every genre of French literature, be it epic, popular or learned, fabliau or miracle, show an intimacy with the cycle; preachers like Eudes de Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry² cite and translate bits of it; a serious historian, such as Philippe de Novare has written almost a new branch in furnishing historical characters with the names of Renard and his associates, and the procession of Renard was reproduced on the walls of houses and even of churches. To the many references on the mural decorations may be added those in medieval sermons noted by Delisle (*Mélanges de Paléograph.*, 206) and Hauréau (*Not. et Extr. de quelques manuscrits*, IV, 51). He emphasizes the allusions to the Old French poem in the works of Eudes de Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry, because those who believe in the popular source of the poems have found in them an argument for the early use of popular oral tales by medieval writers. In the penultimate chapter entitled "Le Roman de Renard et le Folklore," Professor Foulet disposes not only of this argument but of those based upon the appearance of episodes of the *Roman* in various late collections of Latin fables, and also protests "contre l'emploi par les historiens de la littérature, dans la critique d'oeuvres du moyen âge, de matériaux qui, directement ou indirectement, peuvent venir de ces oeuvres-là mêmes." However, even if he can show—as he promises to do

² G. Frenken (*Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry*, 1914, 32-3) has independently noted the indebtedness of Jacques de Vitry, pointing out further that Crane, No. 174, had its source in XIV, 657-581. He has not found any such indebtedness in the exempla from the Sermones communes published by himself.

in another work (563, n. 1)—that in a number of cases the formation of the branches of the *Roman* has been explained by modern stories which are derived from these very branches, he will have a delicate task to separate such derivatives from independent analogues, such, say, as the Malay fable, "The King of the Tigers is Sick" (W. Skeat, *Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest*, 3-4), in which the Tiger Crown Prince, as Isengrimus in the Latin poem of Nivardus, advises the patient to eat the flesh of beasts of the field, a treatment avoided by the advice of the tardy Mouse-Deer—the Renard of Malay fable literature—who excuses his tardiness as due to a dream in which he was instructed that the only remedy was "That which is nearest your Majesty," namely, the Tiger Crown Prince, or the Kurdish tale in which the patient, a woman, had, like the lion in *Reinhart Fuchs*, a pain in the head, which could only be cured by being wrapped in the skin of a seven-year-old lion (Prym & Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Maerchen aus dem Volksmunde*, 113-114).

In a final chapter the author sums up the results of his researches as having shown that the *Roman*, far from being a Volksepik, was the artistic creation of some twenty clerks of the twelfth and thirteenth century, who borrowed from classical or medieval Latin works the setting, and were only indebted to themselves and their own times for their wealth of detail. Certainly by showing that the *Ysengrimus* is one of its main sources, future investigations will have to begin where Voigt left off in emphasizing the learned clerical origin of that work (*Ysengr.*, ed. E. Voigt, lxxxviii ff.). Professor Foulet has written a most satisfactory book, well planned and well composed, cogent in its arguments, and acceptable in its conclusions, well worthy to belong to one of the collection of which it forms a volume, in setting a model for a combination of scientific accuracy and methods, and literary form. It well compares with other studies of the collection devoted to Romance subjects, such as Bédier's *Les Fabliaux* and de Nolhac's *Petrarque et l'Humanisme*, written under the inspiration and direction of the great master, Gaston Paris, who would have been the first to commend Professor Foulet for rejecting his own thesis when in search for the truth.

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Rimatori Siculo-Toscani del Dugento. Serie Prima: Pistoiesi, Lucchesi, Pisani, a cura di GUIDO ZACCAGNINI e AMOS PARDUCCI. Bari, Laterza, 1915.

The present volume of the admirable series of *Scrittori d'Italia*, the first to enter the field of the earlier lyric, gives us the work of three groups of poets who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century. It is accordingly tripartite in arrangement, each division being complete in itself—first, the text; then a series of notes, concisely stating what is known of each poet's career, and offering emendations or elucidations of his more difficult passages; and finally, a glossary. There are also numerous bibliographical references which will enable the reader to pursue in the recent literature of the subject the study of various details; so that the compact and well-printed volume gives ample provision for the appreciation of its contents.

The text of the poets of Pistoia, edited by Zaccagnini, shows few changes from that offered in his previous edition of 1907, beyond the omission of the

few Trecento pieces, and a commendable tendency to revert to mss. readings wherever possible. This is especially the case in the sonnets, as may be seen in the second of "Si. Gui." (p. 20), and the second of Lanfranchi (p. 28). In the first canzone of Meo, L's *mondo* (3) is rightly emended to *modo*; whether the change of *pena* to *pecca* in 28 is needed, is perhaps dubious. In his second, L's *per servire* (15) is changed to *star servidore*, to accord with the exact repetition in the linking of the other stanzas; in 45, *vostra* (for *nostra* of L and ed. I) would seem to be a misprint.

More important, both numerically and intrinsically, is the group of poets of Lucca, edited by Parducci on the basis of his edition of 1905. The only change in arrangement is the grouping of the sonnets of *tenzoni* together, instead of under their respective authors, with a consequent gain in clearness. Bonagiunta, the chief figure of the group, gains a ballata, and the canzone *Ben mi credea in tutto esser d'amore*, preserved only in the Giuntine edition, but now accepted by Parducci as authentic. One sonnet, *In prima or m'è novella bona giunta*, is omitted, but the text of sonnets and ballate is practically unchanged.

The canzoni of Bonagiunta (almost the only poems in the entire volume which are preserved in enough primary mss. to make choice of readings possible) show several changes, most of them for the better. It is pleasant to see the metre of canzoni IV and V restored to the form in which the mss. present it. That of VIII would stand a little retouching. It seems to me that the first seven lines of each stanza were designed to be octosyllabic, as may be seen by adopting mss. readings in 2, *infra* (V); 7, *ne voglio* (V); 20, *pare* (PV); 33, *inver* (PV). In 13, V's *fallo in alto pregio* seems better than P's reading, which Parducci accepts.

The minor changes in the canzoni are as follows: I. 7, *e* (V) for *nè* (L); I. 9, *per* (V) for *lo* (L); II. 24, *verso* for *ver* (ms.); III. 47, *tutta* (PV) for *senn'e* (L); VI. 16, *la 'ntendanza e* (V) for *là und' esce* (P); VI. 24, *erranza* (P) for *oranza* (V); VII. 15, *per* (ms.) for *pur* (emended); IX. 10, *gieme* (V) for *donne* (P); IX. 18, *si fort' è* for *si forte*; X. 43, *ch'è regina* for *ched è gina* (ms.). In V. 36-7, a slight emendation has extracted sense from the mss. In VII. 25, the change of P's *pegio* to *pregio* is an emendation, not a simple insertion of one letter; for P's spelling is usually (if not invariably) *presio*. In X I should regard 23 as a mere repetition of 18, and hence without influence on the text. Finally, in VI. 53, a slight emendation of V's reading *e cio ch' io dico nulle giome aviso* would give *nullo è, cid m'è aviso*, which seems to me better than P's *nullo dir*, accepted by Parducci. These, however, are small points; in the main, Parducci's text may be accepted as definitive.

The Pisan poets, who form part III, have in most cases not appeared in print except in the diplomatic edition of L, the sole source for most of them; and it cannot be said that Zaccagnini's handling of them is in all respects successful. The changes which are discussed in the notes need not be examined here; but sundry other passages are still susceptible of improvement. Whether, in Gualacca's serventese, *daviso* of line 9 need be taken as a spelling of David, seems questionable; nor do I see why in the last line a superfluous *a* is made to precede *l'amo*, without mss. authority. In the canzoni of Panuccio, contorted and obscure as they are, opinions will differ on many points; but I think the following changes would improve Zaccagnini's text. I. 64, read *parte vera* (cf. *parte scora* in 66, where L reads *tenebre*, not *tenebra*; II. 15, read *rallegrando i'*

speranza; III. 75, read *come* for *com'è*; IV. 67-8, L's line-division could be adopted, and its text kept; VI. 9, read *quanto* (L); VI. 60, read *disia* (L), not *disira*, and in 61 omit *lo*; VIII. 44, read *u' i' dimorasse* for *vi dimorasse*. Likewise in Lotto di Ser Dato it would be better to keep L's readings in I. 8, *quanto*; 59, *aita* for *vita*; 68, *ciò* for *voi*; and II. 5, *tene* for *mene*. In 32 of Nocco's canzone, read *dice: Ben ò* for *dice beno*, to correspond with *dice: Ome* in 36. In 26 and 70, *speme* and *veritate* are presumably misprints for *spene* and *veritade*, L's readings.

The poems that fare worst under Zaccagnini's handling are those of Pucciadone. It is true that the first has been transmitted by P in a rather calamitous state; but Zaccagnini's reduction of it to 17-line stanzas (which should be 18-line), and his notion that the fourth stanza, really the best preserved, is the most corrupt, have led to a "reconstruction" which involves a wholesale shifting or deleting of what the ms. affords. Likewise, the notes to the ballata (no. II) do not clearly show where the editor has added or emended.

In conclusion, a word should be said as to the literary value of these poems—slight enough in many cases, but by no means lacking in all. To read Bonagiunta's *Avegnachè partenza*, Lotto's *Fior di beltà*, or Nocco's *Greve di gioia* is to feel what we may call the amenity of the best minor lyric of the time—its unpretending simplicity, its neat recording of familiar thought in pleasantly flowing measures. To the sympathetic reader, such poems go far to atone for dreary essays in complexities of rime, or unprofitable excursions into misunderstood philosophy. These aberrations assuredly exist; but along with them runs an inconspicuous but limpid stream of true poetry.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

At the University of California the following advancement and appointments have been made:

G. Fauchaux, to Associate Professor of French.
Louis Barnier, Instructor in French.
Beatrice Cornish, Instructor in Spanish.
Elizabeth McGuire, Instructor in Spanish.
R. Echeverria, Instructor in Spanish.

The University of Chicago recently made the following advancement and appointment:

Ralph E. House to Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.
J. A. Child, formerly of California and Amherst, Instructor (pro tem.) in Romance Languages.

At Cornell University the following Instructors in Romance Languages have been appointed:

H. A. Brickley, A.B., A.M. (Harvard).
Frank Colucci, A.B. (Rochester).
M. J. Hubert, A.B., A.M. (Cornell).
C. J. Buttery, A.B., A.M. (Cornell).
A. S. Coma.

Harvard University has made the following appointments:

Señor J. Husbands, of the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, to give instruction in the Spanish section of the Romance Department.
E. F. Parker, A.M. (recently of the University of North Carolina), Instructor in Romance Languages.
L. P. Brown, A.M. (recently of Northwestern University), Instructor in Romance Languages.
G. H. Gifford, A.B. (recently a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford), Instructor in Romance Languages.
R. I. Little, A.M., Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Illinois the following assistants have been appointed:

Louis Philip Costa, A.M. (Oxon).
Manuel López, A.B. (Ohio Wesleyan).
Park Powell, A.B., B.S. (Missouri).
Orlando d'Amato, A.B. (Columbia).
Pedro Bach y Rita, a graduate of the Escuela Superior de Maestros in Barcelona.

Iowa State University has appointed Joseph I. Cheskis Instructor in Romance Languages.

Johns Hopkins University has made the following appointments:

Dr. Erasmo Buceta, Instructor in Spanish.

Dr. Gustav Gruenbaum, Instructor in Romance Languages.

W. S. Hastings, Instructor in Romance Languages.

From the University of Kansas come the following items of interest:

Calvert J. Winter, granted leave of absence for a year of study at the University of Chicago.

Rodolphe O. Hoffman, Ph.C. (Ghent), appointed Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.

Anna L. Saby, M.A. (recently of Randolph-Macon Woman's College), appointed Instructor in Spanish.

Dr. Daniel da Cruz, appointed Instructor in Spanish.

Santiago Gutiérrez V., Licenciado en Ciencias (Costa Rica), appointed Instructor in Spanish.

At Lehigh University Philip D. Stevens, A.B. (Harvard), has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Minnesota the following changes have taken place in the Department of Romance Languages:

Ruth Shepard Phelps, A.M., has been advanced to an assistant professorship.

Paul H. d'Équilly Morin, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, recently Lecturer in Romance Languages at Smith College, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.

Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, Abogado, recently Professor of Castilian Literature in the University of Mexico, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.

Martin Luis Guzmán, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, recently Professor of Spanish at the University of Mexico, has been appointed Professorial Lecturer.

George S. Barnum, A.M., has been advanced from a teaching fellowship to an instructorship.

Gustaaf van Roosbroeck has been appointed to a teaching fellowship.

Enrique Jiménez, Bachiller en ciencias y letras, Abogado, has been appointed to a teaching fellowship.

The following are new Instructors in the department of Romance Languages at Northwestern University:

Joseph Proctor Knott, B.A.,

Joseph Cornwall Palamountain, M.A.,

Reginald deKoven Warner, M.A.,

Sara Frances Bragdon, B.A.,

Donald MacKenzie, Ph.D.

At Ohio State University Professor Edgar S. Ingraham, who last year was absent on leave while studying at the Johns Hopkins University, has returned to his position; and Felipe Teixido de Berriz (quondam student at Madrid and Paris) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

From Ohio Wesleyan University come the following items:

Harry Payne Reeves, advanced to an Assistant Professorship in Romance Languages and placed in charge of all the Spanish work.

Owen K. Boring, appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

At the University of Texas the following advancements have been made:

Lilia Cassis to a Professorship in Romance Languages.

W. S. Hendrix to an Adjunct Professorship in Romance Languages.

C. Blume, M.A., has been appointed to an Instructorship in Romance Languages.

At Washington and Jefferson University, Dr. T. A. E. Moseley (recently Instructor in Princeton University) has been appointed Professor of Romance Languages.

At Western Reserve University Wm. P. Ward (recently of the University of Kansas) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages.

From the University of Wisconsin come the following items:

W. E. Giese has been advanced from the position of Associate Professor to that of Professor of Romance Languages.

F. Ernst has been advanced from an Instructorship to an Assistant Professorship in Romance Languages.

Jeanne Greenleaf, recently of the University of California, has been appointed Instructor in French.

J. Ortega, of Madrid, Spain, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish.

Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, has received the honorary degree of L.H.D. from the University of Chicago.

Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, has been elected Correspondiente de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras of Barcelona.

Professor F. B. Luquiens, of Yale University, has been appointed General Editor of "The Macmillan Spanish Series." The first volume, a Spanish Grammar by Fuentes and François, has just appeared.

Professor E. C. Hills has resigned his chair in Colorado College to become the successor of S. Willard Clary, Esq., as General Editor of the Modern Language Series of D. C. Heath & Co. His headquarters will be in the New York office.

Professor C. Carroll Marden has resigned the chair that he graced for so many years at the Johns Hopkins University and has accepted the newly established Emory L. Ford Professorship of Spanish at Princeton University. For the present year, however, despite his new duties, he will continue to conduct the graduate work in Spanish at the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Thomas E. Oliver has returned to his work at the University of Illinois after nearly a year of absence serving in Belgium with the American Commission for Relief in Belgium.

Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, has been elected Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid. Professor Fitz-Gerald has also been appointed General Editor of "The Hispanic Series," which is published by Benj. H. Sanborn & Co. The first volume, an Elementary Spanish Reader, by Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, is just off the presses.

Aurelio M. Espinosa, of Leland Stanford Jr. University, has been advanced from Assistant Professor of Spanish to Associate Professor of Spanish.

John Hill has returned from two years of study in Spain and France to an Adjunct Professorship of Romance Languages at the University of Indiana.

A masterly treatise on French versification (*Essai sur l'Histoire du Vers Français*, by Professor H. P. Thieme, Paris, Champion, xii + 432 pages) has just appeared. The Introduction is from the pen of Professor G. Lanson. Professor Thieme has arranged for the entire proceeds to go to the families of French professors who have fallen in the war. It is earnestly hoped that the fund thus obtained may be increased by similar gifts from teachers in this country. The price of the volume is \$2.00, and copies may be ordered of Mr. George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Michigan, or of the author himself.

M. Paul Fort announces that the continuation of his *Poèmes de France* will be conditional on the sales by subscription of a new volume by him: *Deux Chaumières au Pays de l'Yveline*. The new book does not treat of the war, and is simply another volume of the author's poems. Copies may be ordered of M. Fort: 34, rue Gay-Lussac, Paris. Copies on ordinary paper cost, postage paid, 3 francs, those on Holland paper, 10 francs, and those on Japan paper, 20 francs.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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OLD FRENCH BORROWED WORDS IN THE OLD SPANISH OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE *Cid*, *BERCEO'S POEMS*, THE *Alexandre* AND
Fernán González

I.—INTRODUCTION

1. *Arabic and Germanic loan-words in Old Spanish*.—In the field of borrowed words in Old Spanish it has been the Oriental—particularly the Arabic—and the Germanic which have first especially attracted the interest and stimulated the investigation of scholars. Aside from older works and sources,¹ we have two well-

¹Of these the most important follow:

Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista áravigo en letra castellana*, Granada, 1505. Edited, Göttingen, 1883, by P. de Lagarde.

Francisco López Tamarid, *Compendio de algunos vocablos arábigos introducidos en la lengua castellana*, recopilados por F. L. T. See Catalog of the British Museum.

Cobarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1611.

Francisco Martínez Marina, *Catálogo de algunas voces castellanas, puramente arábigas ó derivadas de la lengua griega, y de los idiomas orientales, pero introducidas en España por los árabes*. *Memorias de la real academia de la historia*, vol. iv.

Hammer-Purgstall, *Über die arabischen Wörter im Spanischen*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1854, xiv, pp. 87–132.

Celestino Schiapparelli, *Vocabulista in arabico*, Florence, 1871.

R. P. A. Cozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyden, 1881, containing in the preface, pp. v–xv, a discussion of sources and in the list of authors quoted a considerable bibliography.

Marcel Devic, *Dictionnaire étymologique des mots d'origine orientale*, in E. Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris, 1887.

known preëminent treatises on oriental loan-words in Spanish, namely:—R. P. A. Dozy and W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leyden and Paris, 1869² and Leopoldo de Eguílaz y Yanguas, *Glosario de las palabras españolas de origen oriental*, Granada, 1886.³ The former of these, the most authoritative treatment of the subject, is much supplemented by the latter; each contains a discussion of the reproduction of the various Arabic sounds in Spanish. G. Baist's article, *Die arabischen Laute im Spanischen*, R. F. iv, pp. 345–422, treating aspirates, gutturals, and sibilants, is the most extensive accurate treatment of this aspect of the problem.⁴ On the Germanic in Old Spanish we have only M. Goldschmidt, *Zur Kritik der altgermanischen Elemente im Spanischen*, Lingen, 1867, a discussion of the phonological results of Germanic sounds transferred to Old Spanish. This article, however, is much supplemented directly and indirectly by J. Brück, *Der Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf das Vulgärlatein*, Heidelberg, 1913, which incidentally contains much regarding the mutual indebtedness of the Romance languages; it is further so supplemented by the earlier work of T. Braune, *Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis einiger romanischen Wörter deutscher Her-*

João de Sousa, *Vestigios da língua árabe em Portugal*, 1789, reprinted 1830, with additions of Caetano Lopes de Moura.

Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, *Elucidario das palavras, termos, et frases que em Portugal antiguamente se usarão e que hoje regularmente se ignorão*, Lisbon, 1798.

These are all mentioned and discussed in G. Baist's review of Eguílaz y Yanguas' *Glosario*, see below, § I, or in his introduction to *Die arabischen Laute im Spanischen*, see below, § I, or in Dozy and Engelmann's *Glossaire*, see below, § I.

² Reviewed by Charles Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1869, 6^e série, xiii, pp. 518–538.

Cf. also W. H. Engelmann's first edition of the *Glossaire*, 1861, and reviews by C. Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1862, 5^e série, xix, pp. 82–96, and by M. J. Müller, *Die aus dem Arabischen in das Spanische übergegangenen Wörter in Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 1861, ii, pp. 95–115, and by K. A. F. Mahn, *Etymologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 143 and following.

³ Reviewed by G. Baist, Z. R. P., xiv, pp. 223 and following.

⁴ Cf. also Christian Seybold, *Die arabische Sprache in den romanischen Ländern*, Gröber's, *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 2d edition, 1904–1906, i², pp. 515 and following.

kunft, Z. R. P. xviii, pp. 523-531; xix, pp. 348-369; xx, pp. 351-372; xxi, pp. 213-224; xxii, pp. 197-216; 1894-1898, a series of lists and discussions of Romance words of Germanic origin; and finally, also by M. Goldschmidt, *Germanisches Kriegswesen im Spiegel des romanischen Lehnwortes*, in *Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*, Festgabe für W. Förster, Halle, 1902, pp. 49-68, containing a list of Germanic words and their Romance reflexes.⁵

2. *Work already done on Old French loan-words in Old Spanish.*—To Provençal and Old French borrowed words in Spanish no special treatise has as yet been devoted.⁶ However, incidentally, in more general works increasingly greater attention has been given to the indebtedness of the Romance languages to one another in general and of Spanish to Provençal and Old French in particular. Thus W. Meyer-Lübke, in his *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1911 and following, directs more attention to this feature than his predecessors, e. g., F. Diez, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, 4th edition, Bonn, 1878, and G. Körting, *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterbuch*, 3d edition, Paderborn, 1907. J. Bruch, *op. cit.*, § 1, gives much consideration to the interchange of words between the Romance languages.⁷ Something on the question may also be gleaned from M. Goldschmidt, *Germanisches Kriegswesen u. s. w.*, *op. cit.*, § 1. Many others⁸ also have been interested incidentally or indirectly in the subject.

3. *Spanish grammarians on the contribution of Old French to the Old Spanish language. Scope of the subject.*—This lack of a work dealing directly with Old French words in Old Spanish is not,

⁵ For dialects and their contribution to Spanish see among others the following: G. Baist, Gröber's *Grundriss*, Strassburg, 1904-1906, i, pp. 880, 881, where lists of works on the various dialects are given.—E. Staaff, *Étude sur l'ancien dialecte léonais*, Uppsala and Leipzig, 1907. In this work, pp. 173-176, are discussed the previous works on Leonese.—E. J. Simonet, *Glosario de las voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid, 1888.

⁶ We might except Rafael Maria Baralt, *Diccionario de galicismos*, Madrid, 1855 and 1890, conceived, however, solely in the interest of purism. Reviewed by H. Peseux-Richard, *Rev. Hisp.*, iv, pp. 31-44. A special work on Italian loan-words in Spanish is also lacking.

⁷ See in particular pp. 22, 23, 39, 201.

⁸ For such see references in Part II.

of course, because Spanish grammarians have failed to observe the influence of the Old French and Provençal languages on Old Spanish. P. Förster⁹—not to go further back—calls attention to the French linguistic contribution to Spanish. G. Baist says:¹⁰

In der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts gewinnt Frankreich bestimmenden Einfluss auf die Kirche und das gesamte geistige Leben. Mönche und Krieger wandern ein, der Spielmann, der Troubadour, der Künstler folgen und der Kaufmann zieht hinaus nach Cahors, wie der Prediger sagt, um den Wucher zu lernen. Die Masse der damals zugeführten Worte ist eine gewaltige, aus den niedersten wie den höchsten Begriffssphären. Und zwar wiegt zunächst, was bisher übersehen worden ist, das Provenzalische vor, vom 13. und 14. Jahrhundert allerdings das Französische. Im 16. Jahrhundert macht sich die Verbindung mit Italien geltend. Seit der 2. Hälfte des 18. bis heute ist die Einwirkung des Französischen stärker als jemals im Mittelalter. Dem Catalanischen und Portugiesischen gegenüber hat sich das Castilische ziemlich abschliessend verhalten.

And in another place¹¹ he says:

Nicht immer lässt sich mit Sicherheit scheiden, aber die Mehrzahl der im Castilischen vorhandenen Germanismen ist im 11.–13. Jahrh. aus Frankreich gekommen. . . .

These views are cited by F. Hanssen¹² who in his grammar makes no other reference to Old French influence in Spanish—and in part by J. Brück.¹³ A. Zauner¹⁴ observes the French and Provençal contribution to Spanish, mentioning in particular the Renaissance period. R. Menéndez Pidal,¹⁵ while putting less emphasis on the earliest period (i. e., the eleventh and following centuries), calls attention rather to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and to the eighteenth and subsequent centuries as periods of French influence. It will be seen, therefore, that in the opinion of students of the Old Spanish language there were three

⁹ *Spanische Sprachlehre*, Berlin, 1880, p. 163, § 230.

¹⁰ Gröber's *Grundriss*, 1904–1906, i, p. 883, Wortschatz, § 6.

¹¹ Gröber's *Grundriss*, 1904–1906, i, p. 882, Wortschatz, § 4.

¹² F. Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Halle, 1913, chap. iii, §§ 11 and 13.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁴ A. Zauner, *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908, p. 9.

¹⁵ R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de la gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 2d edition, 1905, § 4^a, p. 20.

periods of strong French influence, viz.:—the earliest period in the eleventh and following centuries, the Renaissance period in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the more modern period in the eighteenth and subsequent centuries.

4. *Scope of the present study.*—A treatment of French loan-words in Spanish, therefore, if complete, would include both North French and Provençal words and extend from the earliest use of Spanish as a separate Romance tongue till the present, considering in particular three periods of the greatest intensity of French influence. The definitive accomplishment of a work of such broad and comprehensive scope necessarily presupposes the previous finishing of a large amount of preliminary work in the publication of manuscripts, the treatment of dialects, and the like. So much of this, however, yet remains to be done that it is necessary to divide the subject and direct the attention to one of the parts of the field. To accomplish the study of one of these small portions of the field is the object of this investigation. It seemed most natural first to determine, if possible, the extent of French influence at the end of the first period of influence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, toward the end of which time the Spanish epic had reached the completion of its development and furnishes us with literary documents as a basis of investigation. In particular we have investigated the extent of the introduction of borrowed words into the vocabulary of the *Cid*, Berceo's poems, the *Alexandre*, and the poem of *Fernán González*.

5. *Old French words and not Provençal words are the subject of this investigation.*—Furthermore, it is not the intention of the author of this investigation to discuss here words clearly of Provençal origin and he has included in the list (Part II) only such words of Provençal origin as may be either from Provençal or from Old French. There are quite a large number of these words, for (as A. Zauner notes¹⁶) it is not always possible¹⁷ to determine whether a word came to Spanish from North France or from Provence. G. Baist points out¹⁸ that in the early period the Provençal predomi-

¹⁶ A. Zauner, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁷ Specifically it is not possible when the word in question contains only such sounds as develop in the same way in French as in Provençal or in so nearly the same way as to produce the same result when transferred to Old Spanish. Semantic considerations sometimes solve the question here however.

¹⁸ Gröber's *Grundriss*, 2d edition, 1904-1906, i, 883, see § 3, above.

nated, and doubtless the majority of words in the works here considered of such nature as to derive either from Provençal or from Old French came from the former and were words adopted through the intercourse of two territorially contiguous peoples.¹⁹ However, historical evidence supports us in expecting a considerable French influence²⁰ and it is the aim of this investigation to help define this influence by showing definitely how large a number of words of North French origin is contained in the works under consideration.

6. *Means of detecting borrowed words.*—Before proceeding to the examination of the individual words it might be well to resume here the means of detecting loan-words, considering especially those aspects of the general principles which particularly concern Old French loan-words in Old Spanish. Broadly speaking, a borrowed word will reveal itself (1) by its phonological peculiarities, (2) by its semantic features, or (3) through its historical or sociological content. We shall therefore proceed to consider these three criteria, with references to the Old French words in Old Spanish.

7. *Phonology as a means of detecting borrowed words.*—As regards the first of these considerations, a word adopted by one language from an allied language—as in the present case by one Romance language from another Romance language—will betray its foreign origin either because (1) it shows no sound development where it would do so if it were native; or (2) it shows sound development where it would not if it were native; or (3) it shows sound development other than it would if it were native. Thus,

(1) there was no development in a part of the word²¹ where there would have been in a native word, in the following:—*apres*, *argent*, *baxel*, *cipres*, *colpe*, *enclin*, *fol*, *novel*, *percha*, *plaza*, *pluia*, *preste*, *son*, *tost*, etc.;

¹⁹ Thus the large number of reflexes of O. Fr. or Prov. "age" in O. Sp. make it probable that these came in early from neighboring territory (i. e., Provence) by intercourse of the two peoples. *Language* and the frequently occurring *omenage* must have come from Prov. and not from O. Fr. The *Cid* has no *-adgo*, *-azgo* < Lat. *-aticum* and, as R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Gram., p. 242²⁴) points out, "age" is the only reflex represented from this Lat. suffix. It is even possible that "age" had early become so common in O. Sp. that new words were formed with this suffix which did not come from Fr. or Prov. Cf. for example Sp. *ospedaje*, which has no corresponding form in Prov. or O. Fr.

²⁰ See below, § 11.

²¹ The part of the word referred to in (1), (2), and (3) is italicized.

(2) there was development in a part of the word where there would have been none in a native word, in the following:—*der-ranjar*, *desmayar*, *facha*, *fachon*, *fontayna*, *ligero*, *saia*, *sergenta*, etc.;

(3) there was in a part of the word development other than there would have been in a native word, in the following:—numerous nouns in *-age*, *baxel*, *baxel*, *domaje*, *gambax*, *gento*, *manjar*, *mantel*, *menge*, *novel*, *pendon*, *percha*, *tacha*, etc.

8. *Phonological considerations in words of Germanic origin.*—In regard to words of Germanic origin we are further helped on the phonological side in discovering Old French loan-words in Old Spanish by the Germanic dialects and their phonological features. We know²² that Gothic and Svevian alone contributed to Spanish; Gothic and Burgundian to Provençal; Gothic and Langobard to Italian; Frankish, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, and Old High German to French. It is therefore clear that any Romance language which reflects in a word of Germanic origin any dialect other than that from which it drew directly must have borrowed the word, and probably from another Romance language.²³ Thus in Old Spanish any words of Frankish, Old Norse, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, or Old High German origin, e. g., *botar*, *adobar*, *barnax*, *baron*, *bofordo*, *bofordar*, *bote*, *fardido*, *fonta*, *gab*, *gabar*, *losengero*, *rota*, etc., may be assumed to come from Old French.

9. *Semasiology: Germanic words.*—In regard to semasiological matters we are further aided in a few instances with reference to words of Germanic origin by a principle (stated and exemplified by J. Brück)²⁴ to the effect that a Germanic term having in one Ro-

²² W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachen*, Heidelberg, 2d edition, 1909, §§ 43-47. F. Mackel, *Die germanischen Elemente in der französischen und provenzalischen Sprachen*, in *Frz. St.*, vi, p. 6. F. Kluge, *Romanen und Germanen in ihren Wechselbeziehungen*, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, 2d edition, i, pp. 498 ff.

²³ J. Brück (*op. cit.*, pp. 19 and following) claims that some Germ. words of non-Gothic origin entered the Vulgar Latin and thence came to the Romance countries including Spain. He admits (p. 88) that some of the words there assumed thus to have entered Vulgar Latin may have passed from Germanic to French and thence to the other Romance languages. In some cases it is impossible to tell in which of the two ways the word came into the Spanish. Phonological or semantic reasons sometimes decide. The probabilities are discussed under the individual words in Part II.

²⁴ J. Brück, *op. cit.*, p. 37, who cites also W. Bruckner, *Z. R. P.*, xxiv, 70, A², and G. Baist, *Z. R. P.*, xxxii, 37.

mance language its original meaning and in addition a derived meaning, and only the latter meaning in another Romance language, may safely be said to be a loan-word in the second Romance language from the first Romance language. It is in accordance with this principle that J. Bruch ascribes Old Spanish *adobar*, 'to prepare,' etc., to Old French *adober* (< *dubban*, 'to strike') 'to strike,' and "*adobar* a chevalier," 'to knight,' 'to prepare.'

10. *Semasiology: Restricted use of a word.*—A second consideration in the realm of semantics is the significance of the confining of a given word (*a*) to limited use in general, (*b*) to a special sphere of thought, or (*c*) to a particular phrase. This restriction in the use of a word is sometimes to be explained by the assumption of borrowing from a foreign language. Thus J. Bruch, G. Baist, and W. Meyer-Lübke²⁵ cite *alna*, *arrear* (and other words from the same root), *de rendon* and *de rondon*, *bruno*, *blanco*, *blondo*, etc., as examples of this principle. All these words variously limited in their use show themselves thereby not to be native in Spanish, as is demonstrated by the scholars above-mentioned. *Desdennar*, *girofre*, *justar*, *par* and others (cf. Part II, s. vv.) would also seem to illustrate this principle.

11. *Historical and social conditions as an aid in detecting loan-words.*—Lastly, we have historical and social considerations, which often aid in tracing the original source of a word. We know of the priority of development of feudalism in France;²⁶ we know of the Cluny reform²⁷ and its widespread influence; we know of the popularity among the French of the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Santiago de Compostela;²⁸ we know of expeditions of North French knights,²⁹ first against the Spaniards and later to aid the Spaniards against the Moors, and of the settlement of these knights in Spanish

²⁵ J. Bruch, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and p. 42, where he quotes W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, 1909, pp. 48 and 50, and G. Baist, *Grundriss*, i, p. 905.

²⁶ K. C. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Berlin, 1892, ii, 108.

²⁷ G. Baist, *Grundriss*, ii², p. 386.—C. M. J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, Paris, 1912, iii, pp. 371 and following.

²⁸ C. M. J. Bédier, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 70-75.

²⁹ R. P. A. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, Paris and Leyden, 3d edition, 1881, ii, pp. 332-371.—G. Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 386, note 2.

towns;³⁰ we know of the presence of French jongleurs in Spain;³¹ and finally we have evidence of the French influence³² on the *Cid* and the Spanish epic in general. None of these considerations, of course, can be ignored in determining which Old Spanish words are borrowed from Old French, but they must be and have been adduced with caution and as confirmatory evidence rather than as final proof.

12. *Nature of Old French loan-words in Old Spanish.*—It remains to state briefly the nature of the loan-words found by the means above indicated in order that we may determine in a general way what was the kind and the intensity of the influence which France had upon Spain in the period in question. The obvious danger here is that of reasoning in a circle; one might deduce loan-words from the known historical and sociological conditions and then infer historical events and social conditions from the borrowed words. This danger, however, has been kept in mind and an effort has been made to resort to the historical and social data solely as contributory evidence and not as proof of the foreign origin of a word. It is felt, therefore, that the value of the testimony of the words gathered as to the nature of French influence in Spain has not been impaired.³³

13. *Classes of Old French words in Old Spanish.*—The words then divide themselves into three numerically large classes, namely,

(1) FEUDALISM, CHIVALRY, WAR TERMS, e. g., *adobar, barnax, baron, batalla, bofordar, botar, bote, brafonera, brial, chançeller, colpe, coraje, derranjar, domaje, desmayar, duc, facha, fonta, fardido, gabar, gab, gambax, linnage, sobregonel, vassallo*, etc.;

(2) WORDS RELATING TO THE CHURCH, e. g., *eregyia, herege, preste, repentirse, toca*, etc.;

(3) WORDS COMING IN THRU POETRY AND MUSIC, e. g., *çitola*,

³⁰ M. Lafuente, *Historia general de España*, Madrid, 1851, v, p. 309.—A. Helfferich et G. de Clermont, *Les communes françaises en Espagne et en Portugal pendant le moyen-âge*, Fueros Francos (Paris and Berlin, 1860).

³¹ H. R. Lang, *The Relations of the earliest Portuguese lyric school with the troubadours and trouvères*, in *Modern Language Notes*, 1895, vol. x, No. 4, pp. 210, 211, 212.—Milá y Fontanals, *Los Trovadores en España* (Barcelona, 1889).

³² C. M. J. Bédier, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 366 and following.—J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Readings* (Boston, 1911), pp. 113, 114, 115.

³³ The number of the loan-words and their nature determine respectively the intensity and the character of the intercourse between the two peoples.

don, estrument, farpa, fontayna, giga, mote, punçella, rota, semiton, son, vergel, etc.

Aside from these main groups we have also quite a number of trade terms:—*argent, çendal, joya, mantel, merchandia, saia*, etc., and several names of colors³⁴ (*blondo, blanco*, etc.). It is not always possible to draw sharp lines of distinction or to tell to which one or to how many of the categories a word may be assigned. On the other hand enough words of certain kinds occur to establish beyond the possibility of doubt their categories; these, once established, serve as a basis for the classification of words of doubtful source. Thus *coraje, domaje, derranjar*, might or might not be terms of chivalry, but in view of the large number of such terms these words are probably to be grouped under this heading. In the same way *punçella, fontayna, mote* and *vergel* possibly came in thru poetry. Some of the words, such as *apres, jamas, mesmo, mismo*, etc., are of such nature³⁵ as to bear evidence, if authentic loan-words,³⁶ of something more than a slight French influence in Spain. To conclude, the evidence of the borrowed words is that in the period under consideration the French language exerted a considerable but not necessarily profound influence on the vocabulary of the upper spheres of Spanish life, i. e., the vocabulary of chivalry, of the Church, and of poetry, touching other spheres, however, occasionally to a certain more limited extent.

II. A LIST OF OLD SPANISH WORDS BORROWED FROM THE OLD FRENCH¹

1. O.Sp. *abetar* < O.Fr. *abeter*. Frankish *betan*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 1065) derives the Sp. word from

³⁴ See above, § 10.

³⁵ Prepositions, adverbs, etc., are not usually borrowed unless the intercourse between the peoples is intense.

³⁶ It must be acknowledged, however, that most of these words admit of another interpretation and that absolute proof that they are loan-words is lacking. In the last analysis, whether or not one classifies doubtful words as loan-words depends on his opinion in regard to the weight of other loan-word evidence. There is, we believe, enough evidence of French influence from other words, etc., to warrant the adoption of quite a number if not all of these words. For discussion of individual cases see s. vv. in Part II.

¹ The place where a word is found is not indicated for words of frequent occurrence in the texts under consideration. The references to the *Cid* are to

the Fr. The Germ. etymon is found only in late Germ. dialects and the preservation of the "t" in Fr. shows it to be a late borrowing there (cf. E. Mackel, G.E.P.F.S., pp. 89, 156). Moreover its very limited use in Spanish—it is found but once in the *Alex.* and not at all in the *Cid*, Berceo, and *Fernán González*—indicates a foreign origin (cf. Part I, § 10). The word appears but little in Ptg. also, cf. *abete* (*Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, Cant. xxviii, 10). *Alex.* 360, O.; 368, P.

2. O.Sp. *adobar* < O. Fr. *adober*. Frankish *dubban*.

J. Bruch (E.G.S.V., pp. 37, 38) says that the Frankish *dubban* meant 'to strike' and is found in Germ. in the sense of 'to equip,' 'to prepare' only in O. Norse and O.E. where it is a borrowing from O.Fr. And the development of sense from 'to strike' to 'to prepare' is only comprehensible in view of the O.Fr. "*adober* a chevalier." He therefore concludes that the Norse, the O.E. "*dubban* to riddere" and the Sp., Prov., It., etc., are from N. France, where chivalry first reached its full development. Cf. also W. M-L., R.E.W. 159.

3. O.Sp. *adobo*,—see *adobar*.

Berceo, S. Or. 94, etc.; *Alex.* 79, O., 89, P.

4. O.Sp. *adrimar* < O.Fr. *adrimer*, *arrimer*. M.E. *rimen* or O.H.G. *rim*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 7321) derives O.Fr. *arrimer* from M.E. *rimen*, 'to arrange,' 'to stow' and the O.Sp. word from the O.Fr. F. Diez (Wb. 270) takes the O.H.G. *rim*, 'row' 'number' as the etymon. With either etymon the O.Sp. probably came from the O.Fr., inasmuch as Gothic is the Germ. source of O.Sp. Gothic lines in the edition of R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1911, and following); those to Berceo's Poems are to stanzas of the poems in F. Janer, *Poetas Castellanos Anteriores al Siglo XV*, vol. lvii, of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1911); those to the *Alexandre* are to stanzas in F. Janer, *op. cit.*, when designated O. and to A. Morel-Fatio, *El Libro de Alixandre* (Dresden, 1906), when designated P.; those to *Fernán González*, are to stanzas in C. C. Marden, *Poema de Fernan Gonçales* (Baltimore and Madrid), 1904. Derivatives, compounds, etc., are merely mentioned in the list and not discussed unless they demand special treatment. Only such derivatives are mentioned as come from the borrowed Fr. word; other Sp. words from the same Lat., Germ. or Celtic etymon as the Fr. word, but not from the Fr. word itself, are not included in the list.

territory aside from Spain, namely, Prov. and It., did not reflect the etymon **ad-rim-äre*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 210; *Alex.* 2004, O. *anrimar*. *at rimerar* 7 miles

5. O.Sp. *afan* < O.Fr. *ahan* (or possibly Prov., Cat. *afan*).

The vigorously aspirated Fr. "h" (< Germ. "h") gave "f" in O.Sp., e. g., *fardido*, *fonta*, *farpa*, etc. W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 252) assigns the reflexes of this root to N.Fr. origin. Cf. also Ford (O.S.R., p. 159), Fitz-Gerald (*Santo Domingo*, p. 137).

6. O.Sp. *afanar*² < O.Fr. *ahaner* (or possibly Prov., Cat. *afanar*).
See *afan*.

7. O.Sp. *afeitar* may come from O.Fr. *afaitier* < V.L. **affactäre*.

Intervocalic Lat. "ct" regularly gives O.S. "ch" and a preceding "a" becomes "e." V.L. **affactäre* would regularly become O.Sp. *afechar*. W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 253) derives the O.Sp. *afeitar* from O.Fr. But O.Fr. "ai" gives O.Sp. "ai" and *afeitar* is rather to be considered as a Northwestern Sp. dialect form. For the discussion of this point the reader is referred to *pleito* in this list, to M.P., *Cid*, pp. 798 and 799, and to E. Staaff, E.A.D.L., p. 186.

Berceo, *Mil.* 515; *Alex.* 920, O., 949, P.; 2395, O., 2523, P.

8. O.Sp. *aguisar*,—see *guisa*.

9. O.Sp. *aguisamiento*,—see *guisa*.

Alex. 2472, O., 2601, P.

10. O.Sp. *afirmes*,—see *firme*.

11. O.Sp. *afonta*,—see *fonta*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 344, etc.

12. O.Sp. *afontar*,—see *fonta*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 383, etc.; *Alex.* 1727, O.

13. O.Sp. *aleman* < O.Fr. *aleman*. O.H.G. *alemann*.

Alamann, the form in Gothic, the Germ. source for O.Sp., would give O.Sp. *alaman* or perhaps *alaman(n)o*. Cf. Prov. *alamans*. The Sp. and Ptg. are therefore borrowed from the Fr. *aleman* < O.H.G. *alemann*.

Alex. 2299, O. *aleymanes*, 2441, P. *alemanes*.

² This word *afanar*, and also *bofordar*, *bote*, and *tachar* are not found in the works considered but are mentioned in the list because of words of the same root, *afan*, *bofordo*, *botar*, and *tacha*, which are found.

14. O.Sp. *Alemanna*,—see *aleman*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 352; *Alex.* 1352, O.; 1625, O. *Aleymanna*; 1767, P., etc.

15. O.Sp. *Alexandre* < O.Fr. *Alexandre*. Lat. *Alexāndrum*.

Lat. *Alexandrum* should give O.Sp. *Alexandro*. Final “e” indicates Fr. influence, which is natural in view of the well-known influence on Sp. literature of the glorification of Alexander in medieval Fr. literature. It is, however, not impossible that the Sp. *Alexandre* is a semi-learned form developed from the Lat. nominative *Alexander*. Some weight is given this theory by the form *Alexander* (F.G. 273) and the doubtful *Alexandr*er (F.G. 18) but the “re” form is used in the several other occurrences of the name in *Fernán González* and thruout both manuscripts of the *Alex.* itself.

16. O.Sp. *annel* < O.Fr. or Prov. *agnel*. Lat. *agnēllum*.

Lat. *agnēllum* should give *anniello* in O.Sp.

Berceo, *Sac.* 149; *Alex.* 1222, P. *aynel*.

17. O.Sp. *Anrrich* shows Fr. influence. O.H.G. Heinrich.

O.Sp. *Anrrich* is said by R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Gram., p. 153, l. 23) to be “una pronunciación pasajera importada de Francia con la nasalización de la sílaba ‘Henr’.” He calls attention also to O.Ptg. *Anrique*, in which too the first syllable shows Fr. influence. Cf. also Ital. *Arrico*, *Arrigo*, in addition to *Enrico*. *Cid*, 3002, etc.

18. O.Sp. *apres* < O.Fr. or Prov. *apres*. Lat. *apprēssum*.

Accented “ë” should give “ie” and final “um” should become “o” in O.Sp., cf. *apriessa* < *apprēssa* (*Cid*, 97, etc.). The word is therefore borrowed (Ford, O.S.R., p. 185). The unaccented proclitic use of the word would however explain both phenomena and the word might be native.

19. O.Sp. *Arnald* < O.Fr., Prov. *Arnalt*. O.H.G. *Arnald*.

The absence of “w” after the “n” in the etymon makes non-Gothic source probable (cf. W. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, Halle, 1886, p. 78, § 109, A. 2; J. Franck, *Afränk. Gram.*, Göttingen, 1909, p. 89, § 69⁴; Lionel Armitage, *Introd. to the Study of O.H.G.*, Oxford, 1911, p. 103, § 242, IX). The absence of final “o,” tho not signifi-

cant in itself, is contributory evidence of Fr. origin. Cf. *Rrynaldos* s.v.

F.G. 352.

20. O.Sp. *argent* < O.Fr. *argent*. Lat. *argēntum*.

Accented "ë" gives "ie" in O.Sp. Also final "o" should stay in O.Sp. Lat. *argēntum* would give *argiento*. Cf. Ford, O.S.R., p. 186; Lanchetas, Berceo, s.v.

Berceo, S.D. 364; *Alex.* 811, O; 838, P. *plata*.

21. O.Sp. *arlote* < O.Fr. *harlot*, *arlot*. Etymon?

From whatever origin (*ardēlio*, *ardālio* and *hārīölūs* have been proposed), *arlote* betrays a foreign origin in its ending; in view of the Fr. *harlot* and the Ital. *arlotto*, O.Sp. *harloto* would be expected. Cf. Sp. *mote* < O.Fr. *mot*, Sp. *pote* < Fr. *pot*, Sp. *colpe* < Fr. *colp* and Sp. *confite* < Fr. *confit*.

Berceo, S.D. 648; *Alex.* 2371, P. has *arlot*, but the verse demands *arlote*; moreover the corresponding line of O. (2229) has *mendi-garllote*, evidently a garbled form of the word *arlote*.

22. *arlotia*,—see *arlote*.

Berceo, S.M. 20.

23. *arrancada*,—see *rancar*.

Cid, 583, etc.

24. *arrancar*,—see *rancar*.

25. *arrenconar*,—see *rancar*.

F.G. 217.

26. *arrepentir*,—see *repentir*.

F.G. 421.

27. O.Sp. *avantaia*, *avantaja* < O.Fr. *avantage*. V.L. **abantāī-cum*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (*Gram. d. lang. rom.*, i, § 23) derives the Sp. *ventaja* from the Fr., claiming that the difference of gender is not significant. This position is strengthened by the form *avantaia*, of frequent occurrence in the *Alex.* Is the "en" of *ventaja* due to the learned scribe's knowledge that the Fr. nasal was frequently written "en"? This would presuppose an entrance of *ventaja* into Sp. by literary rather than popular channels.

Alex. 339, O., 347, P.; 656, O., 684, P.; 740, O., 767, P., etc.

28. O.Sp. *aveniment* < O.Fr. *avenement*. V.L. **advenimētum*.

The lack of a final "o" and the failure of "ë" to diphthongize make foreign origin possible. The "i" makes the word more probably a learned formation. Cf. *consentiment*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 1.

29. O.Sp. *barga* < Prov. *barga*, Fr. *berge*. Celtic *berg*-.

This word, if Celtic in origin, probably came to Spain from Celtic territory, i. e., France; the root does not appear in Italy. Cf. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 43; Diez, *Wb.*, p. 43; Körting, *Wb.* 1330.

Berceo, S.M. 271, *varga*.

30. O.Sp. *barnax*, *barnage*, *bernaje* < O.Fr. *barnage*, *bernage*. V.L. **baronāticum*.

**Baronāticum* would give *barnadgo* in O.Sp. See *baron*. Cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 127; M.P., *Cid*, p. 499, l. 25.

Cid, 3325; *Alex.* 920, O., 949, P.; 1693, O., 1834, P.

31. O.Sp. *baron* < O.Fr. *baron*. Frankish *baron*.

J. Bruch (E.G.S.V., p. 27) states that among others Germ. *baro*, *sporo* and *uisa* are for various reasons non-Gothic and yet appear in Sp. and Ptg. He concludes from this that they were introduced from the Germ. into Lat. and thence into the Sp. and Ptg. They may have come from Fr. to Sp., as he admits (*op. cit.*, p. 88). That such is the case with *baron* is made the more probable by the Germ. suffix "one," which is confined to Fr. territory (J. Bruch, *op. cit.*, p. 86), and by the fact that feudal terms in Sp. are likely to have their origin in Fr. (cf. K. Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii, 108; cf. also Part I, § 11).

32. O.Sp. *baston* < O.Fr. *baston*. Late Lat. (< Germ.) *bāstum*.

The late appearing Lat. *bastum* probably came from a Germ. word entering late on the Romance territory, hence by way of France or Italy. The suffix "-one," when Germ., comes into Romance thru Fr. (cf. J. Bruch, E.G.S.V., p. 86).

Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 982.

Berceo, *Loor.* 7; *Mil.* 41; *Alex.* 813, O.

33. O.Sp. *bastonada*,—see *baston*.

Alex. 405, O., 414, P.

34. O.Sp. *batalla* < O.Fr. *bataille* (or more probably Prov. *batalha*, cat. *batalla*). V.L. *battūāliā*.

"li" gives "j" in O.Sp., and *battūāliā* would give *bataja*, which is the usual form in the *Alexandre*. O.Sp. *batalla* may be an Aragonese form, as li > l' in Aragonese according to G. W. Umphrey, *Arag. Dial., Bul. Univ. Wash.*, No. 5.

Cf. W. M-L., R.E.W. 995.

35. O.Sp. *batallador*,—see *batalla*.

Alex. 1891, P.; F.G. 164; *Alex.* 1750, O. has *bataiador*.

36. O.Sp. *batel* < O.Fr. *batel*. O. Norse and Anglo-Saxon *bat*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 985) derives the O.Sp. from the O.Fr. The word is a late borrowing from the Germ. in the O.Fr. as the "t" shows (cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 46). Thence it was taken into the other Romance languages in obviously foreign form.

Alex. 2104, O. *bateles*; 2246, P. *batales*.

37. O.Sp. *baxel* < O.Fr. *vaissel*. Lat. *vascellum*.

Intervocalic "sc" before "e" > "ç" in O.Sp. Cf. *meçer* < Lat. *miscēre*, *peçes* < Lat. *piscēs*, *-eçer* < Lat. *-escēre*. *-ellum* should give *-iello*. Hence O.Sp. *baxel* is probably from O.Fr. The "i" has been absorbed in the palatal "x." Cf. O.Sp. *gambax* < O.Fr. *gambais*. For cases of confusion of "b" and "v" cf. E. G. Parodi, *Rom.* xxvii, pp. 177-240. Cf. M.P., *Cid*, p. 799, l. 2; M.P., *Manual*, p. 20, § 4^b.

Berceo, *Mil.* 672, *bassel*.

38. O.Sp. *baylir* < O.Sp. *baile* (< O.Fr. *baile*) + *ir*. Lat. *bājūlum*.

O.Sp. *baile* < O.F. *baile* (M-L., R.E.W. 888) as is shown by the final "e." The Sp. verb *baylir* can scarcely come from the Fr. *baillir*; it would reproduce the Fr. "l." But its use, "seras mal baylido," so closely resembles the *derived* Fr. use and the word is so infrequent in Sp. that it would seem to be from the Fr. Perhaps it was built upon the noun *baile*, which is a Fr. loan-word, and its meaning was influenced by Fr. usage.

Berceo, *S. Laur.* 42.

39. O.Sp. *blanco* < O.Fr. *blanc*, Prov. *blanc*. O.H.G. *blank*.³

³ For O. H. G. etyma see, unless other reference is given, Oskar Schade, *Altdeutsches Wb.*, Halle, 2d edition, 1872-1882.

W. Meyer-Lübke (*Einf.*, § 41) argues that Sp. *brun*, tho the regular phonetic development expected from Germ. *bruns*, is borrowed from France. Ptg. *bruno*, he says, is obviously from Ital. No colors are borrowed directly from Germ. in Spain. J. Brück (E.G.S.V., pp. 42 and 68) supports this argument and extends its application to *blank* and **blund*.—Cf. also M-L., R.E.W. 1152.

40. O.Sp. *blanquear*,—see *blanco*.

Berceo, S.D. 237.

41. O.Sp. *bloca*, *bocla* < O.Fr., Prov. *bocle*. Lat. *büccula*.

"cc'l" should give "j" in Sp. if the "cc" had the effect of a single consonant, or "ch" if the first "c" endured long enough to make the following "cl" have a post-consonantal effect. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 1364.

Cid, 3631.

42. O.Sp. *blocado*,—see *bloca*.

Cid, 3584.

43. O.Sp. *bofordar* < O.Fr. *behorder*,—see *bofordo*.

44. O.Sp. *bofordo*, *bohordo* < O.Fr. *bohört*, *behört*, *bouhouert*. Frankish **bihurđan*.

The "f" in the Sp. form is evidence of Fr. origin. Germ. "h" does not give "f" in Sp., whereas Fr. "h" does (cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Einf.*, § 42). Cf. M. Goldschmidt, *Germ. Kriegswesen im Spiegel des rom. Lehnwortes*, p. 55; M-L., R.E.W. 1098. Ablt. *Alex.* 666, O., 694, P.

45. O.Sp. *Bordel* < O.Fr. Prov. *Bordele*. Lat. *Bürđigāla*, M.E. *Burdeus*.

Bordel and *Burdeu*, the two O.Sp. forms of the name of the Fr. city in the *Alex.*, have Fr. form.

Alex. 2417, O. *Bordel*; 2545, P. *Burdeu*.

46. O.Sp. *Borges* < O.Fr. *Borges*. Lat. *Bitūrīges*.

This name of a Fr. city shows distinctly Fr. form.

Berceo, *Mil.* 352.

47. O.Sp. *botar* < O.Fr. *boter*. Frankish *botan*.

Germ. *botan* shows Frankish form by its "o" for Gothic "au" (J. Brück, E.G.S.V., p. 31). Its preservation of "t" in Fr. shows it to be a late borrowing there from the Germ. (E. Mackel,

G.E.F.P.S., p. 156). It therefore came to Sp. thru Fr. Cf. also M-L., R.E.W. 1007².

Berceo, S.D. 77; *Alex.* 1988, O., 2130, P., etc.

48. O.Sp. *bote* < O.Fr. *bot*,—see *botar*.

For the ending "e" cf. *mote*, *colpe*, *arlote*, etc., which are borrowed from Fr.

49. O.Sp. *boto*,—see *botar*.

Alex. 1227, O., 1368, P.; Berceo, *Mil.* 285.

50. O.Sp. *brafonera* < O.Sp. *brahon* [+*-arius*] < O.Fr. *braon*.

Frankish *bradon*.

The Frankish word (cf. M-L., *Einf.*, §§ 54 and following; J. Brück, E.G.S.V., pp. 32, 33) keeps close to its original Germ. meaning ('meat') in Fr. only and presents meanings like the derived Fr. meanings in It. and Sp., and is for that reason to be regarded as a loan-word in the latter languages (cf. Part I, § 9). Moreover Germ. intervocalic "d" does not fall in Sp. and hence for phonological reasons also it is a loan-word in Sp. Cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 10, 44, 161; M-L., R.E.W. 1259.

Alex. 431, O., 440, P.; 616, O., 644, P.; F.G. 63

51. O.Sp. *bren* < O.Fr. *bren*, *bran*, Prov. *bren*. Celtic **brennos*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 1284) ascribes Fr. origin to the Sp. word. Aside from Celtic words taken into Lat. and thence to the whole Romance field, Celtic words appear in France and northern Italy most frequently. This fact and the Sp. n < nn make Fr. origin probable. Cf. R. Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 48; F. Diez, *Wb.*, p. 65.

Berceo, *Sac.* 78.

52. O.Sp. *brial* < O.Fr. *blialt*, *bliaut*, Prov. *blialt*. Oriental word?

This word of uncertain origin, which occurs frequently in Fr. and comparatively seldom in Sp., was apparently borrowed by the latter. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 1169; M.P., *Cid*, p. 515, l. 34.

Cid, 3090, etc.; *Alex.* 79, O.

53. O.Sp. *bronir* < O.Fr., Prov. *brunir*. Germ. *bruns*.

This word, allied to Sp. *brun*, which does not occur in the *Cid*, Berceo, the *Alexandre* or *Fernán González*, is from the Fr. for the same reasons as *brun* is (cf. under *blanco*).

Alex. 1612, O., 1754, P.; 1961, O., 2103, P.

54. O.Sp. *çendal* < O.Fr., Prov. *sendal*. Lat. *sinclon* + *alem*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 7935) derives the O.Sp. from the O.Fr. or Prov.

Cid, 1509, etc.; *Alex.* 430, O., 439, P.; 1798, O., 1939, P., etc.

55. O.Sp. *chançeller* < O.Fr. *chancelier*. Lat. *cancellarium*.

Lat. *cancellarium* would give O.Sp. *cançellero*.

Alex. 765, O., 792, P.; 1821, O., 1963, P.

56. O.Sp. *çipres* < O.Fr. *cipres*. Lat. (< Grk.) *cýprēssum*.

Lat. *cýprēssum* would give *çiprieso* in O.Sp. Cf. Ford, O.S.R., p. 198.

Alex. 811, O., 838, P.; 1962, O., 2104, P.

57. O.Sp. *çitola* < O.Fr. *citole*, *citale*, etc., Prov. *citola*, etc. Lat. (< Grk.) *cithāra*. ³

Çedra, the regular Sp. reflex of *cithara*, exists (*Alex.* 1382, O.) as well as *g(u)itarra* (*Alex.* 1525, P.) which derives from the Ital. O.Sp. *çitola* is apparently derived from the semi-learned O.Fr. *citole*, *citale*, Prov. *citola*. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 1953.

Alex. 1382, O., 1525, P.

58. O.Sp. *colpe*, *golpe* < O.Fr., Prov. *colp*. V.L. *cōlpum*. Lat. (< Grk.) *cōlāphum*.

V.L. *cōlpum* would give *cuelpo* and Lat. *cōlāphum* would give *cuelapo* in O.Sp. G. Baist (Gröber's *Grundriss*, i, 889) mentions *golpe* as a Fr. or Prov. word. For the change of initial "c" to "g" see H. R. Lang, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May 1912, vol. xxvii, p. 145, under the discussion of p. 129, note 3. For the ending "e" cf. *mote*, *harlote*, *pote*, *confite*, etc., derived from O.Fr.

Cf. Ford, O.S.R., pp. 199, 235; M-L., R.E.W. 2034².

59. O.Sp. *colpada*, *golpada*,—see *colpe*.

Berceo, *Duelo*, 42; *Alex.* 357, O., 365, P.; 992, O., 1020, P.

60. O.Sp. *colpar*, *golpar*, *golpear*,—see *colpe*.

61. O.Sp. *consentiment* < O.Fr. *consentement*. V.L. *consentimēntum*.

The regular O.Sp. form would be *consentimiento*. The "i" of the third syllable makes it seem very probable that the word is a learned form (cf. *aveniment* s.v.).

Alex. 490, O.

62. O.Sp. *corage* < O.Fr. *corage* or Prov. *coratge*. V.L. **corāſſicum*.

V.L. **corāſſicum* would give *coradgo*, *corazgo* in O.Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 2217.

Alex. 2356, O., 2484, P.; 1566, P.; 2189, O., 2331, P.; 2246, O., 2388, P.

63. O.Sp. *coraioso*,—see *corage*.

Alex. 988, O., 1016, P.

64. O.Sp. *couarde*, *couardo* < O.Fr. *couart*. Lat. *cauda* + Germ. -*art*.

According to J. Brück (E.G.S.V., p. 86) the Germ. suffix “-ard” is strictly Fr. and borrowed in other Romance languages. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 1774; id., *Gram. d. lang. rom.*, ii, § 519.

Alex. 124, O., *couardo*; 1390, O., *couardes*; 1532, P., *coruardes*; 1301, P., *couarde*.

65. O.Sp. *couardia*,—see *couarde*.

Alex. 629, O., 657, P.; 2033, O., 2174, P.; 1302, P.; F.G. 256; 301, 344, *covardia*.

66. O.Sp. *deranchar*, *derranjar* < O.Fr. *desrangier*, *derangier*. Lat. *dŕs* + O.H.G. *hring* + Lat. -*äre*.

The “an” betrays Fr. origin. Moreover the “g” before “a” would remain “g” in O.Sp. The fall of the “h” in the Germ. etymon also indicates the entrance of the word into O.Sp. thru O.Fr. (cf. O.Sp. *rota* < O.Fr. *rote* < O.H.G. *hrotta*). The “j” in *derranjar* is the regular resultant of Fr. “ġi.” R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, p. 621, l. 19) says of the form *deranchar*:—“La ch castellana se explicará por preceder n; no obstante se usaba también la forma con fricativa sonora: ‘derranjar.’”

Cid, 703; *Alex.* 552, O.; 1189, O.

67. O.Sp. *desaguisado*,—see *guisa*.

68. O.Sp. *desden*,—see *desdennar*.

Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 2666.

Alex. 2246, O., 2388, P.

69. O.Sp. *desdennar* < O.Fr. *desdaignier*. V.L. **disdŕgnäre*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 2666) says the Sp. words—as well as the It.—probably derive from the Fr. O.Sp. *desden* may be said to come from O.Fr. on the grounds that the current *desdēno* is the

regular Sp. form. *Desdennar* in view of *signum* > *seño*, *lignum* > *leño*, *dignāre* > *dennar* (Berceo, *Mil.* 75, etc.) must be regarded as not differing phonologically from native words, but its very limited use—*escarnecer*, *escarnir* are the usual words—make it probable that it is a loan-word.

Berceo. *S. Laur.* 69, *Mil.* 344.

70. O.Sp. *desmarrido*,—see *marrido*.

71. O.Sp. *desmayar* < O.Fr. *esmaier*. Lat. *ex* + O.H.G. *magan* + Lat. *-āre*.

The treatment of the intervocalic “g” shows Fr. origin. The change of prefix is not unnatural considering the frequency of “des-” in O.Sp. Cf. Ford, O.S.R., p. 210; M-L., R.E.W. 3022; J. Brūch, E.G.S.V., pp. 171 and 172.

F.G. 239, *desmayado*; 366 and 468, *desmaydo*; *Alex.* 197, O., *desmayados*, 203, P., *esmagados*; *Alex.* 828, O. and 224, O., *esmaydo*.

72. O.Sp. *damage* < O.Fr. *dommage*. V.L. **damnātīcum*.

-āticum > *adgo*, *azgo* and “mn” > “ñ” (cf. *danno* < *damnum*) in O.Sp. The “o” in the first syllable (explained in *Rom.* xix, 123) is added evidence of Fr. origin. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 2468 Ablt.; F. Diez, *Wb.*, p. 562; Lanchetas, Berceo, s.v.

Berceo, S.M. 441.

73. O.Sp. *domar* < O.Fr. *domer*. Lat. *dōmīnāre*.

Lat. *dōmīnāre* should give *doñar* in O.Sp. (cf. *dōmīna* > *doña*, *dōmīnum* > *dueño*) or *dombrar* (cf. *homīnem* > *hombre*, *exāmen* > *enjambre*).

Berceo, S.D. 452; *Alex.* 2267, O.

74. O.Sp. *don* < O.Fr. or Prov. *don*. Lat. *dōnum*.

Lat. *dōnum* should give *dono* in O.Sp. Ford (O.S.R., p. 214) suggests that it may also be an abstract from *donar*. It might also be learned. Most verbal abstracts and learned words, however, have final “o.” Its plural in “-es” (*Cid*, 2259, *Alex.* 1798, O., 1939, P., etc.) is in accordance with the rule for loan-words, but this rule holds also for such learned words as omit final “o.” Its very frequent use in Fr. and Prov. poetry in somewhat technical meanings make it the more likely that it was borrowed.

75. O.Sp. *donaire*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 2747) asks whether O.Sp. *donaire* may not come from Fr. *de bonne aire*. The Sp. would seem to be a combination of *donārium* and the Fr. phrase. The final "e" and the "ai" show Fr. influence. Moreover, the meaning 'grace,' 'charm' points to *de bonne aire* as its source. At the same time we find learned O.Sp. *donario* (Berceo, *S. Laur.* 50; *Alex.* 2171, O.) which is used interchangeably with *donaire* (cf. *Alex.* 2171, O., *donarios*; 2313, P., *donayres*).

Berceo, *Loor.* 224; *Alex.* 1357, O.

76. O.Sp. *duc* < O.Fr. *duc*, *duque*, Prov., Cat. *duc*. Lat. *dūcem*.

The O.Sp. word may be learned; *feliz* < *fēlicem* and *audaz* < *audācem* would lead us to expect *doz* < *dūcem*, and *duc* may come from the learned O.Fr. or Prov. *duc*.

Berceo, S.M. 395.

77. O.Sp. *enbotar*,—see *botar*.

Alex. 1383, O., 1525, P.

78. O.Sp. *enclin* may come from O.Fr. *enclin*. Lat. *inclinem*.

"cl" after consonant gives "ch" in O.Sp., e. g., *masculum* > *macho*. *Inclinem* should give *enchin*. The learned forms *inclin* and *ynclin*, and *inclinar*, which occur frequently in the poems of Berceo and in the *Alex.* induce one to believe that the word is learned and semi-learned in Sp. Yet O.Sp. *enclin* and *enclinar* may be due to Fr. influence.

Berceo, *Mil.* 77, here used as a noun; *Alex.* 2449, O. and 2577, P. both have *enclino* for rime.

79. O.Sp. *enclinar*,—see *enclin*.

Cid, 274, etc.; *Alex.* 106, O., 118, P., *jnclynar*; 103, O.

80. O.Sp. *enplear* < O.Fr. *empleier*. Lat. *implĕcāre*.

The treatment of intervocalic "c" indicates Fr. origin. Lat. *implĕcāre* should give O.Sp. *emplegar*, which is found, e. g., *Alex.* 1008, O. The reduction of Fr. *empleier* to Sp. *enplear* would be a natural result of the repugnance in Castilian to the combination "ei." See G. Millardet (*Rom.* xli, 248) who quotes *intēgrum* > **enteiro* > *entero*, *pĕgritiam* > *pereza*, *vĕgilāre* > *velar*, *pĕidrem* > *peor*, *mĕiāre* > *mear*. Moreover, *Cid*, 500 has *enpleye* where the "y" is yet preserved.

81. O.Sp. *encoraiar* < O.Fr. *encoragier*,—see *coraje*.

Alex. 651, O., 679, P.; 1432, O., 1574, P., etc.

82. O.Sp. *erege* < O.Fr. *erege*, Prov. *eretge*. Lat. *haerētīcum*.

Lat. *haerētīcum* should give *eriedgo*, *eriezgo* in O.Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 3979.

Berceo, S.D. 77.

83. O.Sp. *erejya*,—see *ereje*.

F.G. 22.

84. O.Sp. *esmaydo*,—see *desmayar*.

Alex. 224, O., 828, O.

85. O.Sp. *espolon* < O.Fr. *esperon*, Picard *esporon*, Prov. *esperon*. O.H.G. *sporo*.

J. Brück (E.G.S.V., p. 27) says *sporo* in Sp. and Ptg. cannot be from Gothic because of the "o" for "a" in the nom. sing. of the weak masculine noun. Sp. *espuela* < Gothic *spaura* exists (cf. *Cid*, 2722, etc.). J. Brück assumes that Germ. *sporo* was taken into Lat. and thence came Sp. and Ptg. *esporon*, *espolon* and *esporão*. He must in this case assume that the suffix is the Lat. "-onem." If it is the Germ. "-one," the word must come from France, since the Germ. "-one" is confined to Fr. territory (J. Brück, E.G.S.V., p. 86).

Cid, 3265, etc.

86. O.Sp. *espolear*,—see *espolon*.

F.G. 365.

87. O.Sp. *espolonada*, *esporonada*, *espolada*,—see *espolon*.

Berceo, S.M. 221, *espolada*; *Alex.* 625, P., *espolada*; *Cid*, 2383, *espolonada*; *Alex.* 2027, P. and 678, P., *espolonada*; *Alex.* 598, O., 1885, O., *esporonada*; 650, O., *esperonada*.

88. O.Sp. *espolonar*,—see *espolon*.

Cid, 711, etc.

89. O.Sp. *espolonear*,—see *espolon*.

Cid, 596.

90. O.Sp. *escote* < O.Fr. *escote*. M. Norse *skote*.

According to E. Mackel (G.E.F.P.S., p. 171) the "s" before consonant fell at the end of the twelfth century and words in O.Fr. in which the "s" still survives are from Ital. or from modern Germ. dialects. *Escote* is consequently a late borrowing

from the Germ. in O.Fr. and therefore borrowed in O.Sp. This is further supported by the rare occurrence of *escote* in Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 8007.

Alex. 887, O., 916, P.

91. O.Sp. *estaca* < O.Fr. *estaque*, *estache*. Frankish **staca*. (Cf. Dutch *staak*, A.S. *stace*.)

J. Brück (E.G.S.V., p. 31) and W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 8218) derive the Sp. word directly from late Gothic *stakka*. But J. Brück (*loc. cit.*) admits he knows no time when Prov. *stacca* from this late Gothic *stakka* could be borrowed in O.Fr. and give *estache*. Moreover the Germ. etymon is now found only in Low German dialects. In addition to that, *estaca* is so seldom used in O.Sp. as to appear foreign. Cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 41, 154. *Cid*, 1142; *Alex.* 1671, O., 1812, P.; 2382, O., 2510, P.

92. *Estol* < O.Fr. *Estolt*, *Estout*. Lat. *Stūltum*.

This Fr. proper name shows its Fr. origin; *stūltum* should give *estucho* in O.Sp.

F.G. 352.

93. O.Sp. *estrument* < O.Fr. *estrument*, Prov. *estrumen(t)*. Lat. *instrūmētum*.

Lat. *instrūmētum* should give *estrumiento* in O.Sp. The form *estrument* we find but once (Berceo, *Mil.* 9) in the four works considered; the forms in the *Alexandre*, *estrumentos*, 1971, O., *instrumentes*, 2113, P., *estrumentos*, 2370, O., *instrumentos*, 2498, P., would seem to indicate learned influence rather than Fr. influence.

94. O.Sp. *estui* < O.Fr. *estui*. V.L. *stūdiāre*.

The etymon seems to have given results only in Italy and France. Ptg. *estojar* and Sp. *estuche* are borrowed (cf. M-L., R.E.W. 8325). The V.L. of Spain probably did not contain the word. O.Fr. *estui* is best explained as a post-verbal noun from O.Fr. *estuiier*; the verb not existing in Spain, the most plausible remaining explanation is that the Sp. noun, *estui*, was borrowed from France. If the etymon **stūcāre* (< Germ. **stuka*, cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 20) (rejected by M-L., R.E.W. 8325 and Körting, *Wb.* 9128) is assumed, the treatment of intervocalic "c" makes the O.Sp. *estui* surely a loan-word.

Berceo, *Mil.* 674.

95. O.Sp. *facha* < O.Fr. *hache*. Germ. **hapja* (O.H.G. *happa*).

The "f" is the regular reflex of Germanic "h" coming to O.Sp. thru O.Fr. Germ. "h" taken directly into O.Sp. gives "h" (cf. M-L., *Einf.*, § 41). The "ch" < "pia" is distinctly Fr. (cf. *sapiat* > *sepa* in O.Sp.). Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 4035; A. Zauner, A.E., p. 46; M. Goldschmidt, K.A.E.S., p. 64; W. Foerster, Z.R.P. iii, 264. F.G. 64.

96. *fachon*,—see *facha*.

F.G. 64.

97. O.Sp. *fardido* < O.Fr. *hardi*. Frankish *hardjan*.

The "f" < Fr. "h" < Germ. "h" shows the Fr origin. The "-ido" may have been added to make the word like other Sp. adjectives of participial derivation, according to the principle of assimilation; or the word may have been borrowed before the "ð" of O.Fr. had been completely lost. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 4042; Ford, O.S.R., pp. xxviii, 186; M. Goldschmidt, K.A.E.S., p. 64; Diez, *Wb.*, p. 24.

98. O.Sp. *farpa* < Fr. *harpe*. O. Frankish *harpa*.

The "f" (< "h") in a word of Germ. origin shows the Fr. source of the word. Cf. *facha*, *fardido*, etc.

Alex. 1525, P.; 1383, O., *arba*.

99. O.Sp. *firme* may have been influenced by O.Fr. *ferme* (Ford, O.S.R., p. 231, s.v. and p. 179 *afirmes*). The "i" of the first syllable makes it more probable that the word is learned (cf. Lat. *fīrmē*). Cf. also O.Sp. *afirmar* (Berceo, S.M. 254).

100. O.Sp. *fol* < O.Fr., Prov. *fol*. Lat. *fōllem*.

fuelle (= "pair of bellows"), the regular development of Lat. *fōllem* in O.Sp., exists. A. Zauner, A.E., § 47, F. Hanssen, *Gram. hist. leng. cast.*, vii, § 67, and R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cid*, *Gram.* ii, §§ 39, 40 (who quote *piel*, *mil*, *aquel*, *val*, *cal*, *el*, *valle*, *calle*, *elle*, etc.), declare the variation in Sp. of treatment of "e" after "ll" and point out the frequency of its fall in O.Sp. The vowel "ø," however, would have diphthongized (cf. *cuello* < *collum*). Cf. G. Millardet, *Rom.* xli, 258-9. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 3422⁸. From a semantic point of view *fol* is Fr. inasmuch as the meaning "foolish," "fool" for the derivatives of the Lat. word *fōllem* appears to have originated in Fr. territory. It seems probable that the word *fol*

when borrowed in Spain carried there this sense, which appears itself and in more developed form in Sp. compounds coming from the Lat. *föllem* and not from Fr. *fol*, e. g., *affollar*, *Alex.* 157, O., 163, P.; *folia*, *Alex.* 1209, O., 1350, P. and F.G. 90 and Berceo, *Mil.* 157; *fol[l]on*, *Cid*, 960; *follonia*, *Alex.* 24, O., 24, P. and Berceo, S.D. 149.

fol occurs Berceo, *Mil.* 193 and *Alex.* 1019, O., 1046, P.; 1557, O., 1699, P., etc.

101. O.Sp. *fonta* < O.Fr. *honte*. Frankish *haunida*.

The O.Sp. "f" indicates Fr. source for the word. Cf. *farpa*, *fardido*, *facha*, which come from O.Fr. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 4080; Ford, O.S.R., p. xxviii, init. cons. (4) remark; M. Goldschmidt, K.A.E.S., p. 64; F. Diez, *Wb.*, p. 227.

102. O.Sp. *fontayna* < O.Fr. *fontaine*. Lat. *fontāna*.

Fontana, the regular O.Sp. form, is usually used (cf. *Alex.* 891, O., 920, P.; 892, O., 921, P., etc.). *Fontayna* (*Alex.* 1994, O.) is in fact probably due to the scribe, as it is in a quatrain with "-ana" rime. R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Voc., p. 799, l. 2) calls this a gallicism and mentions another occurrence of it, *Crón. de Pero Niño*, 115¹³.

103. O.Sp. *franc* < O.Fr. Prov. *franc*. Frankish *frank*.

The regular Sp. form *franco* exists (F.G. 30). The "qu" of the form *franqueza* (*Alex.* 925, O.) would seem to result from the influence of the borrowed O.Fr. *franc*, unless it be due to dissimilation. On the other hand *frank* as the name of the Franks and their country would seem to have gone into Lat. and thence into Spain, as is seen by the regular Sp. development of *Françia* (*Alex.* 1625, O., 1767, P., etc.; F.G. 129, etc.) and *franceses* (*Alex.* 1635, O., 1776, P., etc.; F.G. 313).

Alex. 6, O.; 66, O.

104. O. Sp. *gabar* < O.Fr. *gaber*. O. Norse *gabba*.

According to W. Meyer-Lübke (*Einf.*, § 45), the O. Norse alone possessed the verb *gabba*, whence O.Fr. *gaber* 'to make fun of.' As Germ. words came to Sp. only thru Gothic, this word from O. Norse evidently came to Spain thru Fr. Cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 63; M-L., R.E.W. 3626; Z.R.P. xxx, 584.

Alex. 52, O., 58, P.; 119, O., 131, P., etc.

105. O.Sp. *gabe* < O.Fr. *gab*. O. Norse *gabb*.

The ending "e" (cf. *mote*, *arlote*, *pote*, etc.) leads one to derive the O.Sp. directly from the O.Fr.; it may, however, be a post-verbal noun from O.Sp. *gabar* as E. Mackel (G.E.F.P.S., p. 73) suggests.

Berceo, *Duelo*, 197.

106. O.Sp. *galope* < O.Fr. *galop*, O.Fr. *galoper*. Frankish *wala hlaupan*.

E. Herzog (*Bausteine z. Rom. Phil.*, Festgabe f. A. Mussafia, Halle, 1905, pp. 485, 486) rejects F. Diez' Germ. *gahlaupan* and W. Wackernagel's Germ. *gâho hloufan* on account of Walloon-Picard *waloper* and It. *gualoppare*. He dismisses also H. Rönisch's *quadrupedare*, G. Körting's *vapulare*, W. W. Skeat's Norse *wallen*, and T. Braune's Germ. *glappôn*. His own suggestion for the etymon of Fr. *galoper*, etc., is Frankish *wala hlaupan* = "run well," "run hard." If this is correct, the Sp. comes from the O.Fr. since initial Germ. "wa" would give "gua" in O.Sp. Cf. J. Bruch, E.G.S.V., pp. 40, 41.

Alex. 1388, P.; 1247, O. has *galopo*; 1586, O., 1728, P.

107. O.Sp. *galopear*,—see *galope*.

108. O.Sp. *galopeador*,—see *galope*.

109. O.Sp. *Galter* < O.Fr. *Galtier*. O.H.G. *Waltari*.

This name is borrowed from France as is seen from the initial "g" < "w" and the absence of the final "o." Cf. Verengel (s.v.). *Alex.* 1339, O., 1481, P.; 1935, O., 2077, P.

110. O.Sp. *gambax* < O.Fr. *gambais*. O.H.G. *wamba* + Lat. *-aceum* (cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 70).

The O.Sp. initial "g" < Germ. "w" shows Fr. origin. For Fr. "-ais" > O.Sp. "-ax" cf. O.Fr. *vaissel* > O.Sp. *baxel*. The *gambais* which Godefroy, s.v., describes as a "pourpoint rembourré qui se plaçait sous le haubert" is evidently the same garment as the one mentioned in the *Alex.* (430, O., 439, P.) which was put on "desuso la loriga."

Alex. 430, O. *gambax*, 439, P. *ganbax*.

111. O.Sp. *gañar* < O.Fr. *gaagnier*. O. Frankish *wañanjan*.

In the O.Sp. form, "g" < Germ. "w" and the fall of the intervocalic "ð" indicate Fr. origin. J. Bruch (E.G.S.V., p. 31) calls

waïðanjan an O. N. Frankish form. The current Sp. form *guadañar* = 'to mow,' the form expected from the Germ. etymon, is classified by J. Brüch (*op. cit.*, p. 37) and W. Bruckner, Z.R.P. xxiv, 70, A², as < O.Fr. for semantic reasons.

R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Voc., p. 702, l. 18 and following) cites Lat. texts containing a verb *ganare*. This *ganare*, however, must have come, not from the Germ. directly, but thru the Fr., since Germ. "w" gave "gu" in Lat. (J. Brüch, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135; J. Schwarz, Z.R.P. xxxvi, 237 ff.). The O.Sp. forms *ganar*, *ganancia*, etc., must therefore have resulted somewhat as follows:—Germ. *waïðanjan* > O.Fr. *gaaignier* > O.Sp. *gañar* > M. Lat. *ganare* > O.Sp. *ganar*.

112. *ganancia*,—see *gañar*.

113. *ganado* 'flocks,'—see *gañar*.

114. *ganar*,—see *gañar*.

115. O.Sp. *garçon* < O.Fr. *garson*. Lat. **cardgo* or Germ. **wartja* (cf. N.H.G. *warze*).

If Lat. **cardgo* is the correct etymon the word might be native in Sp. If Germ. **wartja* is the correct etymon, O.Sp. *garzon* must come from O.Fr. or Prov. as is shown by initial "g" < Germ. "w" and the Germ. suffix "-on" (J. Brüch, E.G.S.V., p. 86).

Berceo, *Duelo*, 42; *Alex.* 1982, O., 2124, P.; 2216, O., 2358, P.

116. O.Sp. *gento* < O.Fr., Prov. *gent*. Lat. *gēnĭtum*.

In O.Sp. initial "g" before "e" or "i" falls or is absorbed in the diphthong resulting from an accented "ĕ," e. g., *yerno* < *gĕnĕru*; *yelo* < *gĕlu*; *ermano* < *gĕrmānu*; *inojo* < *gĕnŭclu* (cf. A. Zauner, A.E., §§ 63, 64). Accented "ĕ" should diphthongize. "N't" usually gives "nd." Cf. M.P., *Cid*, Gram., p. 188, l. 7 and following. Lat. *gēnĭtu* should therefore give *yendo*. Cf. Zauner, A.E., § 63 A²; M-L., R.E.W. 3734; A.L.L.G. ii, 437.

Berceo, *Mil.* 357; *Mil.* 365 *bien[e]gent*; *Alex.* 342, O., 350, P.; 1716, O., 1857, P.

117. O.Sp. *giga* < O.Fr. *gigue*, Prov. *giga*. Germ. *giga*.

The "gue" of Fr. *gigue* might be due to dissimulation (E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 108), or it might result from borrowed Prov. *giga* (E. Mackel, *loc. cit.*), or it might be from a very late borrowing from the Germ. (E. Mackel, *op. cit.*, p. 151, 3. Schicht;

J. Bruch, E.G.S.V., p. 39). Weight is given the last supposition by the fact that the Germ. etymon is found only in M.H.G. *gige*, M.Sc. *ghighe* and O.N. *gigja* (E. Mackel, *op. cit.*, p. 108). Therefore the word would seem to have come late from the Germ. into Romance thru the Fr. As a name of a musical instrument, it would be the more probably borrowed; cf. *rota*, *çitola*, *semiton*, *son*, etc. Cf. It. *giga* < Fr., Prov. (G. Bertoni, *Elem. Germ. nella Ling. It.*, p. 129). Berceo, *Mil.* 9, *Duelo*, 176; *Alex.* 1383, O., 1525, P.

118. O.Sp. *girofre* < O.Fr. *girofle*. Lat. (< Grk.) *cārŷōphŷllum*.

It is not to be wondered that a word like Lat. *cārŷōphŷllum* was somewhat distorted in popular speech. Romance forms seem to point to a V.L. **garófŷlum* (cf. Körtling, *Wb.* s.v.) or **garŷófŷlum*, whence the Fr. *gerofle*, *girofle*, developed quite regularly except for the "i" of the first syllable (for initial "g" < "c" see below under O.Sp. *jamon*). This word, of frequent occurrence in O.Fr. and still current in Fr., was borrowed in Spain, where its apparently more limited use—it is found but once in the works read—indicates borrowing. The final "e" also shows foreign origin. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 1727.

Alex. 1301, O., 1443, P. *girofe*.

119. O.Sp. *guia* possibly came directly from O.Fr. *guie*, perhaps from O.Sp. *giuar* < O.Fr. *guier*. See *giuar*.

Berceo, S.D. 241.

120. O.Sp. *guiador*,—see *giuar*.

Berceo, S.D. 577.

121. O.Sp. *giuar* < O.Fr. *guier*. O.H.G. *witan*.

Germ. intervocalic "t" gives "d" in O.Sp. *Witan* would have given *guidar* in O.Sp.

122. O.Sp. *guion* may have come directly from O.Fr. *guion*. See *giuar*, *guia* and *guionage*. Cf. M. Goldschmidt, K.A.E.S., p. 54.

Berceo, S.M. 324, etc.

123. O.Sp. *guionage* probably came directly from Fr. *guionage*. See *giuar*.

Berceo, *Loor.* 197, *guyonage*, etc.

124. O.Sp. *guisa* < O.Fr. *guise*. O.H.G. *wisa*.

F. Kluge (Gröber's *Grundriss*, i², 502), W. Bruckner (*Char. d. Ger. Elem. im It.*, p. 7) and J. Brück (E.G.S.V., p. 27) note that Germ. *wisa* is non-Gothic. The latter, therefore, assumes it to have been taken early into V.L. from the Germ. and thence adopted in Ital., Prov., Sp., Ptg. and Fr. Cf. also M-L., *Einf.*, § 42. The appearance of the word in the five Romance languages makes this probable; it is also possible that the word came from the Germ. to the Fr. and thence to Sp. and Ptg. which draw Germ. words practically from the Gothic only.

125. O.Sp. *husaie* < O.Fr. *usage*, Prov. *usatge*. V.L. **ūsātīcum*.

The ending "-age" shows Fr. origin. Cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 133. *Cid*, 1519.

126. O.Sp. **Iherome* < O.Fr. *Iherome*. Lat. *Hīērōnŷmum*.

This form is conjectured for the name of the Fr. bishop by R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Gram., pp. 117, 118) for reasons of assonance, instead of the actually occurring *Iheronimo*.

127. O.Sp. *jamás* < O.Fr., Prov. *jamaís*. Lat. *jām* + *māgis*.

The treatment of "j" before "a" in *jamás* points to Fr. origin. *Jam* should give *ya*, which exists. Cf. *jacere* > *yacer*. Cf. Zauner, A.E., § 63 A². The "mais" of the second syllable was supplanted by the Sp. *mas*. It is to be remembered that *jamás* did not drive out *nunca*, which on the contrary continued to be the more usual word. *Cid*, 2680; *Alex.* 1096, O., 1124, P.; F.G. 347.

128. O.Sp. *jamon* < O.Fr. *jambon*. Grk.? or Celtic? **camba*.

O.Sp. *cam(b)a* also is a borrowed word; it comes from Prov. or Cat. The usual Spanish word is *pierna* < Lat. *pĕrna*. (Cf. Körting, *Wb.* 1776; A.L.L.G. ii, 432). *Jamon* shows Fr. influence in the "j" < initial "g" before "a," the "c" having become "g" (cf. H. R. Lang, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May 1912, p. 145). The unusual fall of "b" takes place in Sp. *camba* (cf. *Alex.* 644, P. *canba*), *cama* < Prov., Cat. *camba* and in the Sp. *jamon* < Fr. *jambon*. Cf. A.L.L.G. ii, 432.

Alex. 2050, P.; 1908, O., has *corveiones*, which, however, does not suit the meter as *jamones* of the P.M.S. does.

129. O.Sp. *joya* < O.Fr. *joie* ('jewel'). Lat. *gaudja*.

O.Sp. has *gozo* from *gaudium*. The treatment of "ga" determines Fr. origin as does the development of "di." Sp. *joya*, Prov. *joya* and Ital. *gioia* all come from O.Fr. *joi*, *joie* (M-L., R.E.W. 3705). Cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 136; A.L.L.G. ii, 431.

F.G. 277.

130. O.Sp. *justa* < O.Fr. *joste*, Prov. *josta*. See *justar*.

Alex. 157, O.

131. O.Sp. *justar* < O.Fr. *joster*, Prov. *jostar*, V.L. **jūxtāre*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 4645) ascribes Prov. origin—O.Fr. is also possible—to Sp. *justar*, probably for semantic reasons since *justar* < V.L. **juxtare* is regular (cf. M.P., *Cid*, Gram., p. 173, l. 20, who cites *iusto*, *iura*, *juego*, *iuntas*, *iuntar*, *juizio*, *jugara*, *iogados* and *iudios*). It can be urged that the Fr. and Prov. words have the etymological meaning 'gather,' 'assemble' plus the derived meaning 'joust,' whereas the Ital., Sp. and Ptg. have only the derived meaning 'joust,' and are hence to be regarded as borrowed. (Cf. Part I, § 9, where J. Bruch's and W. Bruckner's analogous rule with regard to Germ. loan-words in Romance is stated.)

Alex. 1894, O., 2036, P.

132. O.Sp. *laido* < O.Fr. *laid*. Frankish *laid*.

That this is a late loan-word in O.Fr. is shown by Germ., "ai" > "ai"; early loan-words show "ai" > "a," e. g., *haim* > *ham* whence *hameau*, **haisti* (cf. Gothic *haifsts*) > O.Fr. *haste*, etc. (cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 114, 117). O.Sp. loan-words taken from Germ. also have "a" from "ai," according to M-L. (*Gram. d. lang. rom.* i, § 18). Hence Sp. *laido* is borrowed from Fr. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 4855.

Berceo, S.D. 648; *Alex.* 593, O., 620, P.

133. O.Sp. *ligero* < O.Fr. *legier*. V.L. **lēviārium*.

Lat. "vi" stays in O.Sp., e. g., Lat. *plūvia* > *lluvia* (see Ford, O.S.R., p. xlii). V.L. **lēviārium* should therefore give *leviero*. The Fr. "e" (< ě) of the first syllable would seem to have closed to "i" under the influence of the following palatal element. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. xiii, says that V.L. ě was closed to "i" by a following palatal in some cases and (*id.*, p. xii) that V.L. ě followed by a palatal element might close to e. Cf. A. Zauner, A.E., § 63 B⁸; M-L., R.E.W. 5003. Ford, O.S.S., p. 141.

Berceo, S.D. 299; *Alex.* 278, O., 285, P., etc.; F.G. 254, etc.

134. O.Sp. *linnage* < O.Fr. *lignage*, Prov. *linhatge*. V.L. **līnēdī-cum*.

V.L. **līnēdīcum* should give *linnadgo*, *linnazgo* in O.Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 5061; A. Zauner, A.E., p. 9; cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 141. Berceo, S.M. 370, etc.; *Alex.* 2356, O., etc.; F.G. 15, 164, etc.

135. O.Sp. *losengero* < O.Fr. *losengier*. Frankish *lausinga* + *-ārīum*.

The treatment of "g" before "a" indicates Fr. origin. *Lausingārīum* would give *losenguero* in O.Sp. Cf. Ford, O.S.R., p. 245. Berceo, *Duelo*, 83; *Alex.* 1507, O., 1649, P. *lisongero*, etc.

136. O.Sp. *maniar* < O.Fr. *mangier*. Lat. *mandūcāre*.

The Sp. "j" shows Fr. origin. "d'c" after consonant should give "g" in O.Sp., e. g., *vindicāre* > *vengar* (*Alex.* 481, O., 492, P.; Berceo, S.M. 224, etc.). Cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 140.

Berceo, *Duelo*, 35, here used as a noun.

137. O.Sp. *mantel* < O.Fr., Prov. *mantel*. Lat. *mantellum*.

The form *manteles* (*Alex.* 1899, O.) is very possibly an erroneous reading since the corresponding line of MS.P., namely, 2041, has *ma(n)tillos*. If *manteles* is correct, it may be from Fr. *mantel*; the regular O.Sp. form would be *mantiello* (cf. *Castiello*, *Castiella*, M-P., *Cid*, Gram., p. 243, l. 14), becoming later *mantillo*. Sp. *man-teo* < Fr. *manteau* (M-L., R.E.W. 5326) belongs to a later period and does not occur in the works considered. Cf. A.L.L.G. iii, 526.

138. O.Sp. *marrido* < Prov., Cat. *marrit* or possibly O.Fr. *marri*. O.H.G. *marrjan*.

According to J. Bruch (E.G.S.V., p. 28) the meaning 'to sadden' to which the Germ. root developed in Fr. did not develop in O.Sp., judging from O.Sp. *marrar* 'to err.' J. Bruch (*op. cit.*, pp. 28 and 201), Th. Braune (Z.R.P. xxi, 214) and W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 5373) take O.Sp. *marrido* from the Prov.; it is not impossible that it came from O.Fr. Cf. *fardido*, which came from O.Fr. *hardi* (cf. s.v.).

139. O.Sp. *mecha* < O.Fr. *meche*. Grk. *mŷxa*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 5804) derives Ital. *miccia*, Mod. Prov. *mecho*, Cat. *metxa*, Sp. and Ptg. *mecha* from the Fr. *mèche*. Whatever the etymon—it was possibly some corruption of *myxa* or

some combination of it with something else resulting in **micca* (cf. Z. Frz. Sp. L. x, 243)—the Ital., Prov., Cat., Sp. and Ptg. words could scarcely come from any one form of the word but the Fr. in “ch.”

Berceo, S.M. 331.

140. O.Sp. *mege*, *menge* < O.Fr. *mege*, Prov., Cat. *metge*. Lat. *mēdicum*.

“d’c” > “ġ” is a French trait. Cf. V.L. *subsēdicāre* > O.Sp. *sosegar*, Lat. *iudicāre* > *juzgar* and *tritūcum* > *trigo* (F. Hanssen, *Gram. hist. leng. cast.* x, § 151. *Mēdicum* would give *miego* or *miezgo* in O.Sp. For the insertion of the “n” in some instances cf. O.Sp. *mennsaie*, O.Sp. *punçella*, O.Sp. *mancha* < *macūla*, O.Sp. *ponçones* < *potjōnem*, F.G. 110, *enxiemplo*, *fonssado* < *fossātum*, *Cid*, 764, etc., *ronco* < *raucum*, Berceo, *Mil.* 8, etc. Cf. A. Zauner, A.E., § 63 B³; Ford, O.S.R., p. 250; M-L., R.E.W. 5459.

141. O.Sp. *membre* < O.Fr. *membre*. Lat. *mēmbrum*.

Lat. *mēmbrum* should give O.Sp. *miembro* which also exists (Berceo, *Mil.* 192; S.D. 292, etc.).

Berceo, S.D. 148. (It is quite possible that the reading is incorrect and should be *membros* or *miembros*.)

142. O.Sp. *mengear*,—see *mege*.

143. O.Sp. *mengia*,—see *mege*.

144. O.Sp. *message*, *menssage* < O.Fr. *message*, Prov. *messatge*. V.L. **missāñcum*.

-*ñcum* should give *adgo*, *azgo* in O.Sp. For insertion of “n” see under *mege*. Cf. Ford, O.S.S., p. 133.

145. O.Sp. *messengeria*, *menssageria* may come directly from O.Fr. *messengerie*, Prov. *messatgeria*. See *menssage*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 53; F.G. 622, etc.

146. O.Sp. *messengero*, *menssagero* may come directly from O.Fr. *messagier*, Prov. *messatgier*. See *message*.

147. O.Sp. *merchandia* < O.Fr. *marcheandie*. V.L. **mercatāntem* + *-ia*.

This word occurs in but two places in the O. manuscript of the *Alex.*; in the corresponding passages in the P. manuscript we find *mercaduria* and *mercaderia*. If it is a correct reading, the Fr. origin

is evident in the 'ch' < "c" before "a" and the fall of the intervocalic "t." The "e" of the first syllable of the Sp. *merchandia* may be considered as the result of the influence of Sp. words like *mercaduria*, *mercadante*, etc.

Alex. 1704, O. and 1769, O.; 1845, P. and 1910, P.; the latter two in P. have *mercaderia* and *mercaduria*.

148. O.Sp. *mesmo* < O.Fr. *meesme*. V.L. **metīpsīmus*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 5551²) apparently regards France as the point of departure of the V.L. **metīpsīmus*. He derives the Ital., Ptg. and Sp. forms from the Fr. and Prov.; phonological considerations demand this if one starts with **metīpsīmus*. One may assume a V.L. form **medīpsīmus* (cf. M-L., *Gram. d. lang. rom.* i, § 443) which would explain O.Sp. *mesmo* and *mismo* but then Prov. *medesmo* (whence O.Sp. *medesmo* and perhaps O.Fr. *medesme*) causes difficulty.

F.G. 431, *mesmo* or *mismo*; 662, *mismo* or *mesmo*.

149. O.Sp. *mismo*, *misme* < O.Fr. *meisme*,—see *mesmo*.

150. O.Sp. *mote* < O.Fr., Prov., Cat. *mot*. V.L. **mūttum*.

V.L. **mūttum* would give *moto* in O.Sp. For the ending "e" cf. *arlote*, *gabe*, *galope*, *pote*, etc. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 5795; Körtling, *Wb.* 6424.

Berceo, *Mil.* 118, etc.; *Alex.* 2229, O., 2371, P.—*mot* in MS.P. without "e" is a scribal error; 745, P. *notes*.

151. O.Sp. *moteyar* < O.Sp. *mote* (< O.Fr., Prov., Cat. *mot*) + *-idiäre*,—see *mote*.

Alex. 1254, P.

152. O.Sp. *nombrar* might be taken directly from Lat. *numērāre* but it might also come from the O.Sp. *nombre* (< O.Fr. *nombre*) (q.v.).

Cid, 1264, etc.

153. O.Sp. *nombre* < O.Fr. *nombre*. Lat. *nūmērūm*.

R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, *Gram.*, ii, § 26⁸) classes O.Sp. *nombre* as a foreign word on account of the final "e" instead of the expected "o." In the vocabulario he calls it a postverbal from *nombrar*. But postverbal nouns end in "o." The influence of *nombre*

< *nōmēn* might be urged but the two words are associated only in form and not in sense.

Cid, 3262.

154. O.Sp. *novel* < O.Fr., Prov. *novel*, Cat. *novell*. Lat. *novellum*.

-*ēllu* should give *iello* in O.Sp. Cf. *Castiello*, *Castiella* (M.P., *Cid*, Gram., p. 243, l. 14).

Berceo, *Mil.* 718; *Alex.* 115, O., 127, P., etc.

155. O.Sp. *orage* < O.Fr. *orage*. V.L. **aurāticum*.

V.L. **aurāticum* should give *oradgo*, *orazgo* in O.Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 788.

Alex. 2136, O., 2278, P.

156. O.Sp. *ostalage* < O.Fr. *hostelage*, Prov. *ostalatge*. V.L. **hostālātīcum*.

-*āticum* should give *adgo*, *azgo*.

Berceo, S.M. 450.

157. O.Sp. *par* < O.Fr. *par*. Lat. *pēr*.

Ford, O.S.R., p. 264, s.v., says that O.Sp. *par* is "perhaps Fr. *par* as used in adjurations." Confined exclusively to this one use in O.Sp., the word *par* is very probably borrowed. See J. Brück (E.G.S.V., p. 42) for the statement of this principle which he exemplifies with Sp. *de rendon*, *de rondon*. Cf. also Part I, § 10 of the present investigation.

Cid, 3140, 3186; *Alex.* 652, O., 680, P., etc.

158. O.Sp. *paraže* < O.Fr. *parage*, Prov. *paratge*. V.L. *par* + *-āticum*.

-*āticum* should give *adgo*, *azgo* in O.Sp.

Alex. 1424, O.; 490, P.

159. O.Sp. *parla* < O.Sp. *parlar* < O.Fr. *parler*. V.L. **pārābōlāre*.

V.L. **pārābōlāre* should give *parablar* or *palabrar* (cf. *palabra*). W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 6222) derives Sp. *parlar* from Prov. *parlar*, Fr. *parler*. It is originally rather Fr. than Prov. since "b'l" > "au" in Prov. and Prov. *paraular* is the true Prov. form, cf. *fabūla* > *faula*; *tabūla* > *taula*, etc. The word *parla* occurring but once in the works considered is found also in Mod. Sp. It is related

to Sp. *parlar* < Fr., Prov., as O.Sp. *fabla* (Berceo, S.D. 399) to *fablar* and Mod. Sp. *charla* to *charlar*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 202.

160. O.Sp. *parlatorio*,—see *parla*.

Berceo, S.D. 447.

161. O.Sp. *parlero*,—see *parla*.

Berceo, S.D. 166.

162. O.Sp. *pendon* < O.Fr. *pennon*. Lat. *pīnna* + *ōnem*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 6514³ Ablt.) derives the Sp. word from the Fr., Prov. Ford, O.S.R., pp. 265/6 and p. xxxv advances the theory that in borrowed words “-nn-” gives “-nd-.” This is given added weight by the parallel O.Sp. forms *senos* (*Cid*, 724, etc., *Alex.* 1702, O., etc.) and *sendas* (Berceo, S.Or. 47, 48) and *pennola* (Berceo, S.Or. 48) and Mod. Sp. *pendola*.

163. O.Sp. *percha* < O.Fr. *perche*. Lat. *pērticam*.

“ch” (< “c” before “a”) is a distinctly Fr. trait. We find the Sp. form *piertega* (Berceo, *Mil.* 39; *Alex.* 2276, P., 2464, P.) and also *pertiga* (*Alex.* 2336, O., 2134, O.).

Alex. 2391, O., 2519, P.

164. O.Sp. *pinzel* < O.Fr. *pincel*, Prov. *pinsel*, Cat. *pinsell*. V.L. **pīnīcēllum*.

V.L. **pīnīcēllum*, the V.L. form postulated by Prov. *pinsel* (E. Levy, P.D.P.F., Heidelberg, 1909, s.v.) for C.L. *pēnīcēllum*, would give O.Sp. *pinciello*. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 6390².

Berceo, *Sac.* 149.

165. O.Sp. *plaza* might come from O.Fr. *place* < V.L. **plattēa* or **platea*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 6583) marks the Sp. and Ptg. as learned. “Pl” < “pl” is learned, borrowed or dialectal. “Z” < “tē” or “ttē” is popular. The word is probably semi-learned. By its form it might be a loan-word from O.Fr. and is so regarded by G. Gröber (A.L.L. iv, 443).

166. O.Sp. *pleitar*,—see *pleito*.

Alex. 1502, O., 1644, P.; F.G. 737.

167. O.Sp. *pleito* is said to come from O.Fr. *plait*. Lat. *plāctum*.

Plāctum should give *llecho* in O.Sp.; semi-learned *plecho* exists.

G. Gröber (A.L.L. iv, 439) derives the O.Sp. from the Fr.; E. Staaff (E. s. l'Anc. Dial. Léon, pp. 187/8) agrees to this. R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Voc., pp. 798/9) claims *pleito* is a Navarro-Aragonese word. He says that we would have the vowel "a" from Fr. *plait* and quotes in support of this, Sp. *baya* < Fr. *baie*, Sp. *lacayo* < Fr. *laquais*, Sp. *baxel* < Fr. *vaissel* and Sp. *fontayna* < Fr. *fontaine*. Cf. also Sp. *laido* < O.Fr. *lait*, Sp. *fraile* < Prov. *fraire*, Sp. *repaire* < Fr. *repaire*. Some of these words, e. g., *fraile*, sometimes appear with "ei" but these forms occur alongside of the regular "ai" forms and would seem to be dialectal reproductions of the adopted word. *Pleito* on the other hand never has "ai." That ei < a + y is a western Sp. trait is clear. (Cf. E. Staaff, *op. cit.*, p. 187.)

168. O.Sp. *pleytesia*,—see *pleito*.

Alex. 1254, O., 1395, P.

169. O.Sp. *pluia* may have come from O.Fr. *pluie*. Lat. *pluvia*.

The current Sp. *lluvia* presents the regular O.Sp. development. According to M-L. (*Einf.*, § 131 and R.E.W. 6620) there existed a V.L. **pluia*. Possibly both O.Sp. *pluvia* (Berceo, *Loor.* 11) and O.Sp. *pluia* (Berceo, S.M. 483) are learned. More probably they are dialect forms; a word of similar meaning would scarcely be a learned word.

Berceo, S.M. 483.

170. O.Sp. *preste* < O.Fr., Prov. *prestre*, *preste*. Lat. (< Grk.) *prēsbyter*.

We would expect *priestre* or *prieste* in O.Sp. from Lat. *prēsbyter*.

Berceo, *Sac.* 119, 37, 30; S.M. 370, etc.

171. O.Sp. *punçella* < O.Fr. *pucelle*, *pulcelle*. V.L. **püllicella*.

The word offers well-known difficulties. The prevalence of the -*ella* (instead of -*iella*) forms make it appear to be of foreign origin. W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 6819) assigns to the O.Sp. *punçella* an O. Cat. source and to the O. Ptg. *puncella* a Prov. origin. From the relatively great frequency of its use there, France would seem to have been the source of the word. As far as the form is concerned, nothing prevents the assumption that the O.Sp. came from the O.Fr. For the "n" of the first syllable cf. *menge*, *menssage*,

etc. Moreover it may have been affected by *donçella* (< Prov.), with which it would naturally be associated. In the *Alex.* 1366, O. we have *ponçellas* and in the corresponding verse (1508) in P. we find *do(n)zellas*.

Berceo, *Loor.* 29; *Alex.* 2245, O. *ponçella*, 2387, P.

172. O.Sp. *quitar* < O.Fr. *quittier* < O.Fr. *quitte*. Lat. *quiētus*.

As popular Sp. forms we have *quedar* and *quedo*. The semi-learned Fr. *quitte* and *quittier* (explained in A. Hatzfeld, A. Darmsteter, et A. Thomas, *Dict. gén. de la lang. fr.*, s.v. and also by M-L., *Gram. des lang. rom.* i, §§ 376, 462) apparently came to Sp. as legal terms. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 6958; M.P., *Cid*, Gram., p. 177, l. 10.

173. O.Sp. *quito* is perhaps directly from O.Fr. *quitte*.

The change of final "e" to "o" may be regarded as due to the general law of assimilating foreign to native material. Cf. Sp. *mesmo* < Fr. *meesme* and Sp. *misimo* < Fr. *meisme*. On the other hand, O.Sp. *quito* may come from the O.Sp. verb *quitar* < O.Fr. *quittier*. See *quitar*.

174. O.Sp. *rancada*,—see *rancar*.

Berceo, S.M. 455.

175. O.Sp. *rancar* < Fr. *ranc* + *-äre*. Frankish *rank*.

The O.Sp. forms must come thru Fr. as the Germ. etymon is from the late High German dialects and was adopted in Romance after the fall of initial "w" (cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 60, 183, 184). Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7044.

176. O.Sp. *rancon*,—see *rancar*.

Berceo, *Sac.* 17; 2388, O., etc.

177. O.Sp. *rencon*,—see *rancar*.

Berceo, *Sac.* 85, etc.

178. O.Sp. *renconada*,—see *rancar*.

Berceo, S.D. 265.

179. O.Sp. *re(n)conçiello*,—see *rancar*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 801.

180. O.Sp. *rencura* < O.Fr. *rencure*. Lat. *rancor* + *-ära*.

The form *rencura* is found in O.Sp., e. g., *Alex.* 41, O. and frequently in the *Alex.* in the O. manuscript. But the forms with "en" are in the majority and this fact may indicate a Fr. origin for the

word. This hypothesis would assume borrowing thru literary channels where orthography could have some influence.

181. O.Sp. *repaire* < O.Fr., Prov. *repaire*. Lat. *rĕpātriāre*.

The treatment of "tr" and the presence of the "e" final indicate Fr. or Prov. origin. Cf. G. Millardet, *Rom.* xli, 256.

Berceo, *Mil.* 19.

182. O.Sp. *repentencia*, *rependencia*,—see *repentir*.

Berceo, S.M. 210.

183. O.Sp. *repintincia*, *repindencia*,—see *repentir*.

Berceo, *Mil.* 99, etc.

184. O.Sp. *repentirse* may come from O.Fr. or Prov. *repentir*. Lat. *repaenitāre*.

R. Menéndez Pidal (*Cid*, Gram., p. 188, l. 4 and following) ascribes the retention of the voiceless "t" to learned influence. Cf. the popular form *rependir* (Berceo, S.D. 731, etc.). It might be due to the early fall of the intertonic vowel (M.P., *loc. cit.*). M-L., R.E.W. 7224 derives the word from Fr. or Prov.

185. O.Sp. *rincon*,—see *rancar*.

Alex. 1298, P.; F.G. 170.

186. O.Sp. *Roldan* < Old French. Frankish *Rothland*.

Germ. *Rothland* entered the Romance field somewhat late as is shown by the absence of any reflex of the Germ. initial "h" in Romance. (Cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 136, 137.) This probably denotes that it came in thru France. Yet the Sp. form of the word would seem to indicate that the name was taken to Spain before it assumed in Fr. the form *Rolland*, *Roland*, that is, by popular legends before the writing of the *Chanson de Roland*. Cf. Gaston Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 204.

Berceo, S.M. 412; F.G. 352.

187. O.Sp. *rota* < O.Fr. *rote*. O.H.G. *hrotta*.

The word was borrowed late in Fr. as is shown by the fall of the initial "h." (Cf. E. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., p. 136.) Its frequent use in O.Fr. for the Fr. instrument and its absence from the Romance languages except O.Fr., Prov. and Sp. give it a clearly Fr. origin. Cf. also *giga*, s.v. Cf. E. Mackel, *op. cit.*, p. 32; M-L., R.E.W. 4217 and 7394.

Berceo, *Duelo*, 176; *Alex.* 1383, O., 1525, P.

188. O.Sp. *rua* < O.Fr. *rue*. Lat. *rūga*.

The absence of the Lat. intervocalic "g" in the O.Sp. word shows its foreign origin. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7426².

Alex. 1375, O., 1517, P. *Ruvas*; 2185, O., 2327, P.

189. O.Sp. *Rrynaldos* < O.Fr. *Renald*. O.H.G. *Raginald*.

That this is from late non-Gothic source is shown by the absence of "w" after the "n" in the Germ. etymon. Cf. on the contrary *Valdouinos* < Germ. *Baldwin*. (F.G. 352) where the Germ. "w" gives "ou." Cf. Mackel, G.E.F.P.S., pp. 186, 151. Cf. also references under *Arnald* above.

190. O.Sp. *sage* < O.Fr. *sage*. Lat. *sāpīdum*.

Sp. *sabio* is the semi-learned form developed in Sp. from Lat. *sāpīdum*. O.Sp. *sage* from its final "e" as well as its treatment of "p'd" is clearly of foreign origin. It came from the semi-learned O.Fr. *sage*. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7587.

Alex. 273, O.; the corresponding verse in P. (280^b) has *grandes*.

191. O.Sp. *saia* < O.Fr. *saie*. Lat. *sāgum*.

"i" < intervoc. "g" shows Fr. origin (cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7515). *Saga* would be expected in O.Sp. from Lat. *sāga*. O.Sp. *saio* also exists (*Alex.* 1367, O.) and is also due to Fr. influence. In view of Sp., Ptg. *saia*, Sp. *saio*, Ital. *saia* and Ital. *saio*, Fr. origin must be assumed for the word. A V.L. **sagjum* would give the Sp. and Ptg. forms but produce *saggio*, *saggia* in Ital. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7515 and *Einf.*, § 37; A.L.L.G. v, 456.

Berceo, *Duelo*, 23, etc.

192. O.Sp. *sala* < O.Fr. *sale*, Prov. *sala*. Frankish *sala*.

E. Mackel, (G.E.F.P.S., p. 42) argues that Fr. *sale* > Prov. *sala* > It., Ptg., Sp. *sala*. He cites H. Kern (*Mém. de la soc. de linguist.*, ii, 231) as authority for the statement that only the Franks and the Netherlanders had a feminine *sala*. He says further that only masculine and neuter forms are actually found in Germ. dialects. He adds that Oskar Schade (*Altdeutsches Wb.*, Halle, 2d edition, 1872-1882) notes a feminine A.S. *sel*. The "a" < "á" in the Fr. *sale* shows late introduction into Fr. (J. Bruch, E.G.S.V., p. 39). W. Meyer-Lübke, R.E.W. 7522, suggests Prov. (< Gothic) as the source for It., Sp. and Ptg. and gives the influence of the Germ. "Halle" as the reason for the feminine gender. But if there was a

change of gender early enough to be reflected by a word from the Gothic, would not this change of gender be more evident in the later Germ. dialects? The necessity of assuming a late change in gender in the Germ. is yet another reason for thinking that the word came late into Fr. and thence to the other Romance languages.

193. O.Sp. *saluage* < O.Fr. *salvage*, Prov. *salvatge*. V.L. **silvā-ticum*.

Regular O.Sp. development requires *-adgo*, *azgo* < *āticum*. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7922²; Ford, O.S.S. 136.

Alex. 1357, O., 1499, P.

194. O.Sp. *sayal*,—see *saia*.

Berceo, S.M. 469, etc.; *Alex.* 1552, O., 1694, P., etc.

195. O.Sp. *semana* was influenced by O.Fr. *semaine*. Lat. *septimāna*.

Sedmana, which is found (M.P., *Cid*, Voc. under *semana*), is the more natural O.Sp. form. Ford (O.S.R., p. 285, s.v.) gives "Lat. *septimāna* > **settīmāna*, as in Ital., > **setmana* >, with assimilation of voiceless t to voiced m, *sedmana*, whence, with complete assimilation of d, mod. *semana*." W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 7834) derives the Sp. from the Fr. Usually, however, Fr. "ai" > Sp. "ai" (cf. G. Millardet, *Rom.* xli, 256). We have here therefore at most a case of Fr. influence rather than one of borrowing. Cf. Diez, *Wb.*, p. 294 (who assumes also **semmana* as etymon). Frequent in *Cid*, Berceo, *Alex.* and F.G.; Berceo, *Sac.* 10, *sammana*; *Alex.* 1128, O. *selmana*.

196. O.Sp. *semanero*,—see *semana*.

Berceo, *Sac.* 119.

197. O.Sp. *semiton* < O.Fr., Prov. *semiton*. Lat. *semitōnum*.

Lat. *tōnum* should give *tueno* in O.Sp. Consequently *ton* and *semiton* are probably loan-words. *Ton* might be a postverbal noun from *tonar*, but postverbals usually have final "o" and, moreover, since the accented forms of *tonar* have "ue," a diphthong would be expected. (Cf. Ford, O.S.R., p. 292 under *son*.) Learned words too usually have final "o." A musical term is very likely to have been borrowed in Sp. from France as the troubadours and trouvères frequently paid long visits to the Spanish Peninsula. Cf. H. R. Lang, *Liederbuch des Kön. Denis v. Portugal*, pp. xx-xxvii. *Alex.* 1976, O., 2118, P.

198. O.Sp. *sen* < O.Fr., Prov. *sen*. O.H.G. *sinn*.

W. Meyer-Lübke (R.E.W. 7932) derives the Sp. *sen* from the Prov., O.Fr. In a native Sp. word we would expect a final "o" here. Cf. Ital. *senno*. Its absence is characteristic of O.Fr. borrowed words, e. g., *don*, *argent*, *son*, *solaz*, *vergel*, etc. Moreover, the Ital. postulates an etymon in "nn" which would give "ñ" in a native O.Sp. word.

Berceo, S.D. 519; *Alex.* 2052, O.; F.G. 345.

199. O.Sp. *sergent(e)* < O.Fr. *sergent*, Prov. *serjan(t)*. Lat. *serviētem*.

"vi" stays in O.Sp. except in O.Fr. borrowed words. Cf. O.Sp. *ligero* s.v. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7873.

Alex. 1225, O.; the corresponding stanza of P. (1366) has *s(er)-vje(n)te*.

200. O.Sp. *sergenta*,—see *sergent(e)*.

Berceo, S.M. 154.

201. O.Sp. *sire* < O.Fr. *sire*. Lat. *senior*.

This word, clearly of Fr. origin, occurs occasionally in O.Sp. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 7821; Lanchetas, Berceo, Voc., s.v.

Berceo, *Mil.* 650.

202. O.Sp. *sobregonel* < Sp. *sobre* + O.Fr. *gonelle*, Prov. *gonels*.

Lat. (< Celt?) *günna*.

The prefix is distinctly Sp. *Gunnellum* should give *guniello* in O.Sp. Probably the O.Sp. came from the O.Fr. *gonne* and *gonelle*. The change to masculine gender is unusual but cf. Sp. *avantaja* < O.Fr. *avantage* (cf. s.v.). The feminine *gonella* is found in later texts. (Cf. M.P., *Cid*, Voc., s.v.)

Cid, 1587.

203. O.Sp. *sojornar* < O.Fr. *sojorner*, Prov. *sojornar*. V.L. **sübdüurnäre*.

The treatment of the Lat. "di" is not Sp. here. Cf. V.L. **virdia* > Sp. *berza*, Lat. *hordeolum* > Sp. *orzuelo*, Lat. *verecundiam* > Sp. *verguenza*, V.L. *vīridiārjum* > Sp. *berçero* and also V.L. **addęörsum* > Sp. *ayuso*, Lat. *dęörsum* > *yuso*, Lat. *radjum* > *rayo*. "dę" after consonant > "z" and initial or intervocalic "dę" > "y." Hence O.Sp. *sojornar* is borrowed. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 8354.

Alex. 1082, O., 1110, P.

204. O.Sp. *solaz* < O.Fr., Prov. *solaz*. Lat. *sōlācium*.

According to Ford (O.S.R., p. 292, s.v.) the Lat. *sōlācium* should give **solaço* and *solaz* is possibly from Prov., being common in Prov. poetry. As regards its form, it might also come from O.Fr. Cf. M-L., R.E.W. 8060; A.L.L.G. v, 472.

Cid, 2872, etc., Berceo, *Sac.* 157, etc.; *Alex.* 1788, O., 1929, P. *solas*, etc.

205. O.Sp. *son* < O.Fr., Prov. *son*. Lat. *sōnum*.

Lat. *sōnum* should give *sueno* which exists (M-L., R.E.W. 8090) in O.Sp. *Son* is possibly an abstract from *sonar*, but as the word had "ue" in the accented forms *son* is more probably a loan-word, according to Ford (O.S.R., p. 292, s.v.). Cf. *semiton*, *don*.

Berceo, S.D. 277; *Alex.* 827, O., 855, P., etc.

206. O.Sp. *tacha* < O.Fr. *tache*. Stem *tacc-*.

The Romance forms, e. g., It. *taca*, *tacha*, *tachar*, Prov. *taca*, *tacar*, Fr. *tache*, *tacher* postulate a form *tacc-* as etymon. The Sp. is, therefore, borrowed from the Fr. as the development of "ch" < "cc" before "a" shows. Cf. Körting, *Wb.* 9331.

Berceo, *Mil.* 799; S.M. 300; S.M. 171.

207. O.Sp. *tachar* < O.Fr. *tacher*,—see *tacha*.

208. O.Sp. *toca* < O.Fr. *toque*, Prov. *tocca*. Celtic *toc*.

If the Celtic origin (which Thurneysen doubts, *Keltoromanisches*, p. 80) is correct, the word may come from the more productive Celtic territory, Italy or France. Cf. M-L., *Einf.*, §§ 34, 35; Körting, *Wb.* 9568. The word referring to church matters is for that the more likely to be a borrowed word (cf. Part I, §§ 11, 13).

Berceo, S.D. 293, 681, S.Or. 21, *Mil.* 147; *Alex.* 388, O., 396, P.; 390, O.

209. O.Sp. *toquinegradas*,—see *toca*.

Alex. 390, O.

210. O.Sp. *trotar* < O.Fr. *trotter*. O.H.G. *trotton*.

J. Bruch (E.G.S.V., p. 33) mentions Germ. *trotton* in a list of words of wide circulation in Romance easily recognized to be Lombard or O.H.G. in form because they show the effects of the second sound-shifting. *Trotton* therefore probably came into O.Sp. thru It., or more probably, thru O.Fr.

Alex. 1383, O., 1525, P.; 1967, O., 2109, P.; in 2109, P. the MS. has *troçar*.

211. O.Sp. *trotero* < O.Sp. *trotar* [+ *-ārius*] < O.Fr. *trotter*. See *trotar*.

Berceo, S.D. 716; *Alex.* 764, O., etc.; F.G. 195.

212. O.Sp. *tost* < O.Fr., Prov. *tost*. Lat. *tōstum*.

Both on account of the failure of accented "ö" to diphthongize and the absence of the final vowel the word might be ascribed to Fr. origin. Both of these things may, however, be the result of unaccented position in the sentence. In Galician, too, the vowel does not diphthongize, and dialectal influence is possible here.

Berceo, S. *Laur.* 78; *Alex.* 1043, O.

213. O.Sp. *vassallage* < O.Fr. *vassallage*, Prov. *vassallatge*. M.Lat. (< Celt.) *vassallum*.

-āricum should give *-adgo*, *-azgo*. See *vassallo*.

Berceo, S.M. 450; *Alex.* 1375, O., 1517, P., etc.

214. O.Sp. *vassallo* < O.Fr., Prov. *vassal*. M.Lat. (< Celt.) *vassallum*.

Certain Lat. words of Celtic origin came into Lat. very early, e. g., *carrus*, *camisia*, etc., and are reflected in most of the Romance languages (cf. M-L., *Einf.*, § 34). Aside from these, France and N. Italy are the most productive Celtic territory (M-L., *loc. cit.*). If *vassallus* is of Celtic origin, being a late word (eighth cent.), it probably came into O.Sp. thru O.Fr. or Prov. The term being legal and feudal is on that account the more probably from France.

215. O.Sp. *Verengel* < O.Fr. *Berangier*. O.H.G. *Beringer*.

The absence of final "o" in proper names is common but in a name from an etymon ending in "r" (cf. *Angelero*, *Ojero*, *Oliuero*, F.G. 352) it is sufficiently striking to make one suspect that this name has a Fr. cast in the Sp. For the "l" < "r," cf. O.Sp. *vergel* < O.Fr., Prov. *vergier*. The suffix "-ing" also points to Fr. origin (J. Bruch, E.G.S.V., p. 86).

Cid, 998, 3195.

216. O.Sp. *vergel* < O.Fr., Prov. *vergier*. V.L. **vīridiārium*.

V.L. **vīridiārium* should give *berçero* in O.Sp., and this exists (cf. F. Hanssen, *Gram. hist. leng. cast.* x, § 143). Cf. M.P., *Cid*, *Gram.*, p. 160, l. 9; Ford, O.S.S., p. 133.

217. O.Sp. *Vernald* < O.Fr., Prov. *Bernard*. O.H.G. *Berinhart*.

The Germ. suffix “-ard” is confined to Fr. territory (J. Brück, E.G.S.V., p. 86; W. Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Namenstudien*, Die aptg. Personennamen germ. Ursprungs, *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad.*, 1904, cxlix, p. 64). The name is therefore probably borrowed.

F.G. 352.

218. O.Sp. *vianda* < O.Fr. *viande*. Lat. *vīvēnda* or *vītānda*.

If from *vīvēnda*, the “an” in O.Sp. makes O.Fr. origin very probable; if from *vītānda*, the fall of intervocalic “t” is distinctly Fr. Cf. M.P., *Cid*, Voc., p. 897, l. 17; Ford, O.S.R., p. 309, s.v. *Cid*, 63; F.G. 102.

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GONTIER COL AND THE FRENCH PRE-RENAISSANCE

PART FIRST:—OFFICIAL AND DIPLOMATIC CAREER

INTRODUCTORY

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth century there appeared in France a small group of literary men, the best known of whom is Jehan de Monstereul.¹ Together with his two friends, Nicolas de Clamenges and Gontier Col, Jehan de Monstereul forms the nucleus of a movement inspired by a deep admiration for the writers of antiquity and the Renaissance that was beginning in Italy. France produced no immediate successors to this group, and she had to wait about a century for her Renaissance, a fact that has often been put down to the prevalence of troublous times. That explanation has not proved satisfactory to all critics, some of whom claim that political conditions in Italy were equally troubled. In face of the lack of convincing evidence, it would be idle to speculate as to how far the temporary failure of the movement in France may have been due to the fact that two of the prime movers were of the Armagnac party and lost their lives because of political animosities. Irrespective of results, they hold a place in the history of the inception of the Renaissance idea in France. One of the chief of these, as has already been said, is Gontier Col, whose career shows an interesting parallel to that of his life-long friend, Jean de Monstereul, best known of the Pre-Renaissance group and according to some authorities the only real Pre-Humanist in France. Both men acted as secretary to Charles VI, both were inspired by a great love for classical antiquity, both had come in contact with Italian Humanism, both were Armagnacs, and both were murdered, it is believed, by the Burgundians in Paris in 1418. Their lives paralleled somewhat that of their contemporary and acquaintance, the Italian Humanist, Coluccio Salutato, Petrarch's friend. He too was a diplomat, the secretary of two Popes (Urban II and Gregory XI), and employed

¹ For the form of this name see A. Thomas, *Le nom et la famille de Jehan de Monstereul in Romania*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 594, note 1.

in the service of the Republic of Venice; and his influence, like that of Col, was felt chiefly thru his personal relations with the men of the time and thru his correspondence, neither of these men having left works of a purely literary character—unless we except Col's letters in the "*Débat du Roman de la Rose*," the rôle he played in that quarrel being fairly well known. The fact is that Col is remembered—by those few modern readers who remember him at all—as the man who wrote some rude letters to Christine de Pisan.

The reputation that Col had among his contemporaries was a very different one, as is shown, for instance, by the Religieux de St. Denis,² who speaks of him as a man of much learning and as one whose trustworthiness had been tested; and this opinion is reflected by Petit de Julleville:³

"Ce fut un étrange personnage que ce Gontier Col et sa vie est pour nous un exemple admirable de simplicité et de modestie. Qui croirait que ce personnage si peu connu a été employé dans les ambassades les plus sérieuses, dans les missions les plus considérables?"

This modesty of Col's perhaps explains why a man should come down to posterity bracketed with a passing incident, when some of his real services to his country and to the development of the times had been overlooked. This does not mean that Col was a great man. As has often been said, however, the tendencies of the times frequently show themselves more clearly in the minor personages of an epoch than in the geniuses; accordingly in the career of this Humanist and diplomat we may be able to bring to light some of the important characteristics and tendencies of the Pre-Renaissance in France.

I.—EARLY LIFE; FISCAL POSITION; COL BECOMES NOTARY AND SECRETARY TO KING CHARLES VI

Gontier Col was born at Sens in the département de l'Yonne. The exact date is not known, there being no parish records at Sens before the 16th century, but an approximation may be reached by

² Religieux de St. Denis, *Cronicorum Karoli Sexti* (Paris, 1896-1902), vol. iii, p. 3. For the Religieux de Saint Denis see: N. Valois, *Jacques de Nouvion et le Religieux de St. Denis*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, vol. 63, p. 233, Paris, 1902.

³ *Revue des cours et conférences*, 1896, p. 542.

means of certain comparisons.⁴ The first precise date I have found with reference to Col is 1379,⁵ when he is listed as "receveur des aides," a rather subordinate position. He was killed in 1418,⁶ which would make a career of some thirty-nine years, based on the supposition that 1379 was the date of Col's first appointment. His most intimate friend and contemporary, Jean de Monstereul, was born in 1354,⁷ and was also killed by the Burgundians in 1418.⁸ Monstereul's first appointment of which there is any record dates from 1375.⁹ It is probable that he was secretary to Charles VI as early as 1389,¹⁰ and there is positive proof that he held that post in 1394.¹¹ Col had a similar appointment, possibly about 1387;¹² he certainly had a similar one in 1393. So that it seems that Col was born between 1350 and 1360. In the light of certain documents found by him, M. Roy fixes the date more closely than this.¹³ In 1435 Marguerite Chacerat, Col's widow, was about sixty-two. Her marriage to Col might very well have taken place about 1388-1390, and that, together with Col's position in 1379, has led M. Roy to place the probable date of Col's birth as *circa* 1354.

Gontier Col's name is found spelled in a variety of ways, the most fantastic forms occurring in Rymer and Monstrelet. Some of them, such as Gautier, Gaultier, Goulthier, are probably due to mere blundering on the part of the scribes. Even the surname Col, which is a fairly simple monosyllable, appears as Coll, Colle, Coh, Coel, and Call. The name is rather an unusual one in France in the fourteenth century. Besides Col's immediate family, we find

⁴ A. Thomas, *De Joannis de Monsterolio vita et operibus*, Parisiis, 1883, p. 80. U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge, Bio-bibliographie*, 1905-1907, article Gontier Col. M. Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Yonne*, Paris, 1862, p. 122.

⁵ L. Delisle, *Mandements et actes divers de Charles VI*, Paris, 1874, No. 1869, p. 914.

⁶ Sauval, *Antiquités de Paris*, Paris, 1724, vol. 3, p. 304. A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁷ A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6, note 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹² See p. 421, *infra*.

¹³ *Archives de l'Yonne*, H 528.

one Simon Col, a trumpeter of the King (1364)¹⁴ mentioned by Machaut, and a certain Marie Col, whose connection with the Col family, if any, is not apparent.¹⁵ There are also two curious references to a certain Gauthier or Walter Col, in the service of the English King as "Connétable de Bordeaux" in 1439, and as English diplomatic agent treating with the French in 1441.¹⁶ The king he serves and the date preclude the possibility of this being our Gontier Col (died 1418), and there is nothing to show that our Gontier had a son of that name.

References are found to several children of Gontier Col's. One, a daughter, married a certain Charles de Beaumoulin.¹⁷ The wedding took place between the twenty-sixth of February and the fifteenth of April, 1401-'02, and, according to M. Roy, the Queen gave the bride "XX marcs d'argent dore."¹⁸ That the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and circumstance is shown by the presence at the wedding of three kings, seventeen dukes and counts and twenty-two prelates. Another daughter of Gontier Col, Catherine by name, married an "escuier du roy" by the name of Jean Spifame.¹⁹ Gontier also had two sons, John and Nicolas, possibly

¹⁴ F. J. Fetis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, vol. II, p. 332.

¹⁵ See Th. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normands et François*, conservés dans les Archives de la Tour de Londres. A Londres et se trouve à Paris (1643), vol. I. Rotulus Normanniae de anno 8. Henrici V, Pars 3. Membrana 24, p. 354. (An. Dom. 1420, 1421.) De terris concessis Mariae Col.

¹⁶ J. Delpit, *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, Paris, 1847, vol. i, p. 257; J. Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, Paris, 1866, p. 464.

¹⁷ Porée, *Histoire des rues et des maisons de Sens*, Auxerre, 1915, p. 21, note 5: "Mon cousin maistre Nicolas Col me fait maistre an escript, le IX^e jour de juillet mil IIII^e soixante-et-onze que maistre Jehan Col, son frere estoit trespassee depuis (que) maistre Gonthier Col, leur père deulx ans depuys; et que son père avoit donné en mariage à sa soeur, qui esposa messire Charles de Beaumoulin quatre mille escuz d'or et cent livres de rente et cy costa sa vesture et ces abillemens pour ces dictes noces .XXII cens et XI escuz d'or; et que la mère à Marguerite Spifame femme à présent de Jaquet Le Mercier dit du Moulin, ot en mariage douze cens escuz d'or et le chappiau d'or qui fut prisé quatre cens escuz d'or et la coiffe de perlez et la sainture d'or, et fut vestue très honnorablement. Et que il y avait en au nosses de sa seur et de messire Charles trois roys, XVII que ducz que comtes et XXII prélas" (*Arch. Yonne*, E 300, fol. 137 v°).

¹⁸ See App. A.

¹⁹ A. Thomas, *Romania*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 598, n. 1. Douet D'Arcq, *Choix de Pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, Paris, 1863-64, vol. I, p. 426:

named after Col's two closest friends, Jehan de Monstereul and Nicolas de Clamenges. John, the eldest,²⁰ became a churchman like his uncle Pierre Col the Canon²¹ (of whom later), and Nicolas, born in 1397, who became *maître des requestes de l'hôtel et prévôt de Sens*²² and *seigneur de Paron* as his father had been before him.²³ Gontier Col was married about 1390 to Marguerite Chacerat,²⁴ the daughter of Jean Chacerat, a rich merchant and draper of Sens,²⁵

"Jehan Spifame, escuier"; p. 428: "Jehan Spifame, escuier, cappitaine de Conflans-Sainte-Honorine," Paris, 24 mars. 1421. E. Raunié, *Épithaphier du Vieux Paris* (Paris, 1893), II, p. 377. M. Roy, *Le Chesnoy-lez-Sens, Histoire d'un fief et de ses seigneurs*, Sens, 1901, p. 32.

²⁰ *Bulletin du Comité Historique*, 1851-1852, p. 93. In a letter ascribed to Col because of internal evidence altho not signed by him, he asks of the Pope a boon for his son, to cover the educational expenses of the boy, in view of his ardor for learning, his great devotion to the Church, and his unmistakable vocation for a religious life. In this letter Col mentions his own services to the French King and to the Pope. Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

²¹ Nicolas de Clamenges, *Opera Omnia*, Lydius edition, p. 307. Epist. CX.: "Audieram iam Petrum Colli germanum tuum constantiae esse, de cuius ex tam diuturna ac remotissima peregrinarum regionum visitatione salutarique reditu atque sospitate tecum vehementissime guadeo," etc. L. Mirot: *Les d'Orgemont*, Paris, 1913, p. 223, n. 2, mentions him, in 1417, as follows: "Pierre d'Orgemont . . . fut remis en liberté . . . à condition d'habiter dans la maison claustrale de Pierre Col." The index of Mirot's work contains two more references to Jean Col (under the rubric: P. Col), which are as follows:

Die martis sequenti, vicesima octava aprilis, congregatis ad sonum campane et convenientibus in capitulo dominis Jacobo Trousselli, archidiacono Parisiensi. . . . Johanne Colli, canonicis Parisiensibus, etc. (*Op. cit.*, p. 263. Procès de Nicolas d'Orgemont. 28 avril.)

Die jovis de mane, etc. . . . Et ibidem ipse magister Nicolaus descendit et carceres capitali intravit et fuit rasmus in tonsura diaconi vel quasi: postmodum ad auditorium ad barram adductus et ibidem per dominos. . . . presentibus dominis. . . . Johanne Colli, canonicis Parisiensibus. (*Op. cit.*, p. 265. Procès de Nicolas d'Orgemont. 30 avril.)

Might not this be Jean Col, Gontier's son, concerning whom he wrote to the Pope asking for a living for him? As to Pierre Col's connection with the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose*, see chapter on that subject, *infra*.

²² Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 22; D'Hozier, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 807. Pièce 7.

²³ P. Quesvers et H. Stein, *Inscriptions de l'ancien diocèse de Sens*, Paris, 1897, vol. I, p. 516. Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

²⁴ Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Quesvers et Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 516; M. Roy, *Le Chesnoy-lez-Sens*, p. 33; A. Molinier, *Obituaire de la Province de Sens*, Paris, 1902, vol. I, 2^e Partie, p. 894.

²⁵ Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 894, note 3; M. Quantin, *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Départementales antérieures à 1790, Yonne Archives ecclésiastiques*. Série H, tome III, 1^e Partie, 1882, pp. 116, 893, 896, 904, 910, 913-916, 920-921.

and a benefactor of the Célestins of that town.²⁶ His daughter, *domicella Margarete Chasserat relicta uxor domini Gonterii Col*,²⁷ left money to be buried by the Célestins, and *pro quattuor obitibus celebrandis in Quattuor Temporibus anni*. Her son Nicolas attended to part of her bequest to them.²⁸ Gontier was not himself a poor man, as is shown by his seigneurie of Paron and the revenue it brought in.²⁹ He also owned at Sens the *maison des Degrés*, the cellar of which still exists, situated on the Grande Rue, at the cross-ways where stood the parish church of S^{te} Colombe.³⁰ This house, which in 1302 had belonged to a draper of the name of Guillaume le Compasseur, and for which Nicolas Col in 1441 paid an annual tax of "7 deniers" to the Abbaye of Saint Remy, finally passed into the hands of the Spifame family thru Catherine Col, who had married a Spifame.³¹ All this would go to show that Col's possessions were fairly extensive. His father, Pierre Col, had also owned property as is seen by the record of the sale by Marguerite Chacerat, Gontier's widow, in 1425, of a piece of property that had been bought in 1339 by "Pierre Col de la Riole demeurant à Sens."³² Gontier Col's parents, Pierre Col and his wife Isabeau, also left legacies to the churchmen of Sens, in return for certain religious services.³³ In the light of the above, it would seem that Gontier Col was a good example of the contemporary bourgeois, living in a town where the bourgeoisie to which he belonged was strong,³⁴ and whose *démêlés* with the bishop and the King form an interesting chapter of the development of the *tiers état* in France. Col prosecuted his studies in his native town as well as at Orleans,³⁵ whose schools were

²⁶ Quantin, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁷ Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 894, 919-920.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 918.

²⁹ Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁰ Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

³¹ Porée, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Quesvers et Stein, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 136, note 1.

³² Quantin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 107, 123.

³⁴ *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne*, 1882. M. Quantin, *Recherches sur le Tiers Etat au Moyen Age dans les pays qui forment aujourd'hui le département de Sens: IV, Commune de Sens*, pp. 238-246.

³⁵ *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*. Ed. by D. Martène, Parisiis, 1724-1733, VII, p. 471: "Ego, Gonterus Colli, clericus Senonensis." A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 4.

well known in the Middle Ages. As has been indicated, Col's first position, so far as we know, was the post of "receveur des aides ès terres entre les rivières de Seine et de Dyne."³⁶ That he had not held the post very long may be surmised from the King's grant to him, in the ensuing spring, of a house rent-free in Evreux, in view of the fact that he had no fixed residence there ("pour consideracion de ce que le dit receveur n'est pas du pais dessus dit").³⁷ He held a fiscal position in 1393,³⁸ judging by his "quittances" dated in that year. It was probably while he was at Evreux that he rented his own house at Sens to the "Chambre" of that town, as is seen in the "Cartulaire Sénonais."³⁹ This work as fiscal agent did not take up all Col's time, for he is listed among the King's notaries as early as the term extending from the sixth of March, 1380, to the first of July following, 1381,⁴⁰ when he was in the "Chancellerie," and in the "Requestes," and for which he was paid *six sous paris* per day.

Col also received a "manteaul," or rather the money-value of it for "le terme de Noël, l'an M.CCC.III^{xx}" (1380)⁴¹ and also for the "terme de la Panthecouste en suivant l'an IIII^{xx} et un." He also receives the value of a cloak for the term ending on St. John's day, 1383.⁴² These were the regular perquisites of the "nottaires." Col is also listed among the notaries of the King to whom salary was paid in 1382,⁴³ and for the "terme de la Saint-Jean of 1388."⁴⁴

³⁶ L. Delisle, *Mandements et actes divers de Charles V*, Paris, 1874 (No. 1869), p. 914.

³⁷ *Ibid.* (No. 1918), p. 933. See also App. B.

³⁸ J. Roman, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection des pièces originales du Cabinet des Titres, à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1909, vol. I, p. 384, No. 3320, *Quittances* of G. Col., February 24, 1380–March 22, 1393.

³⁹ *Cartulaire Sénonais de Balthasar Taveau*, publié par G. Julliot. Sens, 1884, p. 34:

"Avant que ledict hostel de ville fust basty, la chambre se tenoyt" es salles du Roy, desquelles Colard de Caleville, Chevalier, bailli de Sens, fit mettre hors les meubles appartenans à icelle ville, en hayne des procès meuz entre lui et ladicte ville. Et tint-on ladicte chambre par quelques années en la maison de Gonthier Col, secrétaire du Roy, asise au coing Sainte-Columbe, qui fut louée six escuz par an, ainsy qu'il se voyt par le compte rendu par Pierre Oger, pour l'an mil III^e IIII^{xx} XIII cy-dessoubz inventorié, et cotté XXII.

⁴⁰ Douet d'Arcq: *Comptes de l'Hôtel des rois de France, au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècles*, Paris, 1854, p. 22.

⁴¹ Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

The date 1388 is interesting, in view of the Ordonnance of 1387,⁴⁶ in item six of which, under the caption "Secrétaires à gaiges servans par moys," Col's name appears. This brings up a point that has been a good deal discussed, that is, the difference between the notaries and the secretaries of the King at this time. That the terms were used loosely is seen from the citation in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*,⁴⁶ that about 1390 Gontier Col was a "notaire-secrétaire du roy" at a salary of *six sous parisis* per day.⁴⁶ This is the very expression,—"*clerc notaire secretaire du Roy nostresire*"—that Col used in referring to himself in a document he drew up and signed in 1393, in which he mentioned this sum, *six sous parisis* per day, as his due salary.^{46a}

This usage of the two terms at the same time is probably due to the fact that altho there was a difference made between the notaries and secretaries of the King in the first half of the 14th century, this difference disappeared later.⁴⁷ Both notaries and secretaries were *ipso facto* members of the "collège" of notaries and secretaries,⁴⁸ a formal organization that became a *confrérie* with a charter under Jean le Bon (1350).⁴⁹ The charter was ratified and expanded in 1365 by Charles VI,⁵⁰ who made a number of gifts to the corporation.⁵¹ There were certain religious aspects to this body; certain days were celebrated by solemn high mass, such as that of "St. Jean-Porte-Latine,"⁵² who was more especially their

⁴⁶ Secousse, *Ordonnances des rois de France de la 3^e Race*, Paris, 1722, vol. VII, p. 175, item 6. "Secrétaires à gaiges servans par moys . . . Gontier Colet; ces deux, Gontier et Bethazar seront paiez en Languedoc, c'est assavoir, Gontier par cédule de nostre Trésor sur lequel il est assigné de ses gages; . . ." In view of the dates, and the many known variants of Gontier Col's name, it may be taken that "Colet" is only another of these. I have, however, found no trace of Col's stay in Languedoc.

⁴⁶ No. 48, p. 420, n. 10.

^{46a} See App. C.

⁴⁷ L. E. Campardon, *Essai sur les clercs notaires et secrétaires du roi depuis leur établissement jusqu'en 1483*, Ch. II, § 3, in *Ecole Impériale des Chartes, Thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1855-1856*.

⁴⁸ Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 521, § 2. Item of charter.

⁴⁹ March 1350-51: Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 500, for text of charter.

⁵⁰ Morel, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-527.

⁵¹ Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁵² Emile Raunié, *Epitaphier du Vieux Paris*, Paris, 1893, vol. II, pp. 309, 327-330.

patron saint, and on whose feast, the sixth of May, after having gone to high mass⁵³ and first and second vespers, the *confrérie* gave a banquet, and afterwards discussed matters of interest to them as an organization.⁵⁴ As those who absented themselves from these observances without a good reason had to pay a fine of *cinq sous parisis*, it is probable that the attendance was fairly good, and that the members had this occasion of meeting formally once a year. Informally they could meet as many times a day as they wished, for Charles VI had granted them, Nov. 29, 1370,⁵⁵ a room in the royal palace in which they could "faire leurs lettres, escritures, et eulx assembler et parler de leurs besoignes, se mestier est."

To these "club-life" aspects of the "confrérie" were added certain features in which it somewhat resembled the modern benevolent association. When a member fell into poverty without any fault of his, the other members of the "collège" assessed themselves for his assistance, and the recipient was not required to pay them back until he was fully able to do so.⁵⁶

As a body, they had some jurisdiction over their members, showed in their charter great solicitude that their appearance should do honor to their calling, repeating some of the sumptuary laws of Charles V forbidding them to wear parti-colored hose and long, pointed, fashionable shoes.⁵⁷ In addition to their salaries, these notaries and secretaries, as officers of the King, enjoyed many exemptions, e. g., from "peage, vinage, et toutes redevances et coutumes"; and from all the "tailles,"⁵⁸ and when by mistake their names were included in the lists of those levied on for war-taxes, the King had their names stricken out.⁵⁹ Add to the above, that

⁵³ Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 521, § 3, ". . . Erit dicta missa in festo beati Johannis ante Portam Latinam in mense maii . . ." This was celebrated in the Church of the "Célestins," in whose cloister the confrérie held its assemblies. Cf. E. Raunié, II, 309, 327-330.

⁵⁴ Such, e. g., as their attempt to suppress the abuse of privileges among their own members. Secousse, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 273.

⁵⁵ Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

⁵⁶ Morel, p. 523.

⁵⁷ Morel, p. 523.

⁵⁸ Morel, p. 396, n. 4.

⁵⁹ Morel, pp. 558-559 (list of notaries and secretaries so exempted for 1404 and 1405).

their letters were always sent *gratis*.⁶⁰ Perhaps it is not to be wondered at, in view of all this, that, in spite of the *ordonnances* to regulate their number,⁶¹ and the examination that they had to take to prove that they were "capables de faire lettre tant en français qu'en latin,"⁶² the notaries and secretaries of the King were increasing in number out of all proportion to the need felt for them by the State.

To this close corporation Jehan de Monstereul and Gontier Col both belonged, and to them must be added Pierre Manhac,⁶³ a personage who is but a name to us, but whom Jehan de Monstereul, in mentioning his teachers, bracketed with Col. The importance of this connection with the *confrérie* ought not to be unduly emphasized, yet it should not be quite disregarded, when we take into account the rôle that the friendship between Col and Monstereul played in the development of Pre-Humanism in France. Indeed, the presence of a certain literary tradition among the "notaires et secrétaires du roi," at this period, is of interest. Just a little after Col came Alain Chartier, and just before him one of the secretaries was Gervais du Bus, to whom has been attributed the second part of the *Fauvel*.⁶⁴ The question as to whether he really wrote it or not, is not the point here, but what is suggestive is, that he was held capable of having done so by critics casting about for an author.

These literary proclivities were not the exclusive appurtenance of the notaries of the King, for the notaries of Paris also had a *Confrérie*,⁶⁵ and among them are found two literary men of the times, Jean le Fèvre, translator of the *Lamenta* of Matheolus,⁶⁶ and Martial Auvergne,⁶⁷ both being "Procureurs du Parlement de Paris." That gross ignorance of things literary was not prevalent

⁶⁰ Morel, p. 396.

⁶¹ Morel, p. 562, October 19, 1406.

⁶² Vuitry, *op. cit.*, Nouvelle Série, tome II, p. 387.

⁶³ For signatures of Pierre Manhac cf. Morel, pp. 559-567; J. Du Mont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens*, Amsterdam, 1726-1731, vol. ii, p. 245; Secousse, vol. vii, pp. 175, 236; vol. viii, p. 417; vol. x, p. 463.

⁶⁴ Ch. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, p. 279.

⁶⁵ Leber, *Collection de pièces relatives à l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1838, vol. 19, p. 325.

⁶⁶ *Les Lamentations de Mathéolus et le Livre de Leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, de Resson*, Paris, 1892.

⁶⁷ Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 284-285.

at this time among the "gens du Palais," is shown by the library left by a "greffier du Parlement" quite unknown to literary annals.⁶⁸

II.—GONTIER COL GOES TO AVIGNON IN 1395 AS SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF THE DUKES OF BERRY, BURGUNDY AND ORLEANS

In 1395 Gontier Col goes on his first embassy; the record of his official capacity, which he is careful to set down, runs solemnly as follows:¹ *Ego Gonterus Colli domini nostri regis secretarius, publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius.*² This designation he repeats informally several times in the body of the Journal³ of the proceedings of the trip which he wrote, conforming in this to a fashion which had apparently been set during the thirteenth century by the Venetian ambassadors, whose secretaries sent in a written report of the proceedings of the embassy within a fortnight after its return.⁴ This embassy was the one headed by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, and Burgundy, which was sent to Avignon by Charles VI in an attempt to end the Great Schism. Col's Journal begins with the events of the 22d of September, 1394, when the news of the death of Clement VII reached Paris. The King at once assembled the Council,⁵ of which Col was secretary, and letters were sent to Avignon to urge the postponement of the election of a new Pope; for perhaps this might prove an opportunity to end the

⁶⁸ List of books in the will of Nicolas de l'Espoisse, greffier du Parlement: *Alizandre; Somme au Breton; Epistres de Pierre de Blois; De Vineis; Istoire de Troye la grant; Histoires d'oultremer; Policraticon; Epistres saint Bernard; Manipulus florum; Boece, de Consolacion; Stile de Parlement; Catholicon; A. Tuetey, "Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous le régime de Charles VI,"* p. 608 seq., Paris, 1880. See also A. Lefranc, *Le Tiers Livre du Pantagruel et la querelle des Femmes*, in *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, 1904, 3^e fascicule, pp. 80-81.

¹ *Ampl. Col.* vol. vii, c. 465. See also *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479.

² See Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Parisiis, 1840, article "Notarius."

³ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479; c. 491; c. 505; c. 524.

⁴ See E. Nys, *Les Commencements de la diplomatie et le droit d'ambassade jusqu'à Grotius* in *Revue de Droit international*, 1883, p. 579. See also E. Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Firenze, 1839. Prefazione, p. vii seq.

⁵ E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans*, Paris, 1889, p. 27.

Schism. The French letters were apparently disregarded, and the next news that came from the South was that of the election of Benedict XIII, in whom France proposed to have great confidence, and to whom the King promised to send messengers for the purpose of ending the Schism.⁶ A meeting of the clergy of France was called⁷ and, after discussing the various means of ending the Schism, decided in favor of the withdrawal of both Popes;⁸ and the French Princes going to Avignon were so instructed.

They set off with a great train of followers and making a great show. Nor is this beyond what might be expected in view of the importance of the undertaking and the reputation for luxury and display of the life at Avignon, a much criticized state of affairs⁹ that was due, in part at any rate, to the incessant coming and going of ambassadors at the Papal court, and of kings and emperors as well.¹⁰ To these secular occasions of display must be added the religious holidays, feast days, funerals of popes and installations of their successors.¹¹ In order to make a proper showing at all of these manifestations of pomp and circumstance, the Popes had in their employ many artists and artisans,¹² ranging from the workers in cloth and fur¹³ to the embroiderers and silver- and goldsmiths (of which, by the way, there were forty attached to the pontifical court in 1376).¹⁴ These enjoyed great vogue, the rage for silver and gold ornaments going so far that gold plaques were sewed on the gloves of the Popes,¹⁵ while Benedict XIII in 1405 paid three hundred *florins courants* for a bit of silver enamel for his mule.¹⁶

⁶ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 438.

⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 458.

⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 439-458.

⁹ Petrarch et Oresme. See G. Mollat, *Les Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1912, pp. xiii, xiv; E. Müntz, *L'argent et le luxe à la cour pontificale d'Avignon*, in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1899, Nouvelle Série, vol. xxii, p. 34.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 351-355.

¹² E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des papes*, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1884, pp. 274-303; 1885, pp. 327-337; 1889, pp. 134-173.

¹³ E. Müntz, *L'argent et le luxe à la cour pontificale d'Avignon*, in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1899, p. 384; E. Müntz, *Quelques artistes avignonnais du pontificat de Benoît XIII*, in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* for 1886, p. 111.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 392. See below.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

The Popes were solicitous of having a fit setting for these pageants. The palace of the Popes is a monument to their care in this direction,¹⁷ and, in the palace, paintings signed by well-known names, vying with valuable tapestries, gave a colorful background to the glittering crowd of courtiers and prelates who thronged Avignon.¹⁸ But there is also another and more engaging manner in which the Popes of Avignon played the rôle of Maecenas; I mean as protectors of learning. The interest of Urban V¹⁹ in founding schools and collecting a library, as well as the scholarly tastes of Gregory XI,²⁰ had set a certain intellectual standard at the Pontifical Court.

Our three dukes set out from Paris, traveling by boat (from Châlons) a great part of the distance,²¹ and stopping at Dijon, where they were entertained by the court of Burgundy,²² and where presents were exchanged. Col was with the ambassadors at the time. At Lyons also the dukes made a stay, and did not reach Avignon until Saturday, May 22, at four o'clock in the afternoon. Their credentials were at once presented to the Pope.²³ Benedict received them "moult honorablement" and after an exchange of compliments they "allèrent en la chambre de parement et la prendrent vin et especes."²⁴ The next day, Sunday, the envoys dined with the Pope, and it was not until Monday that the business of the embassy was touched upon, for that day was given to the formal opening discourse by Gilles Deschamps. Only on Tuesday, then, was the matter really taken up in an audience with the Pope and Cardinals. The French envoys soon found that the Pope stood uncon-

¹⁷ Digonnet, *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon*, Avignon, 1907; J. Guiraud, *L'Eglise Romaine et les origines de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1904, pp. 22-29.

¹⁸ Guiraud, *op. cit.*, p. 41 seq.

¹⁹ Mollat, pp. 106-107. F. Ehrle, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificorum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis*, Rome, 1890, vol. i, pp. 274-450. Guiraud, pp. 52-78.

²⁰ Mollat, p. 119; Ehrle, vol. i, 451-574. For both see also M. Faucon, *La Librairie des Papes d'Avignon*, Paris, 1886, in *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*.

²¹ N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Paris, 1896-1902, vol. iii, p. 45.

²² E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans*, p. 132.

²³ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 487.

²⁴ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 488 seq.

ditionally for ending the Schism by a compromise; they, on the other hand, were committed to the "voie de cessation." The meetings were constant, and the dukes stayed on at Avignon as late as the first week in July without having effected any perceptible change in Benedict's point of view, or having even persuaded him to give them an "audience publique en plein consistoire."²⁵

"Pour laquelle chose les devant dits ducs prindrent adonc congïé du pape, et se offrent à rapporter au roy tout ce que sa sainteté par eux lui voudroit denoncier. Auquel dirent finalement après les choses devant dites, que ce n'estoit point, ne n'avoit esté de leur entention de luy exposer ou faire exposer aucune chose qui ne cedât au bien de la besoigne, l'honneur de Dieu et de l'église et de sa sainteté: Après lesquelles choses ainsi dites, le pape leur pria moult affectueusement, que le lendemain ils voulissent disner avec lui, et il parleroit encore à eux; et ils répondirent qu'ils y avoient assez mangé, et qu'il avoit parlé à eux tant comme il luy avoit plû, et que s'il ne leur vouloit autre chose dire, et venir à la voye que le roy luy conseilloit, qu'ils ne lui parleroient plus, et qu'ils s'en alloient devers le roy qui les avoit mandez, et les hastoit fort, et luy rapporteroient ce qu'ils avoient trouvé et à tant se partirent et s'en allerent."

Thus the French envoys finally left Avignon shortly after the ninth of July, having accomplished nothing towards bringing the Schism to an end.²⁶

As far as literary merit is concerned, the only claim that the Journal has to offer is a certain clearness of phrasing, and an ability to keep to the point. There is no attempt at style or fine writing, even in handling the speeches made by members of the embassy or by the Pope, Col contenting himself with giving an outline of the contents in the most matter-of-fact way. It is only in a certain softening of asperities that one catches glimpses of the diplomat beneath the secretary.

Col's Journal has been considered of importance in the history of the relation of France to the Schism.²⁷ Valois has touched on

²⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 527.

²⁶ Jarry, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 65.

²⁷ Printed in the *Am. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 479-528, from the MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, J. 518. In the library of Carpentras (see *Catalogue général des MSS. des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, vol. 35, p. 435. Collection Peires, 1801, p. xxxii). Recueil ayant pour titre au II^e fol., I Généalogies, fol. 285, "Excerpta ex relatione facta per magistrum Gontierium, regium secre-

rather an interesting point in showing how much Col's work had been drawn upon by the Religieux de St. Denis in his *Chronica Karoli Sexti*²⁸ when describing the dukes' trip to Avignon. He says, "Le Religieux de St. Denis a eu ce document sous les yeux, mais ne l'a pas toujours utilisé d'une façon heureuse."²⁹ This is quite obvious on comparing the two documents. The Religieux curtails, paraphrases, transposes and adds to the original document. That he is inaccurate has been pointed out in a number of cases by Valois,³⁰ who also draws attention to the closeness with which the "Religieux" occasionally follows Col's text.³¹ The Religieux, again, notes gossip that Col, mindful of his official position, leaves out. A case in point is the burning of the bridge at Avignon, concerning which the St. Denis chronicler repeats the charge current at the time that the Pope had been accused of burning the bridge at Avignon as an insult to the dukes.³² Col simply makes a note of the fire, without any comment.³³

The "Religieux" does not always use Col's material quite as it is found in the Journal. An instance of this is found in connection with the meeting of the duke of Berry and the Cardinals. At this point in his Journal, Col refers the reader to his Latin minutes of

tarium, de solemnī legatione facta nomine regis ad papam Benedictum," etc. l'Abbé J. B. Christophe, in *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le 14^e Siècle*, Paris, 1853, vol. iii, 151, 153, mentions Col, and refers to journal in the *Ampl. Col.* without crediting it to him. Mentioned by Molinier, *Sources de l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1901-06, vol. iv, p. 176, No. 1367; E. Jarry, *Vie de Louis d'Orléans*, etc., p. 127; M. Creighton, *History of Papacy*, New York, 1899, vol. i, p. 149; N. Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, vol. iii, p. 3.

²⁸ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 63, p. 238 seq.; N. Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, ch. i.

²⁹ Valois, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 3, n. 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46, n. 3. Col's statement (*Ampl. Col.* vol. vii, c. 487) here is borne out by E. Petit, *Itinéraire de Philippe le Hardi et Jean sans Peur*, Paris, 1888, p. 242. For other instances see Valois, vol. 3, p. 20, n. 3; p. 33, n. 2; p. 46, n. 3; p. 47, n. 4; p. 53, n. 1; p. 60, n. 2; p. 61, n. 3.

³¹ See *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 491, § 20; and R. de St. D., vol. 2, p. 258.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

³³ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, c. 504-505:

Item, celle nuit environ minuit nos seigneurs estant à Villeneuve, furent toutes arses deux arches de bois qui estoient au pont d'Avignon, sans y rien demourer jusques à l'eau, et ne scait-on qui le feu y bouta et esconvint (doit) adonc tout homme aller et venir par battiaux de Villeneuve en Avignon, & d'Avignon à Ville-neuve, & fut la ville d'Avignon de ce faict très troublée et en grant peur, et le pape pareillement, si comme on dit.

the meeting, "ut in instrumento Latino superius relato."³⁴ The "Religieux" not unnaturally gives in his text an extended account of the séance.³⁵ He does this also with respect to the bull³⁶ drawn up by Col for the text of which Maître Gontier refers the reader to the *Spicilegium* of d'Achery.³⁷ Parallel passages from the two works will illustrate how Col's Journal has been used by the "Religieux."³⁸

III.—GONTIER COL AND HIS PATRONS, THE DUKES OF BERRY AND ORLEANS

The influence of the Avignon mission on Col is interesting from several points of view. He was brought in contact with the early Italian Renaissance, with the city on which Petrarch had left his mark. Under the Popes, Avignon was half Italian; it was a town of color and display, of luxury and learning, of the cultivation of all the arts of existence, and his stay there gave Col a foretaste of that Italian life of which he had a further glimpse at the time of his embassy to Florence, in 1396. It is probably also during this trip to Avignon that he became known to the dukes of Berry and Orleans, with whose entourage he was connected.

The statement has been made that Col was secretary to the Duke of Orleans.¹ Whether he was formally in his employ or not, the fact remains that he was the recipient of his favors, as seen in the gift to Maître Gontier of a fur-lined red woolen serge cloak for the New Year.² It is easier to establish the fact that he was sec-

³⁴ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, 466-472.

³⁵ *R. de St. D.*, vol. ii, pp. 264-276.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 286 seq.

³⁷ *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vii, col. 504. *Edita Spicil.*, tome 6.

³⁸ *R. de St. Denis*, vol. ii, p. 255 sqq.; *Ampl. Col.*, vol. vi, cols. 488-489.

¹ J. Roman, *Inventaires et Documents relatifs aux joyaux et tapisseries des princes d'Orléans-Valois, 1389-1481*.—Published in the *Recueil d'anciens inventaires, imprimés sous les auspices du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1896, vol. i, p. 176, note. This is the only statement that I have found concerning Col's secretaryship to the Duke of Orleans, and Roman cites neither source nor reference on the point.

² J. Roman, *Ibid.*, p. 176:

Ce sont les parties de robes fourrées par Thomassin Potier, fourreur et varlet de chambre de Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans, pour Monditseigneur le Duc, pour Charles et Philippe, messeigneurs ses enfans et autres a qui mondit seigneur a données robes en ceste présente année, commençant premier jour de

retary to the duke of Berry, although not to fix the date when he first took the post. There is an indirect reference connecting him with Berry in 1398-1399,³ and he is formally entered as the duke's secretary in 1407.⁴

Various considerations go to prove that Col shared Berry's well-known "Amour extrême pour les arts,"⁵ the love "des beaux livres enluminés, des riches joyaux, des élégantes ciselures, des reliques enchâssées dans l'or et les pierres précieuses."⁶ For if, as Michelet says,⁷ Louis of Orleans was the "esprit de la Renaissance" (and the rôle that Valentine Visconti⁸ played in bringing the Italian Renaissance into France is well-known),⁹ still the figure of John of Berry must not be forgotten. There was a good deal of the Italian Renaissance about Charles's uncle, with his love of luxury and his cultivation of the arts, his disregard of the provenance of the money that he spent like water in his rôle of a prince Maecenas,¹⁰ the extortions that he exercised upon his subjects, and the notorious mismanagement of his provinces.

Février mil CCCIIII^{xx} et seize, et finissant derrenier de janvier ensuivant mil CCCIIII^{xx} et dix-sept.

(P. 176.) No. 368. Item ce jour (le premier jour de janvier ensuivant No. 367) trois longues houpelandes que Monseigneur a données, c'est assavoir, deux de drap de Dampnas noir, l'une à Regnault d'Angennes. et l'autre à Oudart de Renty, escuiers du Roy nostre Sire, et l'autre d'escarlate vermeille, à Maistre Gontier Col, son secretaire, toutes fourrées de martres de Pruce, d'achat pour façon XV s. p. pour chascune valent . . . XLVIII s. p.

The above is also quoted in full by E. M. Graves, *Quelques pièces relatives à la vie de Louis I, duc d'Orléans, et de Valentine Visconti sa femme*, Paris, 1913, p. 159.

³ Douet d'Arcq, *Comptes de l'hôtel des rois de France au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles*, under heading *Extraits d'un compte de l'Hôtel de Jean, duc de Berry, du 1 mai 1398 au dernier février suivant* (1399), p. 312. Menus dons et offrandes. A Perrin de Bourdeduc, varlet de maistre Gontier Col qui amena de par le roy Nostre sire à Monditseigneur, ung coursier, 4 l. t.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedere*, Londini, 1726-1735, vol. 8, p. 523.

⁵ L. Raynal, *Histoire du Berry depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'en 1789*, Bourges, 1844-47, vol. ii, p. 376.

⁶ A. de Champeaux et P. Gauchery, *Les travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894, pp. 114-185.

⁷ *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1879-1884, vol. v, p. 160.

⁸ A. M. F. Robinson, *The End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1889), pp. 102-178. See also note 7.

⁹ P. Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, 1911.

¹⁰ J. Gauchery, *Influence de Jean de France, duc de Berry sur le développement de l'architecture et des arts à la fin du XIV^e et au commencement du XV^e siècle.* Caen. 1910.

Col apparently shared some of the artistic tastes, if not the methods of indulging them, of his princely patron; Col's present to the Duke of Berry of a "Bien Grande mappemonde escripte et historiée"¹¹ goes to show this. It is not the only present that he made to the Duke, judging from an entry concerning a gift made by Madame de Berry to the Duke of Burgundy of "Unes Heures de Nostre Dame historiées . . . et y sont les armes de maistre Gontier Col."¹²

A description of Col's seal may not be out of place here, as his arms have proved a valuable means of tracing some of his artistic possessions: "Ecu portant une fasce accompagnée de trois cols de cygne timbrée d'une tête humaine, supporté par deux personnages assis."¹³ Roy gives the *armoiries* of the Col family as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 33, note): De gueules à la fasce d'azur chargée de 3 étoiles d'or et accompagnée de 3 têtes de cygne au naturel, 2 et 1.

This device belongs to the class of "punning" coats-of-arms (*armes parlantes*), and bears some features similar to that of the Duke of Berry, which consists of a bear and a swan, a pun on the first word of his motto,¹⁴ "Oursine [ours, cygne] le temps venra."¹⁵

It is Col's arms also that revealed the presence of his "tapiz" in the "Inventaire des tapisseries du roy Charles VI vendues par les Anglais en 1422."¹⁶ Nothing certain is known on the subject, but in view of Col's connection with the Palais, it is fairly easy to infer how his "tappiz" came to be found there.¹⁷

¹¹ L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Paris, 1907, vol. ii, p. 254; J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire de Jean, duc de Berry*, vol. i, p. 263.

¹² Delisle, *ibid.*, ii, p. 238.

¹³ J. Roman, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Collection des pièces originales du Cabinet des Titres à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1909), vol. i, p. 384.

¹⁴ *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, 1899, pp. 62-73. For the Duke's interest in bears, see S. Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, Paris, 1890-93, 1^e Série, pp. 223, 226.

¹⁵ Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. v, p. 85, note 3.

¹⁶ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 48, pp. 105 and 420. Item. un autre tappis, fait aus armes, comme l'en dit, de maistre Gontier Col, contenant sept aulnes et demie. XXIIII s. p.—p. 420. Item, ung tappis vielz, fait, comme l'en dit, aux armes de maistre Gontier Col, contenant VIJ aulnes et demie, inventorié ou dit inventoire articulo.

¹⁷ This is not the place to do more than mention the vogue of tapestries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their importance to literature in its graphic aspects. Its significance here is that it brings out Col's love for the

There is one side of the Renaissance—the Pagan side—with which Col apparently had little sympathy. An obvious if not very convincing religious feeling is strikingly characteristic of the Duke of Berry—a sentiment that Col apparently shared; and the gift made by Col to the Duke for the New Year, 1404, might without anachronism have found its place in the midst of the Middle Ages. This was the gift of a silver *arm*, in which were set “a bone from the arm of St. Stephen, a bone from the arm of St. Colombe, and several other relics.”¹⁸ It may have been in the nature of a return gift for the forty “gectours” given him by the duke in 1401, each bearing on one side “Our Lady holding her child and on the other the arms of the duke.”

Enough has been said to show that the attitude of the French dukes of the royal family as to the protection and cultivation of the arts bore a resemblance to that of the contemporary Italian princes. It was not yet the well-defined Renaissance point of view; everything done at this time still retained a strong mediaeval flavor, and it was preëminently an age of transition. What is to be noted is the trend of the times, and the struggle for expression in terms of a new formula of life. The Pre-Renaissance in France was not a purely scholarly movement, it had its artistic side, in which even an “intellectual” like Col, whose Humanistic development will be investigated later, takes an active interest. France did not have to wait for Francis I in order to enjoy the picturesque spectacle of Princes who cultivated the arts and vied with each other in extravagance.

objets d'art. See J. Guiffrey, *Histoire de la tapisserie en France*, Paris, 1878-85; A. Jubinal, *Recherches sur l'usage et l'origine des Tapisseries à Personnages dites historiées*, Paris, 1840; E. Müntz, *La Tapisserie*, Paris, 1882.

¹⁸ J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire de Jean, duc de Berry*, Paris, 1894-96, vol. ii, p. 181, No. 205:

Item, un bras d'argent ouquel a un os du bras de Monseigneur Saint Estienne, un autre os du bras de Saint Colombe et plusieurs autres reliques; le quel bras ainsi garni de reliques, comme dit est, maistre Gontier Col avait donné à mondit Seigneur a estrainnes, le premier jour de janvier, l'an mil CCCC et quatre.

Vol. ii, p. 39, No. 254:

Item. Sept vins treze gectours d'argent, en chascun desquelz a en l'un des coustez un ymage de Nostre Dame tenant son enfant, et en l'autre les armes de mondit Seigneur; pesans trois mars, une once, quatre esterlins.

Dominis dedit XL magistro Gonterio Col ut monstat per comptum dicti Robineti . . . etc. (1401).

IV.—COL ON EMBASSIES CONCERNED WITH THE MARRIAGE AND
LATER WITH THE RETURN TO FRANCE OF ISABELLA.—
EMBASSY TO FLORENCE

The mission to Avignon may have had some influence in bringing about Col's connection with the next embassy on which he went—a lay mission this time, yet one in which his experience at Avignon and his knowledge of the conditions there might prove of value, although the question of the Schism was to be taken up only as a side issue. The enterprise now in hand was the marriage of Isabella of France to Richard II. The preliminaries were well under way when Col appears in the matter, and King Richard was anxious that the little princess should be given into his care in the first week of August, 1396, at Calais. The English king also expressed the desire of taking this opportunity to meet the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to discuss "sur le fait de l'Eglise et de moult autres choses touchant le bien et l'honneur de luy et du roy et de leurs royaumes."¹

The king of France demurred,² finding the time too short to get Isabella's trousseau ready, and suggesting Michaelmas instead. As to the meeting with the dukes, the presence of the Duke of Berry was doubtful, but Burgundy would surely meet the English king at Calais,³ and he would have power to treat of this question of the Schism. Burgundy had been a member of the Avignon embassy, as has been noted, so it seems natural to find Col's name in the list of those officials who were to accompany him to Calais. Whether Col went with him or not is not known, as his name is not in the list of those who were in Philip's company when he reached there some time in August.⁴ This may be due to an oversight of the scribe, to some accidental detention of Col, or indeed to a third possibility, which may be here set down. Up to this time Col had been

¹ *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 63; Léon Miro, *Isabelle de France, reine d'Angleterre*.

² L. Miro, *Un trousseau royal à la fin du XIV^e Siècle*, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris and de l'Île de France*, vol. 29 (1902), pp. 125-158.

³ *Instructions pour les ducs de Berri et Bourgogne* (1396), quoted in Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition of Froissart, vol. 18, p. 578, from *Archives Nationales*, Paris, J. 644: 36. Also quoted by L. Miro in *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70. For date see Petit, *Itinéraire de Philippe le Hardy*, etc., p. 255.

involved in the adjudication of the Schism, and there was to be a meeting in Paris in mid-August, called in history the "journée des Prélats," in which that question was to be discussed. The occasion had been considered so important that, in the "Instructions"⁵ before referred to, the point had been made that it would be expedient for the duke to be in Paris at that time. Judging by Philip's tardy arrival in Calais, there was a chance that he might not get back to Paris in time for the meeting, and in that case Col, as the writer of the "Journal" of the Avignon embassy, may have been detained.⁶

His name is not listed in connection with the elaborate wedding ceremonies of Richard and Isabella, October, 1396, and the famous interview of Ardres.⁷ In view of the number of noblemen and famous personages who were there present, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that a mere secretary of the King should be lost sight of. However that may be, in the month of November of 1396, Col went to Florence to negotiate a treaty with the Republic of Florence for the King his master, Charles VI, which treaty was signed on the 23d of that month. In the text of the treaty Col is listed as "viro utique venerando atque egregio magistro Guntero Colli, Secretario & Ambasciatore & Commissario Domini Serenissimi Regis Francorum." The treaty contained certain offensive and defensive features, by virtue of which Florence shortly afterwards called on the King of France for help against the Duke of Milan. In this letter, dated the 30th of December 1396,⁸ Col is mentioned as "prudentissimus vir," and reference is made to the fact that he knows the situation in Florence well, and will relate the whole affair to the King "viva voce."

Col probably did not make a long stay in Florence at this time; but in view of his official position all sorts of doors were open to him, and he had the best possible opportunities to meet the eminent

⁵ Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles, 1874, vol. 18, p. 580.

⁶ Denifle and Ehrle, *Archiv für literatur und kirchengeschichte des mittelalters*, Sechster Band, 1892, pp. 204-210, might lead one to suppose that it was not in his official capacity.

⁷ P. Meyer, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, vol. xviii (1881), p. 220 seq. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, pp. 83-95. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. ii, pp. 452-473.

⁸ Roy, *Le Chesnoy-lez-Sens*, p. 32; J. C. Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*. Francofurti & Lipsiae, 1725, vol. I, cols. 1109, 1116.

scholars of Humanistic Florence, and Col was not the man to neglect such opportunities. The trip is interesting in that it came so soon after the Avignon embassy, while the impression made by that trip was still fresh, this being the last of the Italian embassies participated in by Col.

Although Col did not play an important rôle in connection with this marriage of Isabella of France, it was to have been expected, in accordance with the royal policy, that business relating to a given country should be continued by the accustomed hands, that Col's name would appear in connection with Isabella's return to France after the death of Richard. He was, in fact, one of the envoys who were sent (1399-1400) "es marches de Calais,"⁹ to meet the messengers of England and ask for the return of Isabella of France, the widow of Richard II, who, according to the marriage contract, was to be returned to Charles VI with a certain amount of her dowry, should Richard die without issue. The ambassadors were told to bring up before anything else the question of the restitution of the little queen. The request failed of the desired response, inasmuch as Henry IV wished to keep Isabella, and marry her to one of his sons. On the last of May, 1400,¹⁰ new credentials were given to the same ambassadors to meet the English "es marches de nostre pais de Picardie." They were enjoined to insist, before the matter of truces was taken up, that the English send an answer to the request made concerning the return of Isabella. Of this embassy Col was a member; and although there was some haggling over the return of the wedding presents and jewels,¹¹ they succeeded in getting the promise of the English King that Isabella would be sent back to France by the first of November at the latest. This was not the last of the meetings of the French and English envoys. They convened again

⁹ Froissart, vol. 18, p. 587, for *Instructions données à L'Evêque en Chartres, messieur Jehan de Hangest . . . maistre Pierre Blanchet . . . et maistre Gontier Col*. January 29, 1399. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 486. Rymer's *Foedera*. App., A. C. D., *Thresor des Chartes*, p. 66, § 25. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iii, p. 2.

¹⁰ Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 171 seq.

¹¹ Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. ii, p. 273. B. Williams, *Cronicques de la Trahison & de la mort de Richard II, roi d'Angleterre*, London, 1848, pp. 108-113. Sir Harry Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. i, p. 133.

in the Spring¹² to settle the details of the landing of the youthful queen,¹³ and finally to draw up the requisite legal documents—which Col duly signed in his official capacity.¹⁴ Although July 6th had been the date set for her to be restored to the French representatives, Isabella did not arrive until the first of August. As Col's name appears in some negotiations at Leulingham on the third of August, it is probable that he witnessed the ceremonies of her reception, which were carried out with great pomp.

The negotiations referred to, in which Col took part, were supposedly to discuss questions connected with the return of Isabella, but as a matter of fact, the whole sitting was given over to a discussion of the truces.¹⁵

This connection of Gontier Col with Isabella's marriage and subsequent return to France is of special interest to us, because it constitutes his introduction into the kind of work which he did for the rest of his life. I refer to his rôle as a diplomatic agent or "négociateur" as it was then called.

By this time, Col had won for himself a certain position in Paris. His name appears in the "Liste des Bourgeois notables de Paris à la fin du XIV^e siècle et au commencement du XV^e siècle,"¹⁶ in the category including, "Apothécaires, chirurgiens, médecins, procureurs, sergents et autres professions libérales." A bourgeois by birth and standing, and as has already been seen, in easy circumstances financially,¹⁷ he had married in the bourgeoisie, and was personally and by affiliation a fairly representative type of the *tiers état* which was coming to the fore at that time and which Charles V had utilized to instil new blood into the body politic. The *bourgeoisie* was "popular"; it had been so as far back as the days of *Renard le Contrefait*, in which poem it is frankly

¹² Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 3, p. 3. L. Mirot, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, vol. 19, p. 500 (March 23, 1401). Instructions to Ambassadors. *Trésor des Chartes*, p. 68. *Ibid.* B. Williams, *Chronique de la Traison et mort de Richart deux roy dengleterre*, London, 1848, p. lxiii. J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, London, 1884-1898, vol. i, p. 13.

¹³ Sir Harry Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, London, 1834-37, vol. i, pp. 130-131, 136.

¹⁴ Rymer, vol. 8, p. 194.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

¹⁶ Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, *Paris et ses Historiens*, Paris, 1867, p. 253.

¹⁷ Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

set up as a social ideal. The general hatred of the nobles prevalent in the fourteenth century tended to keep up this popularity, a hatred that was a legacy of the Jacquerie¹⁸ and was enhanced by the defeats of Crécy and Poitiers, for which the country held the nobles responsible—not realizing that the old feudal army of knights was simply no longer an efficient instrument of warfare when pitted against the serried ranks of the men-at-arms. The king is offered a hint to this effect in the anonymous *Dit de Poitiers*, whose author suggests that when next the king goes to war he will do well not to put too much faith in his nobles:

“S’il est bien conseillé, il n’oubliera mie
Mener Jacques Bonhome en sa grant compagnie.”¹⁹

The point that has been touched upon at times, is not to be pressed, that the author was proposing an alliance between the proletariat and the king; yet the lines show that minds were breaking away from a feudal conception of life. There was a shifting of sociological values, and the *bourgeoisie* was coming to the front.

V.—TREASURER AND DIPLOMATIC AGENT; BANISHMENT (1401–1413)

The period from 1401 to 1407 is one during which Col's diplomatic career was at a standstill. He is mentioned in the list of ambassadors on April 14, 1400,¹ but between that date and 1407 he is not listed anew. His name is not to be found in Rymer between these two dates.

Col's activity along other lines in this period can be established more accurately. He is at work in connection with the finances of the kingdom in 1400, to judge by an *ordonnance* in which he is listed as follows:²

“Que pour estre a nos conseils, soient dix de nos secretaires qui aient gages de secretaires et non autres” and of them “six et non plus signeront sur nos finances.”

¹⁸ S. Luce, *Histoire de la Jacquerie*, Paris, 1894, chap. ii, part i.

¹⁹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1850–1851), 3^e série, vol. 2, p. 263, ll. 93–95.

¹ *Thresor des Chartres*, Rept. *Foedere*, Appt. D, p. 68.

² Secousse, vol. 8, p. 417, Item 22, January 7, 1400. (Entry bears on edge of paper “De secretariis consiliorum.”) See also *Meslanges Historiques, Troyes*, MDCXIX, p. 32.

Col's name is in both lists.⁴ The *ordonnance* in which, under date of June 4, 1404, he is named one of the two trésoriers of France, mentions his previous experience in this position.⁵

"Que doresnavant ne ayons pour tout nostredit demaine, tant sur les Finances d'icelluy comme sur la Justice, que deux trésoriers lesquels nous avons nommez et nommons Gontier Col et Jehan de la Cloche lesquels ont exercé ja par longtemps bien et duement ledit office, et de la loyauté et souffisance desquels nous sommes bien informés et bien contents."⁶

It may be inferred that he held this position until 1407,⁷ when he is listed among the thirteen secretaries "pour estre a noz conseils," but no reference is made to any fiscal position. This is about the date when his diplomatic activities began again.^{7a}

In April, 1408, Col once more appeared in his rôle of "négo-
ciateur." This time he and Casin de Serinvilliers are sent over to England⁸ to continue negotiations for truces begun in September, 1407. When they landed the king was in the North of England, but English representatives were named to meet them, and the truce was extended to the last of September, 1408.⁹ Col's stay in England was comparatively short this time, judging by the safe-conduct for him and sixteen persons which is dated the last of April, 1408.¹⁰

⁴ For functions and origins of the "secrétaire des finances" see Morel, pp. 68-70.

⁵ Secousse, vol. 9, p. 698. D'Hozier (*Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales*, vol. 807, pièce 7) says that there were four: "Gontier Col, notaire et secrétaire du roy Charles VI, et l'un des quatre trésoriers généraux de France."

⁶ Col considered this position an important one, for in his letter to the Pope (cited chap. i, note 19) he speaks of his being in the employ of the King of France, and being promoted from minor offices to more important ones, "postremo vero in thesauriatus officio."^a He goes on to say that formerly, because of the work involved, there had been seven appointees to the above-mentioned post, but that when he held it there were only two, and on that account he had been much overworked and unable to carry out a number of plans that he had made. The whole letter is interesting in that it is the most personal bit of writing that Col has left us.

⁷ Secousse, vol. 9, p. 287, § 28, January 7.

^{7a} No attempt has been made to trace Col's activities as *trésorier*.

⁸ Rymer, vol. 8, pp. 513, 515, 517, 521-525. Wylie, *Henry IV*, vol. 3, p. 99.

⁹ Carte, *Rolles* ii, p. 195. *Membrana* 12.

¹⁰ Rymer, vol. 8, p. 525, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, London, 1903-09, *Henry IV*, vol. iii, p. 485. *Rotulus viaggi*. 9 *Henry IV*. *Membrana* 8 (1408).

^a *Bulletin du Comité Historique*, 1851-1893, p. 92.

This document is interesting in that it speaks of Col as being "Conseiller et Premier Secrétaire nostre adversaire de France." He is again called a Conseiller in the safe-conduct¹¹ of the party of three hundred headed by the archbishop of Sens, who set out in the late summer of 1409 to meet the English and again take up the matter of the truces. The meeting never took place, however, the French Embassy having waited in Amiens until November for the English, who never came.¹² It was during this time of waiting that the archbishop of Sens was involved in the disgrace, followed by the death, of his brother, accused of dishonesty in fiscal matters. The prelate's clever ruse to gain his liberty is entertainingly related by Monstrelet.¹³

Paris seems to have grown weary of the non-arrival of the English ambassadors at Amiens, and decided on war.¹⁴ Even then all diplomatic relations were not broken off. Safe-conducts were given by the English king to French envoys, including the Bishop of Noyon, Tignonville and Col;¹⁵ and their meetings resulted in new truces,¹⁶ "in terra particularium et in mari generalium." In 1410-1411 Col's name appears as a member of a party headed by the Bishop of Noyon which arranged a truce for the year 1411¹⁷ and returned to France in the spring.¹⁸ In 1410 Col was not only an envoy to foreign countries, but was engaged in factional negotiations as well. The rivalry between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy was growing more and more acrimonious. It was common gossip that Berry was planning to gather an army which he would conduct to Paris to see the King and the Duke of Burgundy (who was there with him)¹⁹—a plan that John was at no pains to conceal.²⁰

¹¹ Rymer, vol. 8, p. 593, 15 August.

¹² Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 4, p. 253.

¹³ Monstrelet, ed., Douet d'Arcq, *Chronique*, Paris, 1857-62, vol. ii, pp. 46-47. Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, p. 280.

¹⁴ Douet d'Arcq, *Pièces inédites*, vol. i, p. 322.

¹⁵ Rymer, vol. 8, p. 630; p. 652; p. 659; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 199.

¹⁶ Rymer, vol. 8, pp. 668-674. Monstrelet, vol. ii, p. 96. Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 200.

¹⁷ Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 201.

¹⁸ Rymer, vol. 8, p. 681; Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 202.

¹⁹ Juvenal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*, ed. Michaud and Poujoulat, Paris, 1854, p. 454.

²⁰ Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, p. 343.

To forestall anything further of that nature, the King sent to him a deputation of "illustres et notables personnages qu'on savait lui être chers, pour le faire changer de résolution"; and Col was one of them.²¹ The embassy came to naught,²² and partisan warfare was waged by the followers of the two dukes until November, when a truce was proclaimed.²³ It was not long effectual, and the year 1411 is full of civil war waged by the two political parties. Both sides were bidding for English help, but some messages sent by Orleans and Berry to Henry of England fell into hostile hands and were communicated to Charles VI.²⁴ Burgundy lost no time in making the most of these documents, and civil war was started anew. Col was banished as an Armagnac,²⁵ and had some difficulties concerning his post, as we learn from the following entry in the "Journal" of Nicolas de Baye:²⁶

Lundi, xj^e jour de juillet.

Sur la requeste faicte par maistre Richard Coste et baillée par escript avecques lettres de bannissement à l'encontre de maistre Gontier Col, qui s'estoit rendu fuitif et estoit, comme l'en disoit, avec mons. d'Orleans ou ses adherens, et oy maistre J. Fourcaut, qui en la cause avoit ja pieça occupé pour ledit Gontier, lequel Fourcaut a dit que pieça n'avoit occupé pour ledit Gontier, ne ne voloit occuper.

Dit a esté que la Court oste l'empeschement fait et mis audit Coste pour cause des bourses de notaire, en tant que touche ledit Gontier. Conseil XIII (X^{1a} 1479), fol. 207 v^o.

This was soon straightened out by the enforced peace between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, and offices lost through the civil war were restored. On the whole, Col's eclipse from diplomatic life was short, for his name appears again on a safe-conduct dated October 8, 1413; this is on the supposition that no documents bearing Col's name have been lost.²⁷

²¹ De Barante, *Vie des ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. iii, p. 172 (ed. Paris, 1837); Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 343.

²² Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 343-351.

²³ Douet d'Arcq, *Choix de Pièces Inédites*, vol. i, 329-335.

²⁴ Monstrelet, vol. ii, 236; Religieux de St. Denis, vol. iv, 626-630; Douet d'Arcq, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248-49.

²⁵ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, No. 48 (1887); J. Guiffrey, *Inventaire des Tapisseries du roi Charles VI vendues par les Anglais en 1422*, p. 105, n. 6. Roy, *Œuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, Paris, 1891, vol. ii, p. v.

²⁶ Ed. Tuetey, Paris, 1885-1888, vol. ii, p. 74.

²⁷ Secousse, vol. x, p. 24.

Therefore Col did not take part in drawing up the truces of 1412, but he is back at his position in the autumn of the ensuing year, as a member of the embassy headed by the Archbishop of Bourges,²⁸ whose credentials were signed by Charles on the 11th of November.²⁹ The party reached London in December, and were put up at Bishop Langley's hostel.³⁰ Their stay was moderately long, as the truces were not signed until the 24th of January, 1414,³¹ their safe-conducts not until the 23d of January.³²

There was discussed at this time the question of the marriage of Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI, to Henry V. The French ambassadors were empowered to treat of this matter, which was done; and the upshot of it was that Henry promised that he would enter into no contract of marriage with any woman save Catherine of France up to the first of the following May.³³

In connection with the negotiations for a marriage of Henry V and Catherine, Col encountered a diplomatic defeat; he was hopelessly outclassed by the diplomacy of the English king. Col was with the party of French envoys accredited to Henry, who went to the King at Leicester between the 17th of May and the 2d of June.³⁴ That Col was in England as late as the 11th of June is proved by the date of his safe-conduct.³⁵ In the course of the same month, under Col's very eyes, Henry V was negotiating with the representatives of the Duke of Burgundy concerning the possibility of a marriage with that prince's daughter, also Catherine by name.³⁶ That Col should not have known of the presence of the envoys of the Duke of Burgundy at the English Court at that time seems preposterous.

²⁸ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 90. Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 209.

²⁹ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 69. Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Paris, 1881-91, vol. i, p. 254.

³⁰ J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry V*, Cambridge University Press, 1914, vol. i, p. 156.

³¹ Rymer, vol. 9, pp. 91-101, 103, 110. Rymer, vol. 9, p. 118; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 218. (Date given as January 28).

³² Rymer, vol. 9, p. 90; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 210.

³³ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 104. Time extended, pp. 140 and 182. Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, 211.

³⁴ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 189.

³⁵ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 139; Carte, Rolles, vol. ii, p. 213.

³⁶ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 136; Wylie, *Henry V*, vol. i, p. 411; Beaucourt, *Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 255.

Nor indeed is there any doubt that they were there.³⁷ It seems inexplicable that a successful negotiator like Col should have been hoodwinked in such a matter, the more so as he was an Armagnac and owed his exile to the Burgundian party, so that he could scarcely have been suspected of a desire to shield them through his silence.

VI.—EMBASSY TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY (1414)

During Col's trip to England in 1414, he was in relations with Jeanne of Navarre, widow of Henry IV, and undertook a mission for her. Her first marriage had been to the Duke of Brittany, who had died, leaving her a son whose guardianship she gave up on marrying Henry. She claimed that certain dower rights of hers settled on her by the then duke, her husband, were not being paid to her by her son; accordingly she engaged Col to go to her son in her behalf and ask that she be given her due. Maître Gontier has related at great length the details and outcome of this mission.¹ The heading of his entry runs:

Cy après ensuit ce que je Gontier Col ay dit de par très haulte et très excellent princesse la royne d'Angleterre à hault et puissant prince le duc de Bretaingne, son filz, en sa ville de Rennes, le XVIII jour d'ottobre mil CCCXIII, presens à ce son chancelier, l'evesque de Cornouaille son confesseur, et aucuns autres.

The relation itself begins with a flourish (p. 74):

Moult hault et puissant prince, et mon très honnouré et redoubté seigneur, la très excellent et très noble princesse la royne d'Angleterre, vostre dame et mère, vous salue de très bon cuer par vraye amour et dilection maternelle en charité non faincte, comme la créature qui soit en cest monde qu'elle plus ame et qu'elle desire plus à veoir, etc.

The communication goes on to say that the Queen wishes her son to be informed that in him "gist et repose toute sa gloire, son reconfort et son espérance"; and continues with a long, pedantic passage, so characteristic of the times that I shall quote it in full,

³⁷ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 189. For expenses of Henry V, "par luy paieiz pour les dépenses des ambassadeurs de duk de Bourgogne" from the 19th of April to the 17th of June.

¹ *Bulletin du Comité Historique des Monuments Ecrits de l'Histoire de France*, vol. iv, 1853 (found under rubric, 1851-1853), pp. 73-93.

in spite of—or, I may rather say, in order to illustrate—the unendurable lengths to which Col carries a metaphor when once he has hit upon it.

Et ce n'est mie sens cause que ainsy le doye elle avoir en vous. Car comme dict le saige Cathon à son filz: "Consilium arcanum tacito commicte sodali. Corporis auxilium medico commicte fideli"; et après dit: "Nec quisquis melior medicus quam fidus amicus," c'est à dire: "Tu dois commectre ton conseil secret à ton taisible compaignon," ou "serviteur," et le secons: "et aide de ton corps au loyal medecin," ne "il n'est nul meilleur medecin que ung loyal ami." Et mon très redoubté seigneur, vous estes son loyal ami, son loyal medecin, en qui elle a parfaicte confiance et esperance ferme d'estre par vous guerrie de la grant douleur et grieve maladie qu'elle souffre, Car comme dist François Petrarcha en une sienne espitre: "Ille efficacissimus est medicus ad sanandum, de quo eger maxime sperat; celluy est très efficace medecin pour guerir de qui le malade a très grant confiance." Et pour ce, très honnouré et redoubté seigneur, que, comme dist Boece en son livre qu'il fist *de Consolatione Philozophie*, ou premier livre, en la IIII phrase. Si medicantis operam expectas oportet vulnus detegas; se tu actens le mire et l'operation du medecin, il convient que tu luy descueuvres ta playe; pour ce m'a elle envoye devers vous pour vous decouvrir et ouvrir sa playe et la cause de sa douleur afin que, icelle playe bien à vous decouverte a plain, vous y vueillez remedier et li bailler oignement et anthidote salutaire, ainsy qu'elle en a en vous parfaicte fiance et que tenus y estes. Et ja soit ce que vous aiez pieça eue cognoissance et sceue la plus grant partie de la cause et racine de sa ditte douleur et de sa maladie par aucuns de ses serviteurs et par ses lettres, neantmoins ne s'en est elle encores apperceue et ne scet se ceulz qu'elle y a envoyez ont voulu ou osé dire ce qu'elle leur avoit enchargie, car par chose qu'ilz vous aient dit ne qu'elle vous en ait escript, elle ne s'est point apperceue d'aucun amendement ne n'est sa playe venue à cicatrice, ne environnée et liée d'oignement medicinal ne nourrie d'uille ou de basme." *Non-dum nec plaga venit ad cicatricem nec est circumligata medicamine neque fota oleo* "Et pour ce elle esperant fermement que à ceste foiz elle y trouvera confort et remede convenable, et que vous vous monstrerez envers elle filz d'obedience, vray et loyal amy et medecin de salut en qui elle a toute confiance et ferme esperance, elle m'a renvoyé devers vous, car le saige Cathon que j'ay cy-devant allegué, dit; "Cumque mones aliquem nec se velit ipse moneri, si tibi sit carus, noli desistere ceptis"; c'est à dire; "Se tu admonnestes aucun à faire bien et il ne y veult condescendre ne enterdre, s'il est tel que

tu l'aies cher et l'ames, ne desiste point à faire et continuer ce que tu as commencé." Et pour ce que sur toutes les choses de ce monde, elle vous ame, elle ne se veult desister de vous admonnester de bien faire et de vous acquicter envers Dieu, envers vostre vaillant pere et envers elle. Et quant il plaira à vostre très haulte seigneurie et profonde prudence, je vous diray tout au long son intention et la descouverte de sa douleur et maladie soit à vous seul, soit en la presence de vostre conseil ou ainsy qu'il vous plaira moy commander. Et veez cy unes lettres closes qu'elle vous envoie.

Col concludes by asking for a private interview, which is granted to him—so far as its privacy is concerned—to the extent that the duke keeps with him only "son chancelier, l'evesque de Cornouaille et son confesseur, les arcediacres de Renes et de Vannes, Joecte et Mauleon."

After all these preliminaries, Col finally attacks the real matter in hand—not without first assuring the Duke that he will say only what he has been asked to say, and protesting his unworthiness for treating matters so important and involving personages so exalted. Then follows a six-page speech, which although again interlarded with Latin quotations, is much more to the point. Col begins with a panegyric of the Duke's father, and of Queen Jeanne, and then reminds the Duke that "la loy dit: Interest rei publice, ne mulieres remaneant indotatae,"² and that the custom of the duchy is that the duchess must have as dowry a third of the duchy, without counting the conquests made since the marriage, nor the furniture, which come to her by right. All this the deceased duke understood and conceded, and acted accordingly, even arranging a sliding scale of fines for the non-payment of her dowry. Not only has this not been paid, but the Queen has a "caier" full of grievances which she sends to her son, whose unfilial conduct she puts down to bad advice from his entourage (p. 81):

Car elle me dist en plourant: Gontier, je suis plus dolente de mon enfent, que je voy ainsi desvoyé et hors de sa bonne inclination naturelle, que je ne suis de tout quanque on m'a fait de griefz, car je l'ay tousjours trouvé vray, naturel, loyal, humble et obéissent filz envers moy, mais [ceux] qu'il a entour luy et qui le gouvernent à leur guise, et vivent et amandent du sien, grandement lui ont fait faire en ce et en autres choses ce qu'il a mal fait et il le cognoistra

² *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

bien au long à l'eur. Je n'en doubte mie, et quant il les aura bien cogneuz, il les amera moins et les mectra arrière de soy, s'il est saige et bien advisez.

To turn the duke from his present course, Col proceeds to quote Scripture concerning the duty of children to parents. He then waxes confidential, and reminds the Duke that Jeanne is only a woman after all (p. 83), "car comme dit maistre Jehan de Mehun en son livre de la Rose: "Tel avantaige ont toutes femmes qu'ells sont de leur voulenté dames." That is Jeanne, if not satisfied, may call upon the King of France for justice, or marry either a French or English nobleman or great prince, who will come and wreak vengeance on an undutiful son and lay waste his lands. The Duke too is a diplomat and answers in kind: "Gontier, saichés certainement que je vueil faire et acomplir toute ma vie la bonne voulenté et plaisir de madame ma mere, ne jà jour que je vive ne feray le contraire"; and he keeps Col to dinner.

But the matter stops there. Col can get no satisfactory answer from either duke or chancellor. Finally after a fruitless stay of fourteen days, he seeks out the authorities anew and makes them the following proposition (p. 84):

Messieurs, je voy bien que vous avez moult à faire et estes moult embesongnez pour l'allée de monseigneur et de madame en France. S'il vous plaist, je feray une minue pour vous abrégier et relever de peine de ce qu'il me semble que mon seigneur le duc doit faire. Et ilz me respondirent que je disoye tres bien et qu'ils m'en prioient. Adonc fiz les minues qui s'ensuivent, lesquelles je leur baillay.

Col's "minues" proceed to enumerate the various moneys the Queen claims, and demands the restitution to the Queen's appointees of positions within her gift which had been fraudulently given to followers of the Duke. It mentions furniture, embroideries, letters that the Queen claims. The letter mentioned above then follows. It did not find favor in the eyes of the Duke or his Council, so the wily ambassador wrote another.

Col is now genuinely alarmed as to the outcome of his embassy; he lays aside all flights of oratory, and his anxiety is couched in very simple style:³

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

Et s'il semble à mon dit s^r le duc qu'il y doive avoir aucune modération, adjonction, ou exception, soit fait à sa bonne voulenté et plaisir; mais que, pour Dieu, je ne m'en aille point ainsi que je suis venu, sens qu'il appere à madame sa mere que je aye aucunement besongné en la matere pour laquelle elle m'a envoyé par devers monsieur son filz: de laquelle chose je lui supplie très-humblement.

Col can get no answer from the Duke's entourage in reply to the second letter, beyond the general statement of their prince's filial intentions towards Queen Jeanne.

Après ces choses (Col continues)⁴ je vins au duc, et lui dis la response dessus dicte qui m'avoit esté faicte de par lui en lui suppliant que je eusse de lui aultre response, et que onques, en ma vie n'avois esté en ambassade dont je ne reportasse response par escript de ce que je avoye dit et baillé par escript, et aussi qu'il me rendist le quayer que je lui avoye baillé, signé de la main de sa dame et mère. A quoy il me répondi qu'il envoyeroit devers sa dame et mere de ses gens qui la contenteroient et diroient sa voulenté du tout, quant il seroit à Paris ou en France, là où il et la duchesse venoient, ou qu'il me feroit lors tele et si bonne response que j'en seroie bien content et par moy mesme lui feroit faire la dicte response agréable à elle. Et quant estoit dudit quayer ravoir, il ne le me rendroit point, mais la coppie en auroye voulentiers, et autre response n'en peu lors avoir ne rapporter de lui ne d'autre de par lui, jasoit à ce que plusieurs foiz en aie fait requeste à grant instance. A donc prins congé de lui, et vins en mon hostellerie, comptay et payay mes despens, et me parti pour venir à Paris. Et quant je fu à Paris, trouvay que le duc ne la duchesse n'y venoient point, mais yroient à Montargis devers la royne. Je vins audit Montargis et ylec attendi sa venue, le quel y arriva le jour de Saint Andry. Et yllec l'ay sollicité moult diligemment d'avoir sa response, ainsi que promis m'avoit. Et en final conclusion n'ay eu de lui autre response, fors qu'il est et sera toute sa vie vray humble et obéissant filz à sa dame et mère, et qu'il fera toute sa vie le bon plaisir d'elle, ne en chose qui touche les terres et aussiete il ne touchera; mais en joira paisiblement et ses officers sens aucun trouble ou empeschment, exepté des cappitaines, les quels pour riens il ne souffreroit que autre les y meist, mesmement tant quelle sera demoure en Angleterre et que nul ne lui devroit conseiller le contraire. A tant m'en suis venu.

As has been seen in the above excerpts, the Bible leads with five quotations, then follow Boëthius, Cato, Terence, Horace,

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Sallust, "la loy," "les droiz," "la tragédie." It is rather astonishing not to find quotations from Virgil and Pliny, in view of Col's supposed devotion to those two writers. When Col avoids "le style noble," and finishes a sentence without using the sign &, he occasionally turns out phrases that please by a certain simplicity and concreteness. Hauréau says of the journal of this mission: "C'est une pièce française aussi intéressante pour la littérature que pour l'histoire."⁵ It shows us Col as a chroniqueur in a small way, altho his accounts of negotiations in which he was involved, the Journal of 1395, the negotiations with the Duke of Brittany in 1414, and the account of Winchester Week in 1415, were not written from a purely literary point of view, but were simply the report of an embassy, drawn up by its secretary on his return, yet thru these reports we may connect Col with the long list of lesser writers on matters of a historical nature during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. One could scarcely adduce better examples in support of that most seductive of literary theories—that of "the time, the place and the subject"—than are afforded by the writers of Chronicles and historical annals in France during those two centuries. In that epoch of internal dissensions and foreign wars, even the would-be impartial historian was something of a propagandist for his party. And it would certainly be a mistake to overlook the literary merits of those diplomatic envoys who, like Col, elaborated on their return detailed reports of the vicissitudes and final outcome of their negotiations. Those men acquired the habit of describing minor events minutely and putting them in their proper perspective. Thus they constituted themselves the precursors of that brilliant array of writers of memoirs who are the distinctive pride and honor of a later period of French literature.

VII.—WINCHESTER WEEK (1415)

During the autumn of 1414 there are no indications of further diplomatic activities on the part of Col. The storm was gathering across the Channel. Henry was making every preparation for war, even while sending over to Paris an embassy, the terms of which included demands for so much French territory and for so large a

⁵ *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, article "Col."

dowry for Catherine¹ that the conference came to naught, and the only agreement arrived at was that Charles would send a return embassy to Henry for the further discussion of terms with the King in person. This ill-starred embassy set out with pomp and circumstance, three hundred strong, including prominent men and famous orators,² among whom was "M^e G. Col,"³ who wrote a *Relation* of the trip for the Archbishop of Bourges, the head of the embassy.

The *Relation* is very irregular in style; some of it reads like the minutes of a committee, sentences are inconclusively ended with "&" or "&c.," and in general it bears indications of haste and incompleteness. A good example of this is the entry under Tuesday, the 2d of July:⁴

Et apres en conclusion dirent, que nous conclusions sur la voye d'affinité & de mariage, &c. Et nous requirent & demanderent en mariage Madame K. avecque tel dot et dotelite que à une telle Dame, et pour un Roy appartient, &c. & que nous eslasgassions, &c. plus avant que ce qui leur a esté baillé par escript & offert, &c. Surquoy eusmes advis, &c. & leur offrismes cinquante mille francs, outre, &c. Premises les protestations accoustumées, &c. Et apres qu'ils eurent esté à conseil sur cette offre, retournerent à nous, et nous dirent que de la somme par eux demandée qui est d'un million, ils nous rabattoient cinquante mil, &c. Et pource que l'heure estoit tarde, nous partismes, &c. Et fut dit qu'ils rapporteroient à leur Seigneur c'en que, &c. Et l'endemain serions au lieu, &c.

On the other hand, some three pages later, Col gives quite a life-like description of the royal reception of a mediaeval embassy:⁵

Item, le Iudy, 4 jour de Iuilliet feusmes mandés et envoyés querir pour aller devant le Roy, ainsi que ordonné et appointié avoit esté le Mecredy precedent, au departement des gens du Roy et de nous, et vindrent pour nous querir entre huit et neuf heures

¹ Rymer, vol. 9, pp. 206-208.

² Religieux de St. Denis, v, p. 506. For safe-conducts, April, 1415, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 219; Carte, Rolles, ii, p. 219.

³ Hall's *Chronicle*, London, 1809, p. 58; Monstrelet, *Chronique*, vol. iii, p. 72; T. Goodwin, *History of the Reign of Henry V*, London, 1704, p. 56; Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. i, p. 259.

⁴ Besse, *Recueil de Diverses Pièces servant à l'histoire du Roy Charles VI* (Paris, 1660), p. 97.

⁵ Besse, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

les Evesques de Duresme [Durham], et de Chestre et le seigneur du Souch; alasmes tout droict au Palais de l'Evesque où le Roy estoit logié et nous mena en la chambre de l'Evesque de Norebbich [Norwich], et assez tost apres ledit Evesque de Norebbich nous vint querir, et nous mena haut en la chambre où le Roy estoit tout droit appuyé sur un dreçoir, et un oreiller de soye dessous son bras, et en sa compagnie estoient ses trois freres, son Chancelier, les Evesques de Duresme, de Norebbich, L'Archevesque de Canturbury, l'Evesque de Chestre, le Duc d'Yorc, le Comte de Houemden [Hovenden], le Comte de la Marche, le Comte Mareschal, le Comte d'Orsete [of Dorset], son Confesseur Carme, son Secretaire, et aucuns autres, et à l'entrée nous agenoûlasmes, et feismes la reverence au Roy et puis nous tirasmes à part; et puis tantost apres Mess. l'Archevesque de Bourges, Mons. le Grand Maistre, et Mons. d'Yvry, qui avoient lettres closes adreçans au Roy d'Angleterre, lesquelles estoient de creance pour eulx trois seulement, partirent de nous, et allerent devant la personne du Roy, et luy presenterent lesd. Lettres, & puis se leverent et retournerent avec nous dont ils estoient partis; Lors le Roy appella son Chancelier, et luy bailla lesd. Lettres pour les ouvrir, lequel les ouvrit et sans regarder dedans les bailla presentement au Roy, et se retray; à donques le Roy leut lesdites Lettres, et quand il les ot leuës les mit sur l'oreiller sur lequel il s'appuyoit sur le dreçoir, et apres appella ses trois freres, son Chancelier, le Duc d'Yorc, le Comte d'Oriceste, les Archevesques de Canturbury, les Evesques de Duresme et Norebbich tant seulement et parla à eulx asses longuement sans toucher lesd. Lettres, et puis se leverent et se retrahirent chacun en sa place; Adonc il appella lesd. de Vendosme, de Bourges et d'Yvry, et leur dist qu'il avoit veu lesd. Lettres qu'il luy avoient baillée de par son beau cousin de France, et qu'elles portaient creance à eulx trois seulement, et qu'ils luy deissent la creance. Adonques luy exposerent et dirent leur creance par la bouche de Mons. de Bourges, en la maniere que ensuit, si comme ledit Mons. de Bourges et autres dessus nommés nous ont dit et rapporté:

This confusion and lack of finish in the form of the *Relation* is doubtless somewhat explained by the letter accompanying it, which draws a picture of the physical and mental discomforts endured on the return trip by a part of the embassy. To this may be added the probable depression of the party in view of the failure of the negotiations, and the certainty of a war for which their country was not prepared. The letter reads as follows:⁶

⁶ Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

Tres-Reverend Pere en Dieu, et mon tres-honoré Seigneur. Pource que je suis passé en la compagnie de Mons. de Braquemont le derenier et que mes chevaux furent moult malmenés et tourmentés en la mer, apres n'out eu aucun repos, et aussi que ie ne eu aucune chose pour payer mon passage au retour, de l'argent qui a esté ordonné également pour tous passer et repasser, et m'a convenu emprunter argent et achater et loüer chevaux, ie n'ay peu venir à Paris plustost. Si ne sçay si vous feriés bien relation avant ma venue à Paris; Et parce combien que ayés en fresche memoire tout, neantmoins ie vous envoie par mon clerc, porteur de ces presentes un abregé de ce que fait avons jusques au jour de nostre partement, duquel jour ie m'en rapporte à vous, et à la response en Latin faicte par l'Arcevesque de Canturbery à la replique faite par vous en François. Si vous suplie tres humblement de moy excuser de ma demeure jusqu'à demain, que je seray, se Dieu plaist, à Paris. Escript hastivement le 25. jour de Iuillet.

Vostre humble serviteur,

Gontier Col.

Col begins the *Relation* by stating that the envoys left Paris June 4, reaching Winchester (where Henry V was residing) on Sunday, June 30. They were received by the bishops of Durham and Norwich, the counts of Dorset and Salisbury, "et plusieurs autres," and taken directly to the King, to present their credentials. He then takes up the events of the Winchester meeting day by day, setting down at length all the diplomatic wranglings about Henry's demands as to French possessions, and the dowry of Catherine, also the date of her marriage. The entry touching the Saturday on which took place the last meeting of the envoys and the King, is only partial, as Col does not attempt to describe the closing scene. Judging by other and less discreet historians, in this he showed his diplomatic training, seeing that his report was intended for the Archbishop of Bourges, the prelate who was directly responsible for the break between the envoys and the King; although in view of the latter's feverish preparations for war, it may be doubted whether Henry ever meant them to succeed.⁷ Be that as it may, it is interesting to see how nearly the embassy thought it had succeeded in its object according to Col's entry for Saturday, July 6:⁸

⁷ Wylie, *Henry V*, p. 491, n. 1; De Flassan, J. B. G. de R., *Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie française*, Paris, 1811, i, p. 192.

⁸ Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-110.

Samedy, 6. jour de Iuillet fusmes envoyés querir, à neuf heures devant disner, pour aller devers le Roy, par ceux qui dessus sont nommés, et qui autresfois nous estoient venus querir, et nous menerent en la chambre d'embas, et là vindrent les Evesque de Duresme et de Norebbich, et parlerent longuement à Mons. l'Archevesque de Bourges, et grand Maistre d'Ostel, et puis allerent à mont devers leur Roy; Et cependant lesd. Archevesque & grand Maistre, nous dirent, qu'ils leur avoient dit, que on voulsist declarer & bailler par escript les protestations que avoient faites Mons. de Bourges, etc. Et on leur avait respondu que la declaration estoit en escript devers eux, et chacun la savoit; et puis avoit dit que on baillast & declarast jour dedans lequel on delivreroit la fille du Roy nostre Seigneur, à leur Seigneur, engeoliée, etc., et la somme de cinq cens cinquante mil escus, et aussi que on delivrerait les Cités, terres et seigneuries à eux offertes, et que on print une treve à quarante ou cinquante ans, pendant laquelle on feist paix final, et se dedans led. temps paix n'estoit faite ils rendraient reaulment et de faict toutes lesdites villes, chasteaux, et seigneuries à eulx baillées par ce traicté, et de ce bailleroient bonne seurté, et caution souffisante, et que on leur fiançast la fille par paroles de futur, etc., et que tandis que on feroit lesd. treves et autres choses dessusdites, que un Secretaire ou autre de nous alast en France devers le Roy, nostre seigneur, et son Conseil dire cest apppointement, etc., et que dedans un mois il eust la responce, et que les autres demeurassent en Angleterre, laquelle chose nous ne voulesmes accorder.

Et apres ces choses, retournerent l'Evesque de Vincestre, et les deux Evesques dessusdits, et dirent, que on fiançast Madame K. et que dedans la saint Michel on la livrast à Calais, engeolées etc. & avec ce la somme de six cens mil francs, etc., et baillast on avec ce dedans le temps la possessions desd. terres, villes et seigneuries à eulx offertes, etc., et preist on les treves generales à cinquante ans, etc.

Ausquels fut respondu que le temps estoit trop court pour fournir les choses dessusdites, etc., et que dedans Noël ou la Saint Andrieu on leur livreroit Madame K. etc., et quatre mil francs, car plutost ne pourrait on finer de si grand somme d'or, combien que en monnoye elle feust preste desia, et conviendrait tout ledit terme pour forger lesd. escus, et faire les joyaux, etc.

Après dirent celx de la partie d'Angleterre, que nous alissions en haut devers le Roy, dire en sa presence ce qu'il luy avoient rapporté et pourparlé, et dit entre nous etc., Et ainsi fut dit, accordé, et accomply, et alasmes, et trouvasmes le Roy en la chambre en haut et aucuns de ses Conseilliers et serviteurs, et son Secretaire, lesquels il fist vuider la chambre, et n'y demoura que luy, lesd. Prelats

et nous ; Et lors Mons. l'Archevesque venismes pres de luy à genoux et luy dist ledit Mons. l'Archevesque les choses dessusdites devant les dessus nommés et l'Archevesque de Canturbery ; et apres se party de ladite chambre, et nous y demourasmes.

Et apres ces choses, retournerent à nous lesd. Evesque de Duresme et de Norebbich, et nous dirent que les choses estoient en bonne disposition, et que nous feissions bonne chere ; Et assés tost apres on nous mena disner, et estoient bien deux heures apres midy.

Venismes disner en la chambre de parement, où le Roy disna, et fit seoir à sa table l'Evesque de Lisieux au bout d'en haut, puis l'Archevesque de Bourges, puis luy ; et au bout d'embas le grand Maistre d'Ostel, et le Baron d'Yvry ; et à l'autre table Maistre Iean Andry et Gontier, et apres nous plusieurs notables Personnes, Prelats, et autres gens d'Eglise, et à l'autre costé de lad. chambre le Seigneur de Braquemont, Messieurs Charles d'Yvry, et les autres nobles de nostre compagnie, et en disnant nous vint dire le Duc d'Yorc et l'Evesque de Norebbich que nous feissions bon visage, & que tout estoit bien etc., & m'apporta led. Duc à boire en une tasse d'or ; apres disner vin et espices ; puis alasmes en la chambre où nous aurions esté devant disner, et le Roy demoura en son Conseil moult longuement, et estoit vestu court, et ses esperons chaussés pour chevaucher, etc. Et apres ce vindrent devers nous le Duc d'Yorc, et le Chancelier d'Angleterre, les Evesques de Duresme et de Norebbich, et nous dirent que leur Seigneur estoit d'accord de tout, fors que du terme, mais il vouloit avoir la fille et la somme par nous accordee, c'est assavoir quatre cens mille escus à la Saint Remy, et la possessions des terres, etc. Et nous leur respondismes comme autresfois que c'estoit impossible dedans si brief temps, etc., et ne feust que pour forger si grand somme d'escus et faire les joyaulx, etc., mais à Noël ou a la Saint Andrieu le ferions, etc. Et lors se partirent pour aller dire à leur Seigneur nostre responce, et tenoient fermement que nous estions d'accord, & qu'il ne tenoit que au terme ; et apres longtemps, qu'il estoit six heures, on nous vint dire, que nous venissions au Roy dire nostre responce, et prendre congié : Et quand nous feusmes venus le trouvasmes assis en la chaere, et toute la sale pleine de gens, d'une part et d'autre, les Prelats d'un costé, ses freres et autres gens de guerre d'autre jusqu'au nombre de plus de mil cinq cens personnes, et y estoient les Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur, du Roy d'Arragon, du Duc de Bourgogne, un Heraut, etc. Et lors feusmes assis sur une fourine devant le Roy : Adonc l'Archevesque de Canturbery commença à parler en Latin, et recita toutes les Ambassades faictes d'une partie et d'autre, depuis que cest Roy fut couronné Roy d'Angleterre, comme il appert par sa proposition qu'il a depuis envoyée par escript avecques certaines Lettres closes adreçans à nous Am-

bassadeurs dessus nommés, et au Roy nostre seigneur, lesquelles lettres nous ne voulusmes recevoir, ne prendre la charge de les apporter au Roy, mais nous en prenismes la coppie.

The end is garbled, and there is a hint at trouble in the last lines of the entry, rather astonishing coming after the preceding assertions that the negotiations were going smoothly. It may have been a revulsion of feeling caused by this disappointment on seeing the success of his embassy jeopardized when he thought everything favorably under way, that led the Archbishop of Bourges to speak as he did. He had taken exception to several points made by the Archbishop of Canterbury⁹ in his speech. But it was only after Henry had again repeated previous demands as to territory,¹⁰ and the dowry of Catherine, ending bluntly with the statement that he was after all the rightful heir to the throne of France, that the crisis came.

The Archbishop of Bourges,¹¹ according to the diplomatic usages of the times,¹² asked permission to speak, and begged to be allowed to bring to the King's notice the fact that¹³ not only was Henry not the rightful heir of the throne of France, but he was not even the rightful heir of the throne of England. Henry's rage may easily be imagined and it is not difficult to understand that he told the envoys "qu'ils s'en allassent, et qu'il les suivroit de près."¹⁴ It is not perhaps to be wondered at, in view of the above, that the French prelate addressed directly to King Henry the firm request "que tu escupres [exculpes?] entierement la response que tu as faicte, sur ton seel et signe manuel." And it is not at all hard to believe that Col sought to avoid compromising himself by refraining from drawing up the compte-rendu of such prickly negotiations.

⁹ Erroneously called Archbishop of Winchester by Sir Harry Nicolas' *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, London, 1832, p. 28.

¹⁰ Monstrelet, iii, 73:

Les duchez d'Acquitaine, de Normandie, d'Anjou et de Touraine, les contez de Poictou du Mans et de Ponthieu et toutes les autres choses jadis appartenans au roys d'Angleterre ses predecesseurs heritablements.

¹¹ Hivier de Beauvoir, *Guillaume de Boisratier in Société des Antiquités du Centre*, 1867, pp. 87-128.

¹² Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 74.

¹³ Juvenal des Ursins, *op. cit.*, p. 305; Thomas of Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, London, 1863-64, vol. ii, p. 305; H. Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt*, 25-31; Th. Goodwin, *History of the Reign of Henry V*, 56-61. Bibliography, Wylie, *Henry V*, vol. i, p. 490.

¹⁴ Juvenal des Ursins, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

Before leaving the *Relation* of Col, we should take account of an interesting question raised by Mirot in the note in which he gives a résumé of the embassy.¹⁵ He says:¹⁶ "Une fort curieuse relation de cette ambassade due à Gontier Col et se rapprochant beaucoup du récit du Religieux de St. Denis nous a été conservé dans Besse," etc. Since Col was a member of the embassy and the above mentioned *Relation* was written before the 25th of July, it would seem likely that the Religieux was using his old methods, and had seen Col's material before writing his description of Winchester week. The Religieux seems to use the *Relation* much in the same general way that he did the *Journal*. The description of the landing in England, and the events of Sunday and Monday, are given at much greater length in the *Cronica*.¹⁷

Whatever the reasons, the French party did not return all together, the two secretaries, Gontier Col and Jehan Andrieu, apparently having crossed the channel after the Archbishop of Bourges.¹⁸ With the two secretaries went J. Fusoris,¹⁹ later tried for treason, he having been accused of furnishing information about the political state of affairs in France to the Bishop of Norwich. The minutes of the trial²⁰ throw light on Winchester week, but not very much on Col, who was not called upon to testify, as was Jehan Andrieu, the other secretary of the King attached to the embassy, and who said that neither he nor Col thought of Fusoris as anything but loyal.²¹

It is not possible to tell whether Col knew Fusoris well. The only reference that the accused makes to Col, mentions his being

¹⁵ *Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Île de France*, vol. xxvii (1900), p. 137, note 7.

¹⁶ Unless the reader wishes to return to the untenable suggestion that identified Col with the Religieux de St. Denis—a theory that the mention of Col's laical status would refute. (Froissart, vol. 13, p. 323.)

¹⁷ Besse, *op. cit.*, 95-98; Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. v, 516-518.

¹⁸ Carte, *Rolles*, vol. ii, p. 222:

Consimiles literas de salvo conductu habent subscripti, videlicet, Episcopus Lexoviensis, Comes Vindocinensis, Karolus Dominus de Yvriaco, Braquetus Dominus de Braquemont, Miles, Magister Johannes Andre & Magister Gonterus Coll.

Teste Rege apud Westminster 28, Junii.

¹⁹ Probably the same mentioned in Ehrle, *Archiv für literatur und kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Sechster Band, 1892, pp. 219-220; Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. v, p. 91.

²⁰ *Mémoires de la Société de Paris et de l'Île de France*, vol. xxvii (1900), pp. 137 sqq. Ed. by Mirot.

²¹ Mirot, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

invited to dinner by the Bishop of Norwich and meeting Col there.²² This was when that prelate was in Paris on the English embassy²³ which immediately preceded that of the Archbishop of Bourges to Winchester. The evidence against Fusoris was of a more or less circumstantial nature, aggravated by his well-known Burgundian leanings, and it was on those grounds that the Prior of the Célestins in Paris refused to entrust to him letters (to monks of his order in England) that Fusoris had offered to deliver for him, but gave them to Gontier Col instead.²⁴ It would seem as though the Prior scarcely needed any such reason to avoid giving these letters in the charge of a more or less itinerant astrologer, going to England as a hanger-on of the embassy, ostensibly to attempt to collect a bad debt from a prelate of the church, when they could be carried by one of the secretaries of the expedition. Although there is no proof of it, it is highly probable that the Prior knew Col personally, since the Confrérie of the notaries and secretaries of the King met in the buildings of the Célestins in Paris.²⁵

VIII.—LAST YEARS AND DEATH

Col returned to Paris about the 25th of July, 1415.¹ The battle of Agincourt took place in the following October, and diplomacy was at a standstill until Emperor Sigismund's visit to Paris in the following Spring. That ruler was much preoccupied by the Schism, which still prevailed, and saw in a union of French and English influences a means of ending it. He came to Paris with the intention of bringing about a Franco-English *rapprochement*, and after seeing the King and the dukes, he left for England, accompanied by French envoys. A meeting was arranged between the contending parties at Beauvais (September 9, 1416), to which Col went in his official capacity.² The envoys did nothing beyond calling for another conference not later than the 16th of August—a failure for which the Emperor (now in England and a guest of Henry V) placed the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

²³ Mirot, *Les Ambassades Anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1900), p. 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²⁵ E. Raunié, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 309, and note 1.

¹ Besse, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.

² Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, Hachette, 1911, vol. iv, p. 372; Rymer, vol. 9, p. 366; Religieux de St. Denis, vol. 6, pp. 26–28; Carte, Rolles, ii, pp. 230–231.

responsibility upon the French, whom he accused of being devoid of a conciliatory spirit.³

The second meeting was prepared for in both countries; England sent envoys, and for the French ambassadors⁴ were prepared safe-conducts in which Col's name appeared. Very little was done besides signing a short truce, for Henry, who had come over to his French possessions with Sigismund for the sole purpose of meeting the Duke of Burgundy, wanted to get the French "négo-ciateurs" out of the way—not for his own sake, apparently, but for that of the Duke of Burgundy, who became his secret ally as a result of this meeting.⁵

In spite of this understanding with the Duke of Burgundy, negotiations continued with France. The death of the Dauphin prevented a meeting, for which the necessary state papers are dated April, 1417, but which was finally arranged for later in the year.⁶ Col went on this embassy, which proved to be fruitless,⁷ altho the envoys did not return home from the Barneville conference until December 21.

This is the last diplomatic mission with which I have been able to connect Col's name. He may have gone with the French envoys that met the Burgundians during Easter week, 1418, to settle, if possible, party strife in France, but the name of their secretary is not known.⁸ As will be recalled, the French and Burgundian plenipotentiaries had come to an agreement and Paris was wild with joy at the prospect of peace. When the results were read to the King he inclined in their favor, but the Count of Armagnac presented the most violent opposition to their acceptance,⁹ and this in the teeth of the Dauphin's defense thereof. This held up all the proceedings of

³ Rymer, vol. 9, p. 377 seq. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 34 (Col's name not mentioned).

⁴ Dated August 14, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 377, and good until 14th of September; later extended until the 21st, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 386.

⁵ Monstrelet, vol. 3, pp. 162-164; Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 267 seq.; J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, Oxford, 1892, vol. i, pp. 240-241.

⁶ Safe conducts, September 24, 1417, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 494; Credentials October 2, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 498; Extension of passports, Rymer, vol. 9, p. 505.

⁷ Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, p. 109; Rymer, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, pp. 517, 537; Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, 275, 278.

⁸ Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 79, n. 2.

⁹ Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 257. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, pp. 228-230.

ratification, and as the news transpired, there was much discontent, the more so as the Armagnacs were arousing general antagonism by their exactions and brutality. The Duke of Burgundy saw his opportunity and seized it. By clever manipulation of certain disaffected Parisians, a party of Burgundians were admitted by night into Paris (May 28-29, 1418).¹⁰ The result was a popular uprising culminating in the so-called Armagnac Massacres, in which so many men of prominence were killed,¹¹ and in which there are excellent reasons to believe that Col lost his life. Among these reasons may be stated, first, the purely negative one that his name is not in the list of burgesses who took the oath of allegiance to the Duke of Burgundy in the month of August, 1418.¹² A more conclusive one is presented in Sauval's *Antiquités de la ville de Paris*,¹³ which runs as follows, under the entry "Du compte de confiscations de Paris, depuis le vingtième décembre 1423, jusqu'à la St. Jean, 1427":

Maison qui fut à M. Gontier Col, occis à Paris, scise rue vielle du Temple, tenant à la ruelle au roi de Sicile, laquelle Jean Spifame ecuyer dit lui appartenir à cause de sa femme, fille dudit M^e Gontier.¹⁴

Tho this is not altogether decisive of the point, it seems warranted, in view of the confusion existing in the probation of wills at this time (especially for those who were on the losing side politically),¹⁵ to accept the theory advanced by Mr. Antoine Thomas, that Col died at the same time as his friend Jehan de Monstereul, to wit, in the course of the Armagnac Massacres of 1418.

ALMA DE L. LE DUC

BARNARD COLLEGE

(To be continued)

¹⁰ Monstrelet, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 259-266. Religieux de St. Denis, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, pp. 230-236.

¹¹ Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII, roi de France*, Paris, 1862, pp. 104, 112. Ramsey, *Lancaster and York*, vol. i, p. 260, for bibliography.

¹² Le Roux de Lincy et Tisserand, *Paris et ses Historiens*, p. 371.

¹³ Vol. iii, p. 304.

¹⁴ Cf. difficulties experienced by daughter of Nicolas de l'Espoisse, greffier du Parlement (1420). Her husband being in the Dauphin's army, her share in her father's estate was confiscated and she had to take legal steps to recover it. See *Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous Charles VI* (p. 605), par A. Tuetey.

¹⁵ A. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

A STUDY OF ENCINA AND THE *ÉGLOGA INTER-LOCUTORIA*

Since the publication of the catalogue of the Salvá library, it has been known that there was in existence a play that in its external characteristics bore a close resemblance to the earlier dramatic pieces of Juan del Encina. Unfortunately its whereabouts remained unknown until recently, and historians of the early theater were compelled to limit their discussion of it to the meagre description furnished by the above mentioned catalogue. Recently, however, Mr. Urban Cronan has been fortunate enough to discover its hiding place, and has made it accessible. It appears under the title of *Égloga Interlocutoria*, in *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 36 (1916), pp. 475-488.

As long as the text remained inedited, it was unavoidable that only the most general conclusions could be drawn. Still some of these conjectures are interesting, and will bear repetition. To Salvá (*Cat.* I, p. 434) belongs the credit of attributing the work to Encina. Cotarelo y Mori (*Estudios de Historia Literaria de España*, 1901, p. 147) suggested a connection between the *Égloga Interlocutoria* and the seventh play of the *Teatro Completo* (Acad. ed.) of Encina. Kohler (*Sieben Spanische Dramatische Eklogen*, 1911, pp. 32-34) refuted Cotarelo, and tried to date the play. He believed it was written for the Christmas celebration of 1496 or 1497. Cronan, in his brief introduction to the play, holds that the text, as well as the title, furnishes practically conclusive evidence for assigning the play to Encina.

The new text came into the present writer's hands when he was re-reading the theater of Encina with another study in view. Various problems presented themselves at once, and in trying to solve them, he was led further than he had at first intended to go. This article contains the results of these studies, which were intended to test further the question of authorship, to discover if possible what relationship the play bears to the acknowledged works of Encina,

and incidentally to account for the condition in which it has been handed down to us.

Although the heading of the play has already been published by all the authors who have discussed it, it is reproduced here for facility of reference.

Egloga interlocutoria, enla qual se introduzen tres pastores 7 vna zagala, llamados Pascual 7 Benito 7 Gil verto y Pasluala. Enla qual recuenta como Pascual estaua enla sala del duque 7 la duquesa, recontando como ya la seta de Mahoma se auia de apocar 7 otras muchas cosas; y entra Benito y le traua dela capa; y el dize como quiere dexar el ganado y entrar al palacio; 7 Benito le empieça de contar como Dios era nacido; y Pascual por el gran gasajo que siente le manda vna borreca en albricias. Y estando lo tanto alabando, dize Pascual que nazca quien quisiere, que le dexten lo suyo; 7 oyendo esto Gil verto como tomo vn cayado para darle conel; 7 Benito los puso en paz, hasta que ya vienen a jugar a pares y a nones. E acabando de jugar, empieçan de alabar sus amos; 7 assi se salen cantando su villancico.

This heading is not wholly in Encina's manner. It does not indicate the occasion for which it was intended, as is usual in his religious plays. It is, moreover, badly written and inaccurate in its summary of the contents of the play. Carelessness is shown in the phrase, "*y el dize como quiere dejar el ganado.*" This refers, we soon see, to Pascual and not to Benito. A serious confusion of characters occurs in the statement that "*Benito le empieça de contar como Dios era nacido; y Pascual por el gran gasajo que siente le manda vna borreca en albricias.*" In the text Pascual announces the birth of Christ, and Benito gives him a *borrega* in his joy over the good tidings. Another point is that the heading of the play seems to supply stage directions, which, in the works of Encina, are usually left to be inferred from the context of the play. Examples of these are, "*le traua dela capa*" and "*tomo vn cayado para darle conel.*" For the first one there is no indication in the text. The second might apply to either one of two passages. In lines 169-70, Gil says, "*quantos yo de coraçon, se lo dare sin desuio.*" The sort of blows that he would give are not specified. His threats are more definite in lines 189-90 where he threatens to tear Pascual's cape and pull his nose.

The play proper may be divided into three parts: 1) the scenes relating to the birth of Christ, lines 1-220, 2) a game of *nones y pares* between the shepherds, 221-291, 3) a passage in praise of the duke and duchess, 292-357. In its structure the first part corresponds in a general way to the first *égloga* of the *Teatro Completo*. In each play there is an introduction dealing in part with political events. This is followed in both by a quarrel with a second shepherd who enters and charges the first speaker with the ambition of abandoning his flock for life in the palace. It is to be noted, however, that in the *Égloga Interlocutoria* the quarrel between the two shepherds is pointless, and that the courtly longings of Pascual are left undeveloped in the play, while in *Égloga I*,¹ the shepherd Juan appears in the name of Juan del Encina, who had recently entered the service of the house of Alba, and Mateo represents the enemies of the playwright. That these similarities are not accidental is proven by the parallel passages quoted below. That the opening salutation, "*Dios salve aca, buena gente!*," is the same in both plays is undoubtedly accidental. But the striking analogies follow on the entrance of the second shepherd.

(*Ég. Int.*, lines 21-40)

BENITO

A Dios praga conel viejo!
ya te tornas palaciego!

PASCUAL

Ala fe, chapado consejo!
quiero mudar el pellejo,
que del aldea reniego.

BENITO

Ni eres hombre de sala,
ni se te apeg a el palacio.

PASCUAL

Andar mucho enoramala;
has de auer tu el alcauala?

BENITO

No te viene de generacio.

(*Teatro*, pp. 5-6)

MATEO

¡Oh Juan, Juan, hi de Pascuala!

Cata, cata, ¿acá estás tú?

JUAN

Digo, digo, pues ¿qué hu?
¿Has de haber tú ell alcabala?

MATEO

¿Ya tú presumes de gala,
Que te arrojas al palacio?
¿Andar mucho enhoramala!
¿Cuidas que eres para en sala?
No te vien de gerenacio.

JUAN

¿No me viene de natío?

¹ The Roman numeral indicates the order in which the play appears in the edition of the Spanish Academy.

PASCUAL

No me viene de natio?

BENITO

Mi fe, no mas que a vn mastin.

PASCUAL

Pues no faltes de ruin,
tu tambien como tu tio.
Quando agora enel estio
a ladrar tambien te amañas,
que haras tu con el frio?
que de rauia de mi brio
se te queman las entrañas.

Calla, calla ya, malsin,

Que nunca faltas de ruin

Tú tambien, como tu tio.

Cuando agora con tal frio

Á ladrar tan bien te amañas,

¿Qué harás en el estio,

Que con rabia de mi brío

Se te quemen las entrañas?

In the verses that follow this passage, Pascual announces to Benito the birth of Christ, and Benito promises the donkey as a reward for the good news. Beside the speech of Benito are placed two citations from the *Teatro Completo*. The first, from *Égloga V*, repeats the incident of the donkey, the second, from *Égloga VI*, is a chance similarity of wording. They are given here because, taken as they are from plays that have little in common with the *Égloga Interlocutoria*, they can scarcely be cases of intentional imitation.

(*Eg. Int.*, lines 51-60)

Yo te mando vna borrega
por nueua tan quellotrada,
y luego enella te entrega,
quando passes por la vega,
la mas gorda 7 bien criada;
juro a diez, gran gasajado
siento en habrar prazeres.
Ya esto ancho, Dios loado!
todo estoy repantigado:
holguemos todos si quieres.

(*Teatro*, p. 71)

Yo te mando una borrega

De las que andan al majuelo.

Pues ma das nueva tan buena,

Por estrena

Te la mando, si no mientes.

(*Teatro*, p. 74)

BENEITO

Espera, espera,

Que aún no estoy repantigado.

BRAS

Ya estoy ancho, Dios loado!

Next Pascuala and Gil are called in.² They tell how they have

² Compare *Égloga Interlocutoria*, lines 71-92, with *Égloga VI*, pp. 81-82. The manner in which the shepherds are received by their companions is strikingly similar, although there is no evidence of copying.

seen the child in Bethlehem, and describe the joy of Joseph, who sang a nurse's song, and recount the gifts of *mantequillas*, *morcillas*, *tortolillas*, *gorriones*, and *mantecones* made by themselves and others. The Christ child is described in wholly human terms. Lastly a quarrel arises because Pascual does not want to make a contribution, as others have done.

There are two nativity plays in the *Teatro Completo*, *Égloga II*, to which *Égloga I* serves as an introduction, and the *Égloga de las grandes lluvias*, No. IX. In neither of these is to be found a description of the infant Jesus, since the actors are not supposed to have seen him. In *Égloga II* shepherds named *Juan*, *Mateo*, *Lúcas*, and *Marco* discuss the nativity "*en nombre de los cuatro evangelistas*." Naturally their discussion is of a theological nature, and has little in common with the *Égloga Interlocutoria*. In the *Égloga IX*, the author treats very briefly the birth of Christ. It is treated, however, in a popular vein. An angel announces the birth of the Savior, and the shepherds prepare to start for Bethlehem. In common with the play under discussion here, they bear as gifts, *quesito*, *mantequillas*, *morcillas*, etc. There are no verbal similarities that indicate a direct influence of one play upon the other.

The next scene in the *Égloga Interlocutoria* is the game of *nones y pares*. An interesting analogue occurs likewise in *Égloga IX*. A few lines will show the points in common.

(*Ég. Int.*, lines 224 and 236-250)

(*Égloga IX*)

GIL

(The stakes are furnished by
Juan, who has brought along,
p. 147)

juguemos pares y nones,

.....

PASCUAL .

Una gran sarta de higos
É tres brancas de castañas.

Soy contento y pagado,
No cures de pontillones;
ala fe, que, Dios loado,
de nuezes vengo cargado:
que dizes, pares o nones?

.....
pp. 149-150.)

JUAN

Hora juguemos.

GIL

ANTON

Soncas, yo digo les pares.

Juguemos.

PASCUAL^a

MIGUELLEJO

Pues daca cinco, moçuelo;

Y ¿á qué juego, compañeros?

^a In the text the name of Benito appears here.

poco sabes de jugares, medraran tus pegujares segun comienças a pelo; y tu Benito?	RODRIGACHO Juguemos pares é nones.
BENITO	JUAN Á hotas que bien haremos.
	ANTON Comenzemos.
PASCUAL Pares son.	JUAN ¿Qué les dices?
BENITO	ANTON
	Juro á ños,
PASCUAL	Nones digo.
Desalforjar los çurrone.	JUAN
BENITO	Daca dos.
Rauia en tales repelones, quantos que agora escoziome.	ANTON Cata que no trampillemos.
	RODRIGACHO ¿Qué les dices, Migallejo?
	MIGUELLEJO Pares les digo.
	RODRIGACHO Perdiste.

The last scene, in which the shepherds praise their *amos*, has also frequent parallels in those plays of Encina that were written while he was in the service of the house of Alba. They first show their timidity in addressing their masters (cf. *Teatro*, pp. 106-108), then they laud the duke for his prowess in war (pp. 4 and 64 ff.), and express their gratitude because he protects them and their flocks from wolves and other perils (p. 5). The closing *villancico* is similar in tone to that of the *Teatro*, pp. 114-115. It is furthermore not insignificant that all the proper names in the play are to be found likewise in the earlier plays of Encina.⁴

⁴ The dialect of the play is similar to that of Encina's early plays, but differs materially from that of the *Aucto del Repelón*. Although the pastoral commonplaces of Encina are found in abundance, it would be hazardous to base a claim of authorship on the language of the piece. In the first place, the text is corrupt. Furthermore the author was using an artificial pastoral dialect in which uniformity is scarcely to be expected. As a somewhat superficial language test, the first ten plays of the *Teatro Completo* were re-read with a list of the unusual words and dialect forms of the *Égloga Interlocutoria* at hand. While the recurrence of several unusual words, such as *gargomillera* (*Eg. Int.*, line

The above comparison, that shows a parallel for almost all of the material of the *Égloga Interlocutoria* in the signed works of Encina, does not complete the list of resemblances. The structure of the play, its inclusion of heterogeneous themes, and the development of each theme are identical with Encina's earlier style. Reference has already been made to the structural similarity of the first part with *Églogas I* and *II*. In its entirety it may be compared also to *Égloga IX*. This play shows likewise a distinct tripartite division. The first part is made up largely of references to the personal affairs of Juan, the second is the game of *nones y pares*, while the concluding scenes treat of the birth of Christ. These are substantially the themes of the *Égloga Interlocutoria* taken in the reverse order.

On the negative side of the question there is little to be said. If another than Encina wrote the play, he put into it no trace of his own originality. It is a copy that remains true to the original both in general structure and in detail. While such a view is not impossible, it is difficult to find a motive for it. The *Égloga Interlocutoria* was written for presentation "*en la sala del duque 7 la duquesa*." Considered as a copy of Encina, it would presuppose, on the part of its author, acquaintanceship with the *Égloga IX*, which was written in 1498 and first published, as far as is now known, in 1507. It is scarcely possible that one of the associates of Encina who was acquainted with the latter play from hearing it presented in 1498, or who had access to it in manuscript form, would present such a bold plagiarism before the household of Alba, or in other circles where Encina's works were known in manuscript. Nor is it much more likely that it would have been offered as an original to any other patron after 1507, when four editions of the *Cancionero* were already in circulation.

It may seem that much space has been wasted in trying to prove 355); *gorgomillera* (*Teatro*, p. 76) or the Latin *cras* (*Ég. Int.*, line 18; *Teatro*, p. 83) formed a presumption in favor of Encina, it seemed strange that a frequently recurring form like *acotro* (lines 11, 230, 267), or an imperfect indicative rime in *ié* (cf. *tenie*, line 124) should not be found in the early plays of the *Cancionero*. The question of dialect will probably remain open until a thorough study of Encina's language has been made, and the text of the *Égloga Interlocutoria* has received critical attention.

what was self-evident from the beginning. But if in content the play seems to contain nothing but Encina material, in execution it shows no trace of his careful workmanship. It remains to be explained why this piece lacks the originality of the other plays, how it came to be preserved only in its present defective state, and whether the defects of composition are due to the author or to the manner in which the play was handed down. In the following pages these points are examined in more detail, and an attempt is made to find an explanation for these difficulties. Whether the theory presented here is the right one or not, a clear title of authorship cannot be given to Encina until the defects noted have been explained away. In order to avoid making a qualified statement of authorship each time that the question comes up, it will be assumed here dogmatically that we are dealing with a play of Encina.

To the fact that the play was written while Encina was in the service of the house of Alba, may be added that it is certainly later than *Égloga I*. It is evident from the parallel passages before quoted that the *Égloga Interlocutoria* is the copy. Furthermore, if we are to take literally the poet's word given in the *prohemio* of the *Cancionero* of 1496, and in the headings of *Églogas I* and *VIII*, that he was getting out a "*copilacion de todas sus obras*," the play could not well have been presented prior to the Christmas of 1496. It is not known when Encina left the service of the Duke of Alba; certainly before 1502, when he is known to have been in Italy, probably several years earlier. It has been held that when the *Égloga de las grandes lluvias* was written he had already given up his post.⁵ This view is not generally accepted. Be that as it may, the material common to the two plays gives no clue as to the order in which they were written. However, the dissatisfaction concerning the author's position expressed in *Égloga IX*, and the contentment of the *Égloga Interlocutoria*, corresponding to that of the earlier plays, indicate that the latter is the earlier of the two. Kohler is probably right in assigning as its date 1496 or 1497.

The *Cancionero* of 1496 is supposed to contain all that Encina had written up to that time, and other plays were added in the edi-

⁵ See *Teatro Completo*, p. 135, note, and A. Álvarez de la Villa, *El Aucto del Repelón*, Paris, 1911, p. 24.

tions of 1507 and 1509. Only two signed plays, and those of comparatively late date, failed to appear in some of the various editions of the *Cancionero*. How does it happen that this play is preserved only in a defective edition without even the name of the author on the title-page? The similarity that it bears to the other nativity plays of the author may have been the reason. While it could not have been considered unoriginal in 1496 or 1497, it would certainly have lacked novelty when found in a series that included both *Églogas I* and *IX*. A comparison of all the other plays shows that Encina was not much given to repeating himself. Or perhaps he did not consider the play sufficiently well written. The texts of the *Teatro Completo*, as well as the frequently quoted passage found in it (p. 9), show the importance that he gave to good versification.

There is no question but that the *Égloga Interlocutoria* shows the traces of hasty composition. One of the best concrete examples of this is found in the before quoted lines 31-40. The author was following in a general way the outlines of *Égloga I*, when he recalled by accident or deliberately copied almost word for word a passage of some length, a portion of which failed to fit into the verse scheme he was using. Instead of the usual ten line strophe with rimes a-b-a-a-b; c-d-c-c-d, the passage in question follows the model of *Égloga I*, which is a-b-b-a: a-c-a-a-c.⁶ This oversight would scarcely have been made by Encina, if he had not been working in considerable haste. Again in lines 121-130 the *b* rime continues throughout making a three rime strophe, and another nine line strophe is found in lines 292-301. It is to be noted also that the *Egloga Interlocutoria* is the only Encina play of the earlier period in which the verse form is not uniform throughout. The last part is in *arte mayor*. This may simply be a matter of chance, or it may be that the passage in question is an adaptation of material in that form that the author had written for some other occasion.

But not even the greatest haste would account for all the errors in the existing text. The printer is undoubtedly responsible for

⁶ There is, of course, no missing line corresponding to No. 35, as indicated in the reprint. Even if a line with a *b* rime were omitted at the beginning of the strophe, there would still be only three rimes instead of the usual four. Similarly the strophe in lines 292-301 could be corrected only by a line at the beginning with a rime in *-ones*. The sense is satisfactory as it stands.

some of them. The mistakes of a compositor are usually not difficult to detect. An occasional wrong letter may appear, especially if the characters are somewhat similar. Or there may be a confusion of contiguous verse endings, for example, *marmarie*, line 122, where the rime requires the ending of the imperfect indicative. Again a glance at the wrong line in the copy may have been the cause of the substitution of *Benito* for *Pascual* in line 242.

Yet after making full allowance for the blunders of author and printer, the majority of the errors seem to arise from another source. In lines 36-38 is found a passage that reads, "Quando agora *enel estio*—a ladrar tambien te amañas,—que haras tu *conel frio?*," where the original reads, "Quando agora con tal frio—Á ladrar tan bien te amañas—¿Qué haras en el estio." A Christmas play in the summer is strangely out of season. If the passage were written with burlesque intention, there is nothing in the rest of the play to indicate it. The author could scarcely have made such a blunder, and the printer could not have changed the text in such a way by accident. Illegible handwriting in the copy could have been responsible only if it had made several lines illegible, and had thus lead to an unfortunate attempt at text reconstruction. It might have come about in some such way as the following: After the public performance of the piece the actors, who were not professionals but members of the household, may have wished to preserve it for future use, and, not having a copy at hand, wrote it out from memory. The riming element is naturally the easiest part of the verse to remember. This would account for the correct rime, although by a shifting of place of two phrases, the meaning was inadvertently changed. It would be hazardous to infer so much from a single passage, but many other errors give weight to the theory of oral transmission. If the play were written down from memory, the heading would not then have been the work of the author. Some one else would then be responsible for the omission of the author's name, contrary to his custom, for the confusion in the names of the characters, and for other defects already noted. Furthermore, the statements, "*Benito . . . le traua dela capa*" and "*Gil . . . tomo vn cayado para darle conel*," are incidents that would be more prominent in the mind of one who had taken part in

the acting, or who had seen the piece acted, than in that of the author himself. In the text, line 77 reads, *aua alla toste priado!* The meaning of this is not clear, but substitute *aballá*, an exact sound equivalent for *aua alla*, and we have the reading that best fits the place.⁷ To the same source may be assigned many of the errors in versification. In line 103 *cierto* appears undoubtedly for *notorip*.^{7a} In this case the meaning was retained, but the rime word was forgotten. The incomplete and corrupt strophe beginning in line 261 is also most naturally explained as a lapse of memory. Unmetrical lines could have been distorted more easily by an actor with a poor ear for rhythm than by a printer or copyist. It would certainly be difficult to suppose that Encina, who was a musician as well as a poet, could have left so many bad lines, even when writing in the greatest haste.⁸ Moreover, if the faulty lines were difficult of correction, one might assume that the poet in his haste left them for lack of time to rectify the metre, but the ease with which most of them can be successfully emended suggests rather that they were originally correct.

If the objection should arise that others would scarcely be more zealous than the author in the preservation of a literary work, it can be answered by Encina himself. In the heading to *Égloga I* a reason given for bringing out a complete edition of his works is that others *se las usurpaban y corrompían*, and likewise in more

⁷ In citing this example, I am not unaware of the fact that there is a form *ava*, cf. vocabulary to Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI*, and Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Églogas*, Acad. ed., vocabulary under *abá*. The meaning to be inferred from the few examples cited is not satisfactory here.

^{7a} Cf. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de Libros raros y curiosos*, vol. II, col. 895, under Encina: "*Sábeta cierto e notorio*," and Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Églogas* (1867), p. 171; "*Vamos sin detenimiento—Ver tan sancto nascimiento,—Pues que á todos es notorio*."

⁸ Compare lines 23, 30, 91, 115, 182, 190, 199, 216, 221, 246, 247, 254, 266, 279, 282, 288. Mr. Cronan has called attention to most of these irregularities, and has suggested emendations for a number of them. In addition to the indisputable cases, are found in abundance lines that can be counted as correct only by admitting hiatus, or by elision over initial *h* from Latin *f* (cf. lines 26, 33, 42, 45, 57, 58, 70, 76, 93, and so on through the whole play). On the other hand, a comparison of *Églogas I* and *VII* discloses one case of hiatus of two vowels, justified by the phrase accent (p. 3), and a single elision over *h* from Latin *f* (p. 92).

detail in the dedication of the *Cancionero* to the duke and duchess of Alba, where he says, *e tambien porque andaban ya tan corrompidas y usurpadas algunas obrecillas mias que como mensajeras habia enviado adelante, que ya no mias, mas ajenas se podian llamar*.⁹ This play was probably not yet written when the above statements were made, but they indicate that Encina's works were already popular in certain circles, and that others were not over scrupulous in appropriating them.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, the following statement is offered, not as proven, but as the theory that best explains the various difficulties that the text offers: The play was written in haste by Encina for a Christmas celebration then close at hand. The author did not intend it for publication. Its preservation was due to the actors, who wrote it out from memory, thinking that it might serve on other occasions.

In spite of the condition of the text and the evidences of haste in the original, the value of the work for the study of literary history is by no means negligible. The nativity theme is more popular in tone than in *Égloga II*, and is much better developed than the corresponding portion of *Égloga IX*. The second and third parts have also the merit not shared by *Égloga IX* of being sufficiently subordinated to the main theme of the play.

The text is unfortunately damaged beyond the hope of complete restitution. It is questionable whether one could safely base any opinion concerning Encina's language on the authority of this edition alone.

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⁹ Quoted from Gallardo, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de Libros Raros y Curiosos*, Vol. II, Col. 812.

REVIEWS

LA VERSIFICATION FRANÇAISE

Essai sur l'histoire du vers français, par HUGO P. THIEME, de l'Université de Michigan. Préface de G. Lanson. Paris, librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, in-8, 1916, pp. xii, 432.

M. Hugo P. Thieme, à qui l'on doit déjà un bon travail sur l'alexandrin français et un précieux guide bibliographique pour la littérature du 19^e siècle, vient de publier un magistral *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*.

Cet ouvrage dont on ne saurait exagérer l'importance, est divisé en trois parties, précédées d'une introduction.

La 2^e partie est une *bibliographie*, aussi complète qu'on peut la souhaiter, des ouvrages relatifs au vers français qui ont été faits depuis le 14^e siècle jusqu'à 1913. Ils sont classés dans l'ordre chronologique, et le contenu, l'intérêt de chaque écrit sont brièvement indiqués.

La 3^e partie nous offre un classement analytique des mêmes ouvrages, par ordre des matières. Chaque publication est mentionnée autant de fois qu'elle a touché de sujets importants.

Deux *Index*, l'un chronologique, avec référence aux noms d'auteurs, l'autre alphabétique, avec référence aux dates, complètent ces deux parties.

Si M. Thieme s'en était tenu à constituer ce très riche répertoire, il aurait rendu par là un très grand service aux travailleurs. Mais il a mis au-devant de son catalogue une 1^e partie qui est une œuvre d'historien et de critique originale autant que considérable.

Il y fait une revue rapide des questions relatives à la versification française, et l'historique de chaque question. Tous les écrits qui peuvent montrer comment les questions sont nées, ont été posées, discutées, résolues, renouvelées, nous sont présentés; ce que chacun a apporté de nouveau est brièvement mis en lumière. A cette partie se rapporte un *Index général alphabétique*.

La richesse et l'intérêt de cette 1^e partie ressortent de la simple énumération des chapitres: 1°. Conditions favorables ou défavorables à la versification (rapports de l'évolution du vers à l'évolution sociale); — 2°. Bibliographie; — 3°. Les arts poétiques; — 4°. Comparaison entre la langue française et d'autres langues; — 5°. Les origines; — 6°. L'évolution ou les Ecoles littéraires; — 7°. Technique et pédagogie; les règles (allitération; *ε* muet; hiatus; élision, etc.); — 8°. La rime; — 9°. Le rythme (accent; vers mesurés, sans rime, libres; distinction entre la rime et la poésie, etc.).

Un dernier chapitre offre une liste de *questions à étudier*.

L'Introduction mérite d'être méditée. M. Thieme y dégage en quelques pages certaines idées générales, très importantes, auxquelles ses études l'ont conduit.

1°. On ne peut étudier la versification française, abstraction faite de son rapport à l'ensemble de la culture et de la vie françaises. Les deux évolutions s'accompagnent. Les théoriciens du vers, en étudiant ses transformations, ont souvent négligé de tenir compte de cette relation essentielle.

2°. La recherche de la perfection technique, l'importance accordée au "métier" sont des traits caractéristiques, selon M. Thieme, de tous les moments et de toutes les écoles dans l'histoire de notre poésie. Je dirais : "*presque* tous les moments, et *presque* toutes les écoles." Car, à la fin du 16^e siècle, et dans un certain romantisme, l'inspiration a prétendu se passer du métier. Mais il est vrai que, dans les deux cas, la réaction n'a guère tardé, et la restauration de la sévérité technique en a été le premier objet.

3°. M. Thieme indique encore avec raison que le développement de notre vers s'est fait par une succession de secousses révolutionnaires, mais que, dans les violences les plus effrénées en apparence, il y avait encore un ordre, une règle, et que, sous la nouveauté, la tradition se continuait. L'idée est fort juste, à la condition qu'on attende pour porter un jugement sur une innovation actuelle, que le temps en ait révélé la liaison cachée à la tradition. La loi ne paraît sans exception pour le passé, que parce qu'on ne tient compte que des nouveautés qui, s'étant fait recevoir, ont prouvé par là qu'elles n'étaient point contraires au tempérament français : les autres sont oubliées, et comme si elles n'avaient jamais été.

4°. La part des Allemands et la part des Français, dans les études sur notre versification, est faite avec impartialité. M. Thieme donne aux Allemands l'érudition exacte et laborieuse, qui produit une masse de faits ; aux Français, la délicatesse esthétique, et l'invention originale. Tandis que les Français inclinent à expliquer leur vers par le principe "logique-mathématique," les théories allemandes, ordinairement, essaient de lui donner l'accent pour base. Les Allemands ne comprennent, en général, que la versification allemande : ils y ramènent notre rythme, ou bien, quand ils n'y peuvent pas réussir, ils le nient.

5°. Cependant M. Thieme tient pour "évident que les Français eux-mêmes ont seuls le sens subtil et intime de leur propre vers et de son rythme." Observation sage, que doivent méditer non les Allemands seulement, mais tous les étrangers qui travaillent sur notre vers. Si nous prétendions définir Shakespeare ou Goethe sans nous soucier de ce que leurs compatriotes y sentent, nous en entendrions de belles sur notre impertinente assurance. Réciproquement, dans l'étude de notre rythme, les étrangers peuvent ne pas accepter nos explications : mais ils doivent partir de nos impressions, et s'attacher d'abord à les bien connaître. Ce sont des "faits," des "données" du sujet ; et la théorie doit rendre raison non seulement de la figure objective du vers, mais de son effet, c'est à dire du rapport entre cette figure objective et l'impression subjective de l'oreille française. Bien des fois, l'effort des savants étrangers qui n'ont pas consulté suffisamment notre impression, n'a réussi qu'à embrouiller les questions : par exemple sur l'e muet, à propos duquel M. Thieme a écrit d'excellentes pages. L'e muet est une des plus certaines, des plus efficaces, des plus délicates valeurs musicales de notre vers, et presque la seule dans le vers de Voltaire. On ne le supprime pas en l'ignorant. La théorie peut ne pas le compter : il est là pourtant, et fait son effet.

Dans sa première partie, M. Thieme a, en général, très bien indiqué, et avec beaucoup de précision, les problèmes importants du sujet. Il a donné de substantiels résumés des discussions et des argumentations. On ne saurait trouver un meilleur guide.

J'aurais souhaité qu'il marquât fortement que la question, *s'il faut prononcer les vers comme de la prose*, est absurde, posée en ces termes généraux. Cela

dépendra du poète, des vers, et du récitant. La prose est une *limite*, le chant en est une autre. Entre ces deux limites, qui jamais ne seront atteintes (car il serait puéril, dans un cas, d'écrire en vers, et, dans l'autre, il faudrait une notation musicale), entre ces deux limites, tous les partis-pris sont possibles et légitimes, théoriquement. Le récitant tendra vers la prose, ou vers le chant, selon l'effet cherché. La structure des vers lui prescrira cet effet en gros; mais il pourra le pousser, ou le tempérer, selon son goût ou son public. En général le vers lyrique passionné tendra au chant, le vers lyrique religieux à la psalmodie, le vers dramatique à la prose. Mais ces grands partis-pris se nuanceront à l'infini dans le détail de l'exécution. Il est évident que le vers dramatique deviendra de plus en plus chantant, à mesure que la pièce ou la scène, ou le tempérament de l'acteur, seront plus poétiques. Il est évident aussi qu'une tonalité générale devra être maintenue, et qu'elle limitera, selon les cas, ou la tendance au chant, ou la tendance à la prose.

De ces observations se tirerait aussi l'intelligence de la part qui revient au récitant dans la création de la beauté du vers. Le plus beau vers, écrit ou imprimé, n'est qu'en puissance: le récitant en fait une réalité vivante. Si précis que soit l'art du poète, il ne peut qu'indiquer une direction au récitant, et lui tracer les limites entre lesquelles sa diction se mouvra.

Dans le chapitre sur la rime, M. Thieme n'indique que les discussions sur la légitimité des vers non rimés. Il y aurait à distinguer la question de la fonction esthétique de la rime: est-elle seulement le signe de la fin du vers, l'avertisseur sonore de la conclusion d'une unité rythmique? Il y a des vers, romantiques ou symbolistes, où l'individualité distincte des unités rythmiques s'abolissant dans la souple continuité de la période, la rime serait absurde, si elle subsistait comme avertisseur d'une distinction qui ne se fait plus. Elle n'a plus alors qu'une valeur musicale; elle dessine une broderie de notes chantantes qui ne diffère plus essentiellement des rappels de sons qu'on trouve dans l'intérieur du vers.

On voudrait également trouver dans cet exposé si plein quelques chapitres sur trois ou quatre questions qui mériteraient d'être traitées à part.

Le vers du 16^e siècle devrait être distingué du vers classique. Les théoriciens, en général, ne l'ont pas fait; mais ils ont eu tort. Les monographies consacrées aux poètes de la Pléiade fourniraient des indications utiles, au moins pour poser la question. Le vers du 16^e siècle prépare le vers détaché de Malherbe et de Maynard, et le système carré des distiques et quatrains classiques. Pourtant, à côté de cette tendance, il y en a une autre, très apparente chez Ronsard et d'Aubigné: c'est la tendance à l'ample période où le vers perd son existence individuelle, s'agglutine à ses voisins, se décompose avec eux pour former une série de membres inégaux dont certains enjambent par-dessus la rime. Victor Hugo dégagera de l'alexandrin cette possibilité rythmique qui y était contenue, et contre laquelle on sent parfois lutter le vers classique.

Ceci me conduit à regretter l'absence d'un chapitre distinct sur la discordance et l'accord du rythme et du sens. Si les théoriciens ne s'y sont guère arrêtés, il vaudrait la peine de signaler la lacune, et d'appeler l'attention des travailleurs de ce côté. A travers toute notre poésie, on sent, depuis quatre siècles bientôt, lutter deux tendances: l'une, héritée du moyen âge, imposa l'accord du sens et du rythme par la soumission du sens au rythme (système classique); on place les arrêts du sens de façon qu'ils coïncident avec les pauses du rythme. L'autre recherche le désaccord du sens et du rythme (vers dramatique de l'*Étourdi*, des

Ploideurs; vers d'André Chénier; vers romantique disloqué, enjambant; alexandrins libérés de Verlaine). Il y aurait à examiner quel rapport ont ces deux systèmes avec l'inspiration du poète et la nature de l'effet cherché. La discordance convient aux peintres du mouvement, de l'action, et de la passion: l'accord aux interprètes de l'idée pure, de l'émotion religieuse, des lignes immobiles. Mais les symbolistes ont pratiqué un système d'accord, inverse du système classique: l'accord, non plus par soumission du sens au rythme, mais au contraire par réduction du rythme au sens, dans le vers libre. C'est le mouvement de la pensée qui détermine les arrêts et les coupes de la période rythmique. Ainsi, tout ce qui s'exprimait par la régularité classique ou par la dislocation romantique, peut s'exprimer dans le système nouveau qui dessine la forme du vers d'après le sentiment et ne reçoit plus un dessin fait d'avance: tout à moins que rien ne sorte, ce qui est arrivé quelquefois.

Il eût été bon aussi de donner un chapitre aux essais faits pour appliquer à l'étude du vers français les méthodes et les appareils de la phonétique expérimentale. Le principal est la remarquable thèse de M. Lote. Qu'est-ce que ces méthodes ont donné? qu'est-ce qu'elles peuvent donner? Je crois qu'il sera indispensable d'y faire appel, et qu'on peut en attendre beaucoup pour expliquer le mécanisme de nos vers. Mais il ne faudra pas oublier que ce qu'il faut expliquer, ce n'est pas la courbe ou le dessin rythmiques enregistrés par l'appareil: c'est l'effet perçu par l'oreille. Ce dernier seul constitue la réalité esthétique du vers. L'étude du mécanisme ne doit pas l'écarter, mais l'éclaircir.

Enfin, il y a une discussion, à mon sens capitale, dont j'aurais su gré à M. Thieme de rassembler les éléments dans son livre. Les théoriciens se sont toujours efforcés de réduire nos vers à des *schémas*, et ont toujours raisonné comme si la beauté des vers tenait exclusivement à la structure des schémas, comme si elle en sortait automatiquement. Ils ont admis, explicitement ou implicitement, que tous les éléments d'un rythme donné étaient pratiquement égaux à l'élément-type du *schéma* abstrait, et que la prononciation devait s'efforcer de les réduire à cette égalité. Ainsi la prononciation du vers tendrait spontanément ou devrait tendre à donner une durée égale aux unités rythmiques de même composition, une durée égale aux éléments de chaque unité qui seraient théoriquement égaux; elle maintiendrait une proportion égale entre les unités et les éléments inégaux, de façon à dégager toujours le plus nettement possible les formules théoriques. Je crois que c'est là une grande erreur. Un vers est à son *schéma* ce qu'un homme est au type humain. Le vers qui, trop sensiblement, coïncide avec le rythme abstrait du *schéma*, est sans grâce. La beauté rythmique est une ligne onduleuse et souple qui enveloppe, qui serre la ligne géométrique du *schéma* sans jamais s'y confondre. La formule du rythme abstrait indique une limite, autour de laquelle la réalité s'organise sans s'y fixer jamais. Le point de vue *dynamique*, la considération de la tendance, de la vie, s'introduisent ainsi dans l'étude du vers. La *dyssymétrie*, qui est la loi des corps vivants, est aussi la loi du vers, qui, pour être beau, doit être un effort vivant.

Il y a pourtant une beauté géométrique, une beauté de la ligne droite: beauté tout intellectuelle; et par conséquent, la régularité presque absolue du vers, l'identité presque parfaite du rythme réel et du rythme abstrait ne conviendront qu'à la poésie la plus intellectuelle, la plus dégagée des sens et des passions. La vie est élan, désir, souffrance: à tous ces états conviendront les rythmes frémissants où la régularité de la formule abstraite se voile et s'altère.

Les variations qui éloignent les vers de leurs *schémas* ne doivent donc pas être considérées comme des inégalités nécessaires, tenant à la résistance de la matière offerte par la langue, et qu'il faut dissimuler, effacer de son mieux. Elles font passer le vers du domaine de l'abstraction dans le domaine de la vie; la beauté n'existe qu'en elles. Le *schéma* ne contient que des beautés en puissance.

Mais le *schéma* est nécessaire comme principe d'organisation. Pas plus que l'*e* muet, on ne le supprime en le niant. Il subsiste sous le capricieux dessin des *vers libres* les plus libres. La base numérique, conclue par une pause ou une élévation de voix, la base logique, conclue par un arrêt du sens, le rapport de ces deux bases, voilà tout ce qu'il faut pour donner au vers français son armature. Notre "syllabisme," c'est une sorte de "quadrillage" où l'on peut inscrire tout ce qu'on veut. La rigueur des règles classiques n'a fixé que les éléments du rythme les plus grossiers; les accents, leur nombre et leur place à l'intérieur de l'hémistiche, tout ce qui fait la couleur, la beauté du rythme réalisé, aussi bien que le choix des sonorités, sont demeurés abandonnés à l'instinct, au génie, à la liberté du poète. C'est parce que notre système détermine si peu le rythme, le laisse en réalité tout entier à trouver, que l'on fait si facilement de médiocres vers en français, et si difficilement de bons vers. La musique de notre vers est tout entière dans le poète; le vers, par son mécanisme, ne lui en prête pas, ou bien moins que ne font les vers étrangers qui sont fondés sur l'accent.

On trouverait dans ces remarques l'explication de nos révolutions poétiques. Nous en avons de deux sortes: il y en a qui se font lorsque le vers devient amorphe, que les *schémas* se sont affaiblis, évanouis dans le vague, ou qu'une négligence habituelle d'exécution a multiplié des licences qui les relâchent. Alors se fait une réaction qui resserre la technique, et la précise. A d'autres moments les règles se sont multipliées à l'excès. Le type du vers se précise par trop, se fixe, se fige. La musique individuelle ne peut plus s'exprimer à travers la cantilène mécanique du vers. Alors se fait une réaction qui brise *schémas* et règles, et qui refond le vers en rendant possible la variation individuelle, condition de la beauté.

Il y aurait bien d'autres choses qu'on pourrait dire sur le livre de M. Thieme. C'est un de ses mérites, disant tant de choses, de nous forcer à trouver ce qu'il ne dit pas; et nous lui avons obligation même pour ce que nous lui ajoutons.

Cet *Essai sur le vers français*, par l'étendue et la précision de l'information qu'il nous apporte, par la clarté et l'intelligence avec lesquelles l'érudition est employée à nous conduire aux idées, est une des meilleures contributions qui aient jamais été données sur le grand sujet. Instrument de travail de premier ordre, guide sûr et suggestif, il unit à la conscience des recherches, à la richesse du savoir, la pénétration philosophique, la finesse esthétique, et même le bon sens, qui n'accompagne pas toujours ces rares qualités. Aucune étude sérieuse sur le vers français ne pourra désormais être entreprise ou menée à bonne fin sans ce livre essentiel qui honore la science Américaine.

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José Maria Rodrigues, *Camões e a Infanta D. Maria*. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade. 1910.

It might be hardly safe to assert that Camões would have been long remembered if he had not been a poet. Perhaps there is nothing in the external circumstances of his life which would have distinguished him greatly from many another brave and active Portuguese of his time, who fought for their country by land and sea, and traveled and held office and quarreled and had various love affairs, were always in difficulties, and finally died in poverty and neglect. Brave soldier as he was, his achievements would have gained only a passing mention in history. Still, admitting this, it cannot be denied that his varied experiences gave an extraordinary vividness and brilliancy to all he wrote. The beauty of his descriptions delights the unscientific reader, and their accuracy wins the admiring praise of Humboldt. The pictures of storms and fair weather, of day and night, of all the phases of the sea, so changing from day to day, so immutable from generation to generation, the panorama of the East and its wonders, all show intimate acquaintance with the things described. But if the *Lusiadas* reflects his personal experience, his lyric poetry reveals it even more. One of the best known facts of his private life is his romantic and unfortunate attachment to a lady of high rank in the Portuguese court, and the influence of this attachment can be traced in many of his shorter poems.

The identity of the lady in question has been the subject of more or less discussion, although the generally accepted opinion has been that she was Dona Catarina de Ataíde. This opinion prevailed without serious opposition till Dr. José Maria Rodrigues, professor of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Lisbon, in his *Camões e a Infanta D. Maria*, dedicated to the memory of the assassinated Prince Royal, whose preceptor he had been, presented and brilliantly sustained an entirely new theory, according to which the object of Camões' devotion was the Infanta Dona Maria, youngest daughter of Manuel I of Portugal. The case of a squire of low degree—comparatively—who placed his affections upon a king's daughter is not without a parallel in Portuguese history. Was there not João de Menezes da Silva, who fell madly in love with the Infanta Dona Leonor, daughter of King Duarte? He was one of the Infanta's retinue when, in 1452, she journeyed to Rome for her marriage to the emperor Frederick III. He realized from the first the impossibility of any happy termination of his infatuation, and confined himself to adopting as his device the symbolic figure of an altar with the motto *Ignoto Deo*, but it was only after Leonor had become the bride of the emperor that he ceased to cherish the thought of her, and entered the monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Castile, where he spent his time in penances for his extravagant worship of the unknown Deity. Then there is the legend—discredited but not forgotten—of the poetic adoration of Bernardim Ribeiro for Beatriz, the elder step-sister of Maria, who later married the Duke of Savoy. And still another sister of Maria, Isabel, the beloved wife of Charles V, made so deep an impression on the mind of the Duke of Gandia that after her death he became a humble Jesuit, and was later known as Saint Francis of Borgia. It may be objected that historical parallels prove nothing: because a thing has happened once it does not follow that it must necessarily happen again. More convincing is the fact that the new theory best explains hitherto obscure passages in the life of Camões. One writer, discussing the cause of his unhappiness, says that it is impossible at this day to

explain this point in the life of Camões, but that the necessity of leaving his country, the isolation in which he lived, and the ardent desire of risking himself in great enterprises make it presumable that he was harassed by deep troubles. Now, what so well accounts for the persistent hardships—persecutions even—to which he was subjected, as this theory that he had incurred the displeasure of a member of the royal family by his impossible and perhaps even compromising pretensions? Another biographer says: "This love for a lady superior to his rank, was the origin of the long series of calamities which tormented the life of the poet." Here again the new theory shows its excellence, for the higher the rank of the irresponsible object of his devotion, the easier it would be for her, or her friends, to remove the obnoxious suitor to a distance which would at least silence the expression of his love if it could not quench it altogether. The inequality between Catarina de Ataíde and the young and gifted poet, who was himself a *fidalgo*, was scarcely sufficient to justify such harsh measures as would be only natural if he ventured to raise his thoughts to a princess who was the daughter of one of the richest and most powerful kings of Europe, and who very nearly became the queen of Spain, then at the zenith of her glory.

Like other innovations the new idea approves itself to the judgment of those who lacked the originality to evolve it, or the thorough knowledge to demonstrate it. Surely no one could have been better fitted for an undertaking of this kind than Dr. Rodrigues. The Count of Sabugosa characterizes him as a profound student of Camões, thoroughly versed in the Portuguese language and the technique of the poet, and possessing the secrets of his art and the origins of his learning. Another writer speaks of the book as a "revolutionary work," which marks the author as a notable investigator and a distinguished critic, and adds that it is a very important correction in the history of Portuguese literature, and one which must prevail, because, logically and documentarily, there is nothing to oppose it. Another critic writes of the rare subtilty of his mind and his extraordinary specialized learning. It is impossible to do justice to a work of this nature in a review of a few pages, and the only object of this article is to call the attention of students of Camões to a work which they cannot afford to neglect.

The book begins by quoting the graceful *voltas* of Camões on the *mote*:

Perdigão perdeo a penna. (The playful turns on *penna*, *pena*, *depennado*, *penado*, so characteristic of the age, may be noted.)

Perdigão perdeo a penna,
Não ha mal que lhe não venha.

Perdigão, que o pensamento
Subio a um alto logar,
Perde a penna do voar,
Ganha a pena do tormento.
Não tem no ar, nem no vento,
Asas com que se sustenha.
Não ha mal que lhe não venha!

Quis voar a uma alta torre,
Mas achou-se desasado;

E vendo-se depennado,
De puro penado morre.
Se a queixumes se soccorre,
Lança no fogo mais lenha.
Não ha mal que lhe não venha!

"The poor featherless partridge, which could not even complain *sem lançar mais lenha no fogo*, without aggravating his situation, was Camões himself. The high place to which he raised his thought, the high place to which he wished to fly, was one of the noblest and most sympathetic feminine figures which have lived under this beautiful sun of Portugal: it was the youngest daughter of the king D. Manuel, the Infanta D. Maria."

This passion for the beautiful, learned and prudent princess, Dr. Rodrigues continues, after citing various sonnets in which Camões expresses alternately a transient and ill-founded hope of favor and a despairing sense of the folly of such a hope, constitutes the culminating point of his tormented life. "Moreover, it is this which gives us, so to speak, the key of the marvellous lyric work of one of the greatest poets of all times."

The Infanta D. Maria was the youngest daughter of Manuel and his third wife, Leonor, sister of Charles V. Maria was born at Lisbon on the 8th of June, 1521. She was highly educated, being instructed in the humanities, Latin, Greek, philosophy and music, and held a court where Camões was probably presented by his friend and protector, D. Francisco de Noronha. He speaks of this presentation in Sonnet 134, addressed to his friend João Lopes Leitão, which Dr. Rodrigues considers to be the first in which he writes of the Infanta.

Senhor João Lopes, o meu baixo estado
Ontem vi posto em grau tão excelente
Que, sendo vós inveja a-toda a gente
Só por mi vos quisiereis ver trocado.

O gesto vi, suave e delicado,
Que já vos fez contente e descontente,
Lançar ao vento a voz tão docemente,
Que fez o ar sereno e sossegado.

Vi-lhe em poucas palavras dizer quanto
Ninguém diria e muitas . . . Mas eu chego
A espirar, só de ouvir a doce fala!

Oh! Mal haja a Fortuna e o Moço cego!
Elle, que os corações obriga a tanto!
Ella, porque os estados desigual!

A few days later, dominated by these ideas, he attended the church of the monastery of Santa Clara, where he was sure of seeing the Infanta, an occasion which inspired Sonnets 303 and 77. The influence of Petrarch is discernible here, but Dr. Rodrigues believes that it was an actual experience, not a mere poetic conventionality, which prompted them. Although written later, the three *canções*, *Manda-me Amor que cante*, also refer to this occasion. In these and other compositions of the same period Camões alternated between a despairing realization of his situation, considering the inequality of position, and a hope of

some sort of encouragement, unreasonable enough, certainly, inspired perhaps by the favor with which it is not unnatural to suppose that the Infanta may have received his verses. It may even be imagined that some of them may have moved her to tears, and that Sonnet 8 was occasioned by such a manifestation of feeling. But any sign which Camões might give, however indirectly, of considering that there was anything in her manner towards him which justified his bold aspirations, would unquestionably be checked by the Infanta in an unmistakable way. Still, believing that Camões was sufficiently discouraged to abandon his wild pretensions, and not wishing, certainly, that her severity towards him should be observed, the Infanta might sometimes look at him *com vista mais suave*, as he writes in Sonnet 156. It was enough to make him wild with joy.

Em não ver-me ella só está firme,
Mas eu firme estarei no que emprendi!

exclaims the resolute poet.

At this the Infanta, probably through D. Francisco de Noronha, informed Camões that she would not see him again. The warning appeared unjust and tyrannical to Camões, and again he tried to see her, and protested against the order in various sonnets—unavailingly, as may be imagined. Then came the threat of exile, to which Camões responded proudly.

Nem o tremendo estrepito da guerra
Com armas, com incendios espantosos,
Que despacham pelouros perigosos,
Bastantes a abalar uma alta serra,

Podem pôr medo a quem nenhum encerra,
Depois que viu os olhos tão formosos,
Por quem o horror, nos casos pavorosos,
De mi todo se aparta e se desterra.

A vida posso ao fogo e ferro dar
E perdê' la em qualquer duro perigo
E nelle, como phenix, renovar.

Não póde mal haver para comigo,
De que eu já me não possa bem livrar,
Senão do que me ordena Amor imigo.

(Sonnet 210.)

(Not the tremendous crash of war, with arms, with frightful fires, which hurl perilous balls, sufficient to shake a lofty mountain range, can cause fear to him who harbors none, since that he saw the eyes so beautiful, by which fright, in every dangerous stress, from me is wholly banished and removed. Life I can offer to the fire and sword and lose it in any stern peril and in it, like the phenix, be renewed. There cannot be any ill for me, from which I cannot now well free myself, except from that which hostile Love doth plan for me.)

There was no help for it. Camões received the order to leave Lisbon for the Ribatejo, and thither he went. Dr. Rodrigues ingeniously fixes the spring as the season of the year, from the verses glossing the *Mote*,

Campos bemaventurados,
Tornai-vos agora tristes,
Que os dias em que me vistes,
Alegres, já são passados.

Glosa.

Campos cheios de prazer,
Vós que estais reverdecendo,
Já me alegrei com vos ver
Agora venho a temer
Que entristeçais em me vendo.

The year must have been 1547, Dr. Rodrigues concludes from the verses:

De atormentado e perdido,
Já vos não peço senão
Que tenhais no coração
O que tendes no vestido.

Volta.

Se de dó vestida andais
Por quem já vida não tem,
Porque não haveis de quem
Vós tantas vezes matais?

"*Atormentado e perdido*, that is, seeing exile already before him, the poet asks the Infanta to have for him the sorrow which she shows in the dress. Now shortly before the beginning of the spring of 1547 the daughter of D. Manuel put on deep mourning for her step-father, Francis I, who died on the 31st of March of that year. (It may be recalled that the Infanta's mother, Leonor, left widow by the death of Manuel in 1521, had married the king of France in 1531.) If the conjecture which I presented above concerning the year in which the poet began to *pôr o pensamento* on the Infanta (1546) is well-founded, the period which we have just traversed would have lasted some twelve months.

"I must add that, if the minimum could not be less than a year,—from spring to spring,—the pretension of the poet could hardly have been prolonged for a greater time, without its being necessary to check him."

During his exile in the Ribatejo, Camões expressed his longing regret for the Infanta in various poems, complained of the cruelty which she had shown, and voiced despair, sadness, profound dejection, but, at the same time, the purpose of not abandoning for any thing his *cuidado tão ditoso*. More and more discouraged and more and more anxious to see his exile terminated, Camões wrote the beautiful *Elegia do desterro*, in which

"he refers only very vaguely to his love, which, besides this, he considers or wishes to have considered as a thing already past. What he tries to make very evident is the disproportion between his fault—slight or none at all—and the hard penalty which he is suffering. What preoccupies him is the ardent desire of returning to Lisbon, it is the fear that death may come before that joyful day arrives.

"Having made known his petition by this elegy, it is natural that friends of the desolate poet should intercede for him and obtain the necessary authorization for his return to the capital.

"Because of her character and also because of special circumstances, to which I shall shortly refer, the grave, intelligent and kind Infanta would be the first to desire that an incident in which she was involved, although involuntarily, should end as speedily as possible, without leaving any traces."

Camões was permitted to return from exile, probably on condition of serving a term as soldier in Ceuta, that Portuguese possession in Northern Africa, which was giving serious concern to the government because of the lack of men for the forts. From various poems it appears that Camões attributed his banishment to Ceuta to the direct interference of the Infanta.

"It was she who, *inda mais deshumana que Callirhoe, ergueu a mão para o matar; she is a fera humana que se injuria da sua atribulada vida e se enobrece com a sua morte.*

"What was the motive of the energetic, of the inexorable attitude, assumed by the Infanta, when she saw that the penitent poet, after his return from the Ribatejo, continued to show his love for her?

"In my opinion, the motive,—at least the principal one,—was the following: the illustrious lady, who had then in prospect a marriage with the heir of the crown of Spain, a widower since 1545, knew very well that her royal and tortuous half-brother (João III, king of Portugal, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of Manuel in 1521) in order to create obstacles to the marriage, was very capable of circulating the report that she listened to the ravings of a poet."

The motive of João's opposition to the marriage was probably his reluctance to pay the dowry which was the Infanta's due.

During his stay in Ceuta, Camões passed through different phases of irritation against the Infanta's severity, a revival of his love for her and obstinacy in continuing to cherish it, all of which emotions are expressed in odes, sonnets and elegies of this period. Finally, in the first *Epístola* he complains of the injustice of Fortune, in magnificent stanzas, and comes to the conclusion that her empire cannot be evaded except by lack of ambition or by insanity, like that of Trasilaus, who believed himself rich and happy.

"Given certain conditions, he would not ask

Do insano Trasilão o doudo estado.

And those conditions are the following: To see his exile brought to an end; to live modestly, devoted to the muses; to cultivate the friendship of the person to whom the poem is dedicated; to delight himself with the works of some particular poets, and finally, if not principally, to have near him the maiden of the green eyes." This *menina dos olhos verdes* was one to whom he had paid more or less insincere court before he met the Infanta, and who appealed more strongly to his imagination now when he had half convinced himself of the unreasonableness of his *altos pensamentos*.

This judicious resolve of reconciling himself to the inevitable was strengthened, Dr. Rodrigues believes, by "the news which his friends would not fail to send him at Ceuta, relative to the approaching marriage of the Infanta with the heir to the throne of Spain. That crisis, in fact, coincides precisely with one of the periods in which Charles V and the queen Leonor were most determined that she should marry."

Perhaps it was on receiving from Lisbon some more circumstantial and more precise letter on the subject that the poet wrote with tears of blood this admirable sonnet:

O dia em que nasci moura e pereça;
 Não o queira jámais o tempo dar;
 Não tornè mais ao mundo e, se tornar,
 Eclipse nesse passo o sol padeça.

A luz lhe falte, o ceu se lhe escureça;
 Mostre o mundo sinais de se acabar;
 Naçam-lhe monstros, sangue chova or;
 A mãe ao proprio filho não conheça.

As pessoas, pasmadas de ignorantes,
 As lagrimas no rosto, a cor perdida,
 Cuidem que o mundo já se destruiu.

Oh gente temerosa, não te espantes,
 Que este dia deitou ao mundo a vida
 Mais desventurada que se viu.

In Dr. Rodrigues' opinion the celebrated *redondilhas* which begin *Sóbolos rios que vão* are to be referred to the exile in Ceuta and date from it. These "incomparable *redondilhas*," as Storck calls them, are among the most beautiful and elevated verses which have ever been written, and Dr. Rodrigues traces through them the resolve of Camões to relinquish his claims on the Infanta and to cease his songs of love, still keeping her image in his heart; then in the second part, he renounces earthly love to rise to the contemplation of the eternal beauty, and implores divine aid against human affections, and ends by exclaiming:

Ditoso quem se partir
 Para ti, terra excelente,
 Tão justo e tão penitente,
 Que, depois de a ti subir,
 Lá descanse eternamente!

This spiritual state of mind does not appear to have been of long duration, and the Infanta continued to be the constant obsession of the poet; the *menina dos olhos verdes*, who could not forgive the neglect of her fickle lover, made a far less deep impression on him.

After his return from service in Ceuta Camões remained for a time in Lisbon, unhappy and slighted, and still more embittered by rumors that the marriage of the Infanta with the prince of the Asturias would not be long delayed. It was perhaps because he had spoken of the ill success of the love of Camões for the Infanta, that Gonçalo Borges, an official of the palace, was severely wounded by the poet, in the street of Santo Antão, in broad day, when all Lisbon was in the street to witness the procession of the *Corpus Dei* (June 16th, 1552). As is known, the poet was a prisoner till the 7th of March, 1553, and was released on being pardoned by the offended party, and on condition of going to serve that year in India. And before the end of the month, perhaps on the 26th, he left the *amada terra, em que lhe ficava o magoado coração* (the beloved land, in which his afflicted heart remained).

When Camões left Lisbon the marriage of the Infanta seemed to be definitely decided upon, and he would naturally think of her, during his voyage or

after his arrival in India, as already in Castile, and married to the prince of the Asturias. Convinced of this, nothing remained to him but to sweep away his dreams, which now served only to sadden him. To forget the past, to desire the coming of death, to free him from his profound sorrow, was now his state of mind, expressed in the third elegy. Next in chronological order comes *Canção 10*, written, it appears, after the arrival of letters from Portugal, from which he learned that Philip had married, not the Infanta, but the Queen of England. "It is easy to imagine how this news *melhoraria a cansada vida* of the poet, how it would give him *espíritos novos*, to *vencer a fortuna e o trabalho*. We can suppose how he would desire, if it were possible to him, to embark in one of the ships which in a few months would return to the kingdom, in order to be able *tornar a ver, servir e querer* the well-beloved, who had just suffered so severe a blow."

. . . A vida cansada se melhora,
Toma espiritos novos, com que vença
A fortuna e trabalho,
Só por tornar a ver-vos,
Só por ir a servir-vos e querer-vos.

Instead of returning to the kingdom, however, Camões was obliged to take part in the wearisome and perilous cruise to the Gulf of Aden. When he returned to Goa from this expedition, anxious to end his three years of military service in order to sail for Portugal, Francisco Barreto governed India. Either acting upon hints sent from Lisbon or on his own initiative, Barreto, by his advice or the use of his authority, prevented Camões from carrying out his plans. "What would he do in the kingdom? Evidently he would commit follies and compromise one who, on all accounts, should be respected and left in peace. Was it not better for him to go to the Moluccas or to other eastern lands to obtain some means of living?"

Provided or not with an office, against his will or half convinced, the poet went to the extreme East, not without seeing in all this the hand of the Infanta, not without attributing to her a part in his *tão longo e misero desterro*, as appears from some passages of the sixth *Canção*. In this *Canção* and in the sonnet *Quando cuido* the poet insists on his fear of forgetting the Infanta. The cause of this fear of forgetfulness, which neither absence nor severity had been sufficient to bring about, was, Dr. Rodrigues conjectures, the charms of an Oriental beauty, whom he describes in Sonnet 35, and who perished in the shipwreck off the coast of Cochin China, in which Camões lost the modest fortune which he had accumulated in the far East, and nearly lost the manuscript of the *Lusiadas*.

On his return to Goa Camões again found his projected return thwarted by the vice-roy, D. Constantino de Bragança, who, well aware of his former pretensions in regard to the Infanta, refused him permission to accompany him when he departed for Lisbon, and left him in India in a neglected condition. His successor, D. Francisco Coutinho, was an acquaintance and perhaps a friend of Camões, and it is probable that he gave him some clerical or literary employment which assured him a fair living.

Coutinho's sudden death in 1564 frustrated any plans of Camões' returning

to Portugal with him, and it was not till 1567 that he finally left India, and after a long delay in Moçambique, arrived at last at Lisbon in April, 1570.

The Infanta, as he must have soon learned (if indeed he did not already know it), had rejected all proposals of marriage after the alliance with Philip had failed, and had devoted herself to a life of retirement and religious practices. Any renewal of his former claims would be impossible under these circumstances. The people of Lisbon, deeply attached to the kind and generous Infanta, would have been quick to show resentment to any one who caused her the least annoyance.

Camões now occupied himself with the publication of the *Lusiadas*, and this led him to seek the favor of Dona Francisca de Aragão, to whom he had already appealed twenty years earlier when he first formulated the idea of the great epic. But the lady was not disposed to encourage him and soon afterwards married the Spanish ambassador, D. Juan de Borja. This closes the list of Camões' various love affairs, and brings us back to the Infanta.

"In 1572 the *Lusiadas* appeared. Did she read the work? Everything authorizes an affirmative response. The subject of the poem and above all the fame of its very high literary value would serve to banish, certainly, any scruples which the illustrious lady might have.

"Still more. If there is foundation for a conjecture which Sonnets 260 and 285 (one is only a variant of the other) suggest to me, the daughter of D. Manuel was deeply moved at reading our national epopee and the fine handkerchief in which were yet seen the traces of a tear was shown to the poet, and he was given to understand that this was done by order of the Infanta, which, as was natural, did not fail to excite doubts in his mind. Here is the sonnet:

Pues siempre sin cesar, mis ojos tristes,
En lágrimas tratabais la noche, el día,
Mirad si es lágrima esta que os envia
Aquel sol por quien vos tantas vertistes.

Si vos me asegurais, pues ya la vistes,
Que es lágrima, será ventura mia;
Por empleadas bien desde hoy tendria
Las muchas que por ella sola distes.

Mas cualquier cosa mucho deseada,
Aunque viendo se esté, nunca es creida,
E menos esta nunca imaginada.

Pero della aseguro, si es fingida,
Que basta ser por lágrima enviada,
Para que sea por lágrima tenida.

"It is natural that the meticulous conscience of the Infanta should be more than once startled by the idea that her defense against the impassioned poet had perhaps gone beyond just limits. And, this being so, it may be believed that some of her most intimate friends might have knowledge of these scruples. And why might it not be that one of the friends might not of her own motion undertake to remove the resentment which might be supposed to be still in the heart of the poet, with the object of tranquillizing afterwards the illustrious lady, who was so much preoccupied with the spiritual perfection of her soul? The affair, however, was extremely delicate and it would be hard to conjecture any other means of obtaining, so to speak, the pardon of the poet, without any compromising of the Infanta, except that which has just been indicated.

"I know well that these are many suppositions together, but it is not my intention to attribute to them more value than they have."

Not long afterwards, on the 10th of October, 1577, the Infanta died.

"What impression did the poet feel, at the death of her whom he had loved so much, and for whose sake he had suffered so many hardships? The two hundred and seventy-seventh sonnet tells us:

Chorai, nymphas, os fados poderosos
Daquella soberana formosura.
Onde foram parar? na sepultura?
Aquelles reais olhos graciosos?
Oh bens do mundo, falsos e enganosos!
Que magoas para ouvir! Que tal figura
Jaza sem resplendor na terra dura,
Com tal rosto e cabellos tão formosos!
Das outras que será, pois poder teve
A morte sobre cousa tanto bella,
Que ella eclipsava a luz do claro dia? !
Mas o mundo não era digno della,
Por isso mais na terra não esteve;
Ao ceu subiu, que já se lhe devia.

"Before a sepulchre which had just been closed, and with his heart dulled by suffering and disillusion—one of them very recent—Camões avoids any allusion to his past love for

. . . aquella soberana formosura,
which now lay

. . . sem resplendor na terra dura,
and bows, with respectful emotion, before the memory of the virtuous lady of whom the *mundo não era digno* and to whom *o ceu já se devia*."

In Sonnet 92, written later, and in an hour of profound discouragement, the poet, in spite of having seen only *desfavor e desamor*, considers the death of the Infanta as the greatest of all the griefs which he had suffered. Now nothing holds him to life; now he fears no evil.

Que poderei do mundo já querer,
Pois no mesmo em que pus tamanho amor
Não vi senão desgosto e desfavor
E morte emfim,—que mais não pode ser—?
Pois se não farta a vida de viver,
Pois já sei que não mata grande dor,
Se houver cousa que magua dê maior,
Eu a verei, que tudo posso ver!
A morte, a meu pesar, me assegurou
De quanto mal me venha; já perdi
O que a perder só ella me ensinou.
Na vida desamor sómente vi,
Na morte a grande dor que me ficou.
Parece que para isto só nasci!¹

¹ I have adopted the corrections in the text of this Sonnet which Dr. Rodrigues proposes in the notes, and venture to offer a metrical translation of it.

What can I in the world now wish for more,
 Since that by her on whom my love I placed
 I saw myself still slighted and disgraced
 Until death came,—can worse lie at the door—?
 Since that life's troubled course not yet is o'er,
 Since vital force great sorrow does not waste,
 If any greater ill can yet be faced,
 That, well I know, Fate holds for me in store!
 Her death, against my will, made me secure
 From every evil, every ill I scorn;
 For his own terrors Death has wrought a cure.
 In life my slighted love I had to mourn,
 In death the sorrow which must long endure.
 I, as it seems, for this alone was born!

Almost three years after the death of the Infanta, Camões died (June 10th, 1580).

KATHARINE WARD PARMELEE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Word-Formation in Provençal. By EDWARD L. ADAMS, Ph.D. University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series, vol. II. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. xvii, 607. \$4.00 net.

This treatise is divided into five parts: suffix-formation (pp. 3-403), prefix-formation (pp. 407-495), parasyntheta (pp. 499-532), other methods of formation (pp. 535-573), hybrids (pp. 577-582). The Indexes run from p. 585 to 607. The subdivisions of each part treat separately the parts of speech concerned: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs. To each part is prefixed a brief introduction (longer for the suffix-formation), discussing certain general questions, such as: the parts of speech to which suffixes or prefixes are added, confusion of suffixes, "false" analogy, suffix-change, etc. A short account also of the origin precedes the list of words under each suffix or prefix. Finally, in the three indexes are given (1) the Provençal suffixes and prefixes, (2) the Latin suffixes and prefixes, and (3) the list of words treated in the foot-notes,—which are, for the most part, doubtful words and those of learned formation.

As things go in the world of scholarship, Professor Adams may be deemed fortunate to have had this subject suggested to him. Fortune smiled on him, too, when he was allowed to finish it, not under the pressure of a doctoral examination, but somewhat at his leisure. It was a work of capital importance for the language of the troubadours; the history of word-formation, once authoritatively treated, would not need to be re-written,—not at least for a long time to come; moreover, the author could rely on the expert advice of a master in the subject and of very capable friends; finally, he had before him the work of two eminent Romance scholars, Darmesteter and Nyrop (not to mention Meyer-Lübke), who had admirably illustrated for French how such a subject should be treated. Naturally, this latter consideration might turn to an embarrassment, for his treatment must measure up to the standard set by these men or go beyond it. Comparison was inevitable.

Judging from the title and the tone of the book, Professor Adams has taken

the required work as seriously as he was expected to do. But there is nowhere any indication that he closely studied the methods of his predecessors. He may have done so. All he says on the matter is that his method differs from that used by Darmesteter and Nyrop and he hopes that his is equally clear. Under the circumstances, I cannot help wishing that he had called it "A Contribution to the Study of Word-Formation in Old Provençal"; the book could then have been welcomed with almost unqualified praise. The industry this 600-page work represents is, indeed, most commendable.

Let us inquire, first, how Nyrop treats this subject of word-formation in vol. III of his *Grammaire historique de la langue française*. From a study of his book, it is evident that the author observes four cardinal principles of method (Darmesteter had used three of them before him): (1) all words are treated, both popular and learned; (2) under the various prefixes and suffixes, he discusses in (mostly) short, numbered sections the significant phases of their origin and meaning; (3) he supplies only sufficient and apposite examples to illustrate these phases; and consequently (4) he is able to insert in the index every word cited. What an admirable work of reference his book thus becomes!

This stage is not reached in Mr. Adams' book at all, which is certainly a pity. In the first place, he treats only the words of popular origin; the learned words are supposed to be found in the foot-notes, but how many of these are missing may be judged from the following list of nouns in *-ada*—the culling of a minute corner: *agenolhada, agulhada, aisada, ajornada, ajostada, algarada, alhada, ambassada*. It is the same with other categories. The learned words may not have the same individuality or variety as the words of popular formation, but are they not just as much actual words of the speech to be investigated?

In the second place, Dr. Adams prints the "complete lists" which would naturally have to be drawn up to form the basis of one's study. What a woful waste of space is there! And yet, very little comment is provided, and that mostly etymological. I venture to believe that it was a tactical blunder on Dr. Adams' part to reproduce these lists. The great proportion of the words in such lists teach nothing; their origin is obvious, and their use is, in the main, like that of hundreds of others. The worst of it is, that those which might have been made to teach a great deal,—the oases in the desert,—are lost in the sand.

Professor Nyrop's book, ranging over a much wider field, discusses many topics not touched in Mr. Adams' study, and is one hundred and fifty pages shorter. If the latter scholar had foregone bowing to the fetish of "complete lists," he would, in my opinion, have produced a more suggestive book in half the space. Let one compare Nyrop's treatment of the suffix *-age* (2 pages) with Mr. Adams' remarks and list of words in *-atge* (8 pages), and the point of the criticism I am forced to make will be apparent.

But it is easy to find fault; and an author always has the consolation of thinking that, after all, the things suggested are merely what one individual reviewer would have liked to see realized. Professor Adams merits all honor for the painstaking character of his achievement. Three of the conventional divisions of the history of a language have now been supplied by American scholars for Old Provençal; syntactical and semantic studies will doubtless follow.

L. HERBERT ALEXANDER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediaeval Literature and Archaeology, now owned by the Cleveland Public Library, comprises 30,000 volumes and pamphlets, with additions at the rate of 2,000 or 3,000 pieces annually, and is available for loan to those interested, whether residents of Cleveland or not. The material is now in order, and a librarian in charge.

Mediaeval literature is extensively represented. Besides the collections of standard publishing societies, most of the individual authors of the period are to be found in nearly all editions. The critical material on hand is chiefly on the literary side, purely linguistic treatises and philological journals not falling, as a rule, within the scope of the collection. But for Old French, Old and Middle High German, Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Middle Dutch, etc., and mediaeval romances and legends, the material is very full.

Much in other portions of the collection will also be of interest. There are several thousand ballads. Folk-lore and Oriental literatures are as strongly represented as almost anywhere in the country, and here periodicals and linguistic material form an important part. Matter on proverbs and gypsies is a notable feature. For catalogues of manuscripts in Europe and Oriental libraries the White Collection ranks among the first three or four of the United States. Egyptology, Assyriology, archaeology, and Oriental history, witchcraft, voyages and travels and ethnology are all represented in force, particularly Egyptology. Lastly, over 140 different languages are represented, besides many dialects, notable among which is the collection of Italian dialect dictionaries.

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During the last twenty years a large amount of research has been devoted to the history of criticism in all the countries of Europe, but as yet only one Romance literature possesses a complete and adequate account of its literary criticism. The Italians, however, are now doing what Menéndez y Pelayo had done for Spain several decades ago. In 1910 Orazio Bacci published the first volume of a monumental history, *La Critica letteraria dall' Antichità classica al Rinascimento*, which is to be completed by Ciro Trabalza in *La Critica letteraria dai primordi dell' Umanesimo all' età nostra* (Milan: Vallardi), in two volumes, of which the first, dealing with the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, has just appeared. Trabalza's work is an admirable example of the best modern Italian scholarship, exhaustive in research but unified by a consistent theory of the meaning of criticism. It is a striking fact that no adequate history of French or German literary criticism has yet been written.

OBITUARY

ROBERT EDOUARD PELLISSIER

The untimely death of Dr. Robert Edouard Pellissier, Assistant Professor of Romanic languages in Leland Stanford Jr. University, who was killed while fighting for France in the Battle of the Somme on August 29th last, should not pass unnoticed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. Immediately after the outbreak of the war Dr. Pellissier secured a leave of absence from the university and returned to his native land to serve as a private in the army. He saw much active service, was wounded, and returned to the front as a sergeant. At the time of his death he was about to be promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and was also mentioned for a medal of honor.

It is impossible for those whose friend he was to convey effectively the sense of their personal loss. But what I wish to point out in this brief mention is that his sacrifice contributed, no less than to the safety of his imperilled France, to the cause which lies close to the hearts of so many of the readers of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, namely, that of a more just and adequate understanding in this country of the spirit of France. For it is well that we should point to Pellissier's example—the supreme sacrifice that represented the highest expression of his personality—and say that in him indeed there was that "moral sentiment" which Emerson has declared the basis of culture as of character. Shall we not take account of such an example, to refute those persons who have in the past denied to the French the possession of just such a virtue as this?

Born May 12, 1882, at La Ferrière, a French village in the valley of the Jura, Pellissier had lived in the United States almost continuously since 1896. Graduating from Harvard in 1904, he returned there to study in the Graduate School in 1908-09 and again in 1910-11; he received the degree of A.M. in 1909 and that of Ph.D. in 1913. From 1911 he was a member of the Stanford faculty. His personal charm and his gifts as a teacher won him the affection and esteem of students and colleagues, and in 1914 he was advanced to the rank of assistant professor. To do honor to his memory, friends at the university have raised a fund to purchase and maintain an ambulance at the French front for the duration of the war.

A generous and ardent nature finely balanced by innate modesty and well disciplined judgment, his character reflected itself in his tastes and in his teaching. He loved the moral beauty of classical art, its restrained and quiet intensity, its emphasis on just values rather than random impulse. He saw in these traits the outward manifestation of a high conception of duty. So lofty was his own ideal that his country's call raised no question, for him, of personal welfare as opposed to personal sacrifice: for him the question was the much harder one of determining between two kinds of service. True to his standard of right, he decided for what seemed to him the greater service, no matter what the sacrifice. And shall we not recognize that by his death he was unconsciously serving here in America the high interest of his native France, as he had done in the past, by adding the force of his patriotic example to that of his teaching?

E. G. A.

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